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Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation

Brett High Riggs
University of Tennessee - Knoxville

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Brett High Riggs entitled "Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.

Gerald F. Schroedl, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Charles H. Faulkner, John R. Finger, Michael Logan

Accepted for the Council:
Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Michael Logan

Dr. Michael Logan

Accepted for the Council

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation

A Dissertation Presented for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Brett High Riggs
December 1999

Dedicated to the memory of
my grandmother
Ruby Bramble High
(1906-1999)
who taught me that the past is important to who
we are and who we would become;

and

my friend
Norman Dean Jefferson
(1952-1999)
who taught me that the story is always more interesting than the data
"I said it, you heard it, I'm outta here"
(Norman Jefferson, personal communication 1988).

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Betty Duggan, my colleague and fellow student of Cherokee culture, shared many hours of discussion of various topics related to nineteenth century Cherokee life in North Carolina and Tennessee. I am grateful for her insights and collegiality. Hank McKelway, another of the "Long Riders" of the Anthropology Department, endured long hours of discussion on ethnicity, material culture, and symbolism. Together, we brought our microcomputers to rein. Scott Shumate, my next door neighbor for late nights in South Stadium Hall, kept me briefed on Georgian and Jeffersonian thought and shared the arcane secrets of historical archaeology. I value his friendship and have benefited greatly from our professional collaborations.

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I also wish to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians for their indulgence and approval of this study by resolution in open council. I hope the final product is of some value to the Cherokee people.

Despite the best efforts of the many folks who supported and assisted me, this product is almost certainly flawed in structure and content. For these flaws, both great and small, I bear sole responsibility.

Abstract

Nineteenth century accounts of Cherokee Indian society consistently refer to the existence of two classes among the Cherokees: the acculturated "mixed blood[s], who speak English and are considered the intelligent and wealthy class" and the culturally conservative fullbloods, whom white observers denigrated as "backward," "indolent," and "ignorant" pagans. This perceived dichotomy reflected the poles of a socioeconomic and cultural continuum that developed as a result of the differential Westernization of Cherokee individuals and households during the post-Revolutionary War era. As these socioeconomic classes diverged, they developed as the primary axis of competition and conflict within Cherokee society. Because these groups were progressively distinguished by ancestry, language use, lifestyle, and ideology, they may be characterized as emergent ethnic groups subsumed within the Cherokee national polity. As identity-conscious groups in competition for economic resources and political power, the Cherokee-speaking fullblood majority and the English-speaking *métis* minority used various media, including material goods and property, to construct and maintain ethnic boundaries. This study examines documentary and archaeological evidence for the use of such material media by Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina during the Removal period (1835–1838) and seeks to define material patterning that distinguished the English-speaking *métis* minority from the Cherokee-speaking fullblood majority.

Four independent primary datasets are successively analyzed and discussed to accomplish a synthetic overview of Cherokee wealthholding and material culture. Bioracial, linguistic, and certain aspects of economic variation within the study population are defined through examination of the 1835 War Department census of the Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi. General trends of bioracial endogamy, community composition, and wealth distribution evident in the 1835 census indicate active ethnic differentiation within the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina. The population of the study area was ethnically and socioeconomically homogeneous, with a dominant component of monolingual Cherokee fullblood subsistence farmers who formed a distinctly conservative and materially impoverished "aboriginal" stratum of Cherokee society. Contrasted with this majority was a small group of Anglo-Cherokee households who exhibited high rates of English literacy and slaveholding, and who managed extensive market farms in the larger river and creek valleys in the southern portion of the study area A relatively small number of fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee families were arrayed between these extremes, forming a heavily skewed socioeconomic continuum largely reflective of household ethnicity.

The improved real properties of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina are documented by U.S. government property appraisals conducted in the winter of 1836-1837. These appraisals include narrative descriptions and dimensions of dwellings and other buildings, cultivated fields and other cleared or fenced land, fruit trees, ditches, wells, mills, and other facilities present on 684 properties. Hierarchical agglomerative (Ward's method) cluster analysis is used to define "types" of properties based upon similarities in the values assigned to dwellings, nonresidential structures, and agricultural improvements by the federal appraisers. The resultant cluster solution is interpreted as a series of farmstead models that can be ranked from those more traditional in composition to those more closely resembling Western agrarian modes. These analyses indicate that Cherokee properties in the study area were remarkably homogeneous in composition; more than 85% of the Cherokee farmsteads in southwestern North Carolina consisted of twelve or fewer acres of cropland, small, cribbed log dwellings valued less than $32.00, and few outbuildings other than corn cribs and an occasional *asi*. Properties owned by a small number of Anglo-Cherokees families contrast sharply with this traditional farmstead mode, and reflect thorough incorporation and integration of Western agrarian material modes of life. The largest and most highly valued Cherokee properties included substantial, hewn log dwellings valued in excess of $70.00, 35 or more acres of cropland, and a wide array of ancillary domestic structures (e.g. kitchens, springhouses, smokehouses), farm buildings (e.g. stables, cribs, barns), and specialized facilities (e.g. stores, mills, blacksmith shops). These farms substantially resembled the typical holdings of Anglo-American "middling" farmers and small planters in the southern highlands, and the Cherokee owners of such properties occupied a socioeconomic status parallel to the upper middle class of the Anglo-American rural South. A relatively small sector of Anglo-Cherokee and fullblood Cherokee families maintained homes and farms that formed a continuum between these extremes. Contrastive modes of farmstead composition are interpreted as evidence for the operation of distinct Western and traditional systems of household economy and material lifeways. These distinct systems are largely, but not exclusively, correlated with the bioracial and linguistic affinities of Cherokee households, and contrastive farmstead composition is interpreted as evidence for ethnic differentiation among Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina.

Spoliation claims which Cherokees from the study area filed against the United States government following forced removal of 1838 document losses of clothing, furniture, household goods, cookware and tableware, agricultural equipment and other tools, livestock, and other material possessions by more than 400 Cherokee households from the study area. These data are initially explored through univariate comparisons of the distributions of major

functional groups of chattel property among bioracial/linguistic subsets of the study population to determine differential patterns of ownership. Hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis is applied to classify individual household cases by inventory composition. The membership of these groups of households is then evaluated with respect to racial/ethnic affinity to determine whether ethnicity played a significant role in the formation of household assemblages. Analyses of the chattel properties data. reveal patterning similar to that of the real properties data, with a large, homogeneous group of relatively poor, predominantly fullblood families forming the basal economic stratum of Cherokee society contrasted with a small, predominantly English-speaking, group of wealthy Cherokees. A relatively small group of both fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee households span these extremes. These patterns are interpreted as evidence for a traditional-Western continuum in material lifestyles and economic modes; the poles of this continuum appear to represent the contrastive content of an ethnic dichotomy.

Archaeological data present a collateral, yet independent gauge of variation in the material lifeways of Removal Period Cherokee households in the study area. To illustrate the differences in material culture that distinguish more Westernized from more traditionally oriented Cherokee households, artifact assemblages representing one Anglo-Cherokee *métis* occupation, and six fullblood Cherokee household occupations are compared and contrasted in terms of diversity, content, and relative composition. Archaeological assemblages recovered from surface and excavated contexts at these farmstead sites evince a high degree of interhousehold variation in scale and content; this variability is interpreted as evidence of differential acculturation and contrastive cultural orientations. Most of these assemblages are dominated by Qualla series ceramics and other goods reflective of indigenous traditions; these configurations suggest that many of the Cherokee inhabitants of southwestern North Carolina retained strong native identities expressed through continuity of traditional technologies. However, high frequencies of commercially manufactured goods associated with the *métis* household (the Christies)occupation also indicate substantially higher levels of material wealth and construction of a Westernized material lifestyle informed by Anglo-American models. which commercial consumption was particularly prominent.

These analyses illustrate the broad themes of variation in Cherokee material culture on the eve of the removal of 1838. The extremes of variation evident in these datasets are interpreted as evidence for differential Westernization of Cherokee households, and illustrate the material modes that conservative Cherokees and Westernized Anglo-Cherokees used to define and distinguish their communities of association as nascent ethnic groups struggling over the cultural identity and political fate of the Cherokee Nation.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

> ...there are among them two distinct Classes in very different circumstances with regard to property and the means of acquiring it. One is that of the mixed blood, who speak English and are considered the intelligent and wealthy class. A few of these have a tolerable English Education, others, enough for common business, but many can neither read nor write. The other Class, which constitutes the body of the Nation, ... is the Full Cherokees. They speak, and nearly all the men, read the Cherokee language. They are general[ly] poor. They live by agriculture, with the exception of a very few rough mechanics. Compared with their condition twenty-five years ago, they have made great improvement, but on account of their deficiency in skill and industry ... their progress is necessarily slow (Evan B. Jones, January 22, 1857).

> ...those who talk English are overbearing. Dissension will soon follow...
> John Huss in *Cherokee Phoenix*, July 2, 1828

Two centuries ago, the Cherokee Indian Nation of the southeastern United States began a cultural metamorphosis. In the wake of the American Revolution and the Chickamauga conflict, the Cherokees witnessed the steady deterioration of their traditional way of life as egalitarian horticultural villagers. Political factionalism during the war created broad tribal schisms. Losses of key personnel during eighteen years of bitter frontier conflict left civil and religious structures in shambles. The eastern fur trade, which had sustained Cherokee consumption of (and dependence upon) commercially manufactured goods, collapsed due to overhunting and the circumscription of the Cherokee Nation by Anglo-American settlements. The newly organized American government relentlessly pressured the Cherokees for territorial cessions, and appropriated vast tracts of Cherokee lands.

The Cherokees countered these pressures by selective adoption of Anglo-American material culture, economic strategies, religious institutions, and political structures. By 1820, most Cherokee families achieved economic stability by participation in the emergent agricultural markets of the transAppalachian South. Some Cherokee citizens expanded their economic enterprises to include mercantilism, hostelry, artisan crafts, operation of toll roads and ferries, and full-scale plantation agriculture. With increased access to consumer goods, many Cherokee households cultivated material lifestyles comparable to Anglo-American agrarian families. Some Cherokee families educated their children at Protestant mission schools, where Anglo-American teachers instructed students in English, mathematics, and domestic and agricultural arts, and indoctrinated students with the values of the Protestant Capitalist Ethic and the primacy of the "American way of life." Cherokee tribal government reorganized as a constitutional republic with elected officials to regulate both internal affairs and relations with the American federal and state governments. Such rapid assimilation of Western lifeways and organizational structures led American and European intellectuals to tout the Cherokees as the foremost of the "Civilized Tribes."

However, the processes of material and ideological acculturation were neither uniform nor pervasive within Cherokee society. The rate and extent of assimilative change varied tremendously from region to region, community to community, household to household. As a consequence, Cherokee society developed a marked degree of socioeconomic diversity and took on an incipient class structure. This diversity developed largely along ethnic lines; many Anglo-Cherokee *métis* and intermarried whites espoused Anglo-American material culture and ideologies, while most fullblood Cherokees adhered to traditional values and lifeways. Many Cherokees selectively chose components of both cultures, and blended the two into myriad forms. Within the span of a single generation, the Cherokee Nation expanded into a multiethnic state that encompassed Westernized venture capitalists, planters, merchants, yeoman agrarians, and traditional horticulturalists.

While assimilation of Western economic and political modes revitalized the Cherokee economy and allowed the nation to successfully resist territorial encroachment, the core values attendant to such changes polarized Cherokee society. The dominant Western value system, which Weber (1958) has characterized as the Protestant Ethic, emphasizes the primacy of the individual, who is validated through economic achievement and the accumulation of personal property. Individuals are exhorted to ideals of continuous work, delayed (if any) gratification, long-term planning, and thrift. Interpersonal relations are decidedly hierarchical. This is the antithesis of the traditional Cherokee Harmony Ethic (Gulick 1960; Jordan 1975; Kupferer 1966; Neeley 1991; Thomas 1957, 1958), under which the individual is sublimated to the corporate group. The utmost goal of the traditional ethic is maintenance of group harmony, balance, and cohesiveness within an egalitarian framework. The Harmony Ethic institutionalizes generosity and hospitality to level wealth and redistribute it within the society at large. Overt assertiveness and competition within the group are negatively sanctioned, and inordinate personal accumulation of wealth is stigmatized as *de facto* evidence of stinginess, the most objectionable of personality traits.

McLoughlin (1993) has characterized the ideological struggle that emerged within nineteenth century Cherokee society:

> ... tension gradually developed between the mixed-bloods and full-bloods. While it reflected differences in wealth or social class, it was basically a cultural difference, The poorer Cherokees believed that the rich were abandoning sacred traditions and pushing the nation too rapidly toward the white man's ways and values. Missionaries, travelers, and federal agents frequently commented on this conflict. Sometimes they described it as the clash between "the progressive," "forward-looking," "more intelligent," or "better informed" Cherokees and those who were "backward," "ignorant," and "uneducated".
>
> ... Few mixed-bloods favored total assimilation or integration into white society, having encountered the racism of whites toward those of darker complexions. Conversely, many full-bloods were pious and dedicated Christians. Those of mixed ancestry often adopted the forms, but not the spirit, of the mission churches. The difference between the mixed-blood and the full-

> blood was best stated by the missionary who noted, "Those who have little Cherokee blood, in comparing themselves with white men, glory in being 'Cherokee,' yet look with contempt upon those who speak Cherokee only or chiefly as "Indians."" The issue was not who was the better white person but who was the better "Cherokee." The basic problem of cultural division among the Cherokees ... can be found in their effort to define whether the best Cherokee was the one who tried to adhere to traditional ideals or the one who proved he or she could do everything the white man or woman could. Hence the driving ambition of the English-speaking Cherokees was to demonstrate their talents as traders, planters, lawyers, businesspeople, housewives and mothers. ... For them, national pride required both progress and sovereignty. The English-speaking believed they set the standards and deserved the leadership of the nation, However, they were also often patronizing and paternalistic toward their non-English-speaking citizens....They measured themselves by the standards of white Americans ... (McLoughlin 1993:75-76).

The issues of cultural assimilation and traditionalism pervaded nineteenth century Cherokee social discourse. This debate was articulated through differential use of language and literacy (Cherokee vs. English), marriage practices, dress and personal adornment, economic behavior, housing, political allegiance, religious observance, and civic participation. Contemporary accounts by both Anglo-American and Cherokee observers (e.g. Evans 1977, Featherstonaugh 1847, Morse 1822, Norton [Klink and Talman 1970], Ridge [Sturtevant 1981], Taylor 1828, Washburn 1971) particularly emphasize contrasts in the material culture repertoires of Westernized and traditional Cherokee factions. These contrasts were neither accidental nor incidental, but instead constituted visible, concrete, and conscious statements about values, lifestyle, and group membership. As Douglas and Isherwood (1979) note, the uses, meanings, and significance of material culture are often directed toward such statements:

> ...Goods assembled together in ownership make physical, visible statements about the hierarchy of values to which their chooser subscribes....goods in their assemblage present a set of meanings, more or less coherent, more or less intentional. They are read by those who know the code and scan them for information (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:5)

From this perspective, the extensive historical and archaeological records of nineteenth century Cherokee material culture constitute important primary "texts" that document technofunctional, economic, and symbolic aspects of differential acculturation and socioeconomic variation within Cherokee society. William McLoughlin, late dean of nineteenth century Cherokee ethnohistory, viewed the historical records of material culture as key to understanding Cherokee acculturation and resistance:

> ...With care, it is possible to note correlations between those who were wealthy and those who were poorer and their acculturation or adherence to traditionalism-- those who spoke and wrote only English or those who spoke and wrote only Cherokee, those who were of mixed ancestry or those who tended to marry only other full-bloods, those who were slaveholders and those who were not, those who were Christians or those who adhered more closely to their old religion (McLoughlin 1993:xix).
>
> ... There [are]... data available with which to pursue these questions, particularly in the various claims against the federal government by Cherokee families during and after removal, and in surveys conducted to assess the payments made by the government for "improvements" after the Cherokees were forced to move. These provide a wealth of intimate detail comparable to wills and land records in white communities ... (McLoughlin and Conser 1984:238-239).

Although numerous historical, geographical, and anthropological studies address various aspects of Cherokee acculturation in the nineteenth century (e.g. Bays 1991; Bloom 1942; Duggan 1998; Finger 1980, 1984, 1991, 1995; Jordan 1975; Malone 1956; McLoughlin 1984a, 1986, 1993; Neeley 1991; Perdue 1979b, 1989, 1998; Pillsbury 1983; Wilms 1973), few researchers have drawn upon historical and archaeological records of Cherokee material life for more than anecdotal illustrations (see Bays 1991; Ford 1981; McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Pillsbury 1983; Riggs 1987; Wilms 1973, 1974; and Wishart 1995 for notable exceptions). Instead, most researchers have relied primarily upon narrative accounts by Anglo-American and *métis* observers, sources which tend to emphasize themes of Westernization rather than traditionalism. As a result, these studies often underrepresent the contributions of the conservative fullblood majority to Cherokee life, and underemphasize the divisive effects of differential acculturation. This is somewhat surprising, because Westernized and traditionalist factions of early nineteenth century Cherokee society gave rise to discrete ethnic identities which constitute axes of social and political struggle among Cherokee people to the present day.

Because the more conservative, "aboriginal" Cherokees are poorly represented in narrative records, their historical "voices" have gone largely unheard. Yet clearly, the inclusion and comprehension of the entire socioeconomic and cultural spectrum of Cherokee society is crucial to any analysis that would seek to understand the processes of acculturation, accommodation, and resistance that have combined to produce the complex configurations of modern Cherokee society.

Study Objectives, Materials, and Methods

In an effort to expand current understanding of the phenomena of differential acculturation and factionalization within Cherokee society, this study undertakes an inclusive quantitative analysis and description of Removal Period (1835-1838) Cherokee material culture in southwestern North Carolina. The analysis seeks to identify the material choices exercised by Cherokee households and to evaluate these decisions in terms of the oppositional stances defined by the Harmony and Protestant Capitalist ethics. Household level data derived from both historical and archaeological sources are analyzed to delineate patterns of variation attributable to differential acculturation and ethnic boundary demarcation. Specific questions addressed by this analysis are:

1) What was the structure of variation in wealth and property composition among pre-Removal Cherokee households? Can this interhousehold variation be effectively segmented as a reflection of discrete social and economic strata?
2) Does interhousehold variation in material culture correlate with social and biological aspects of ethnicity (e.g. fullblood Cherokee vs. Anglo-Cherokee *métis* households; English speakers vs. nonEnglish speakers; Christians vs. nonChristians)?
3) Can patterns of material culture variation be explained with reference to indigenous and Western value systems?

4) Are patterns of interhousehold variation evident in the archaeological record homologous to those documented by the historical record?

Ancillary goals of this research are to describe the Removal Period Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina, its cultural geography and material lifeways, and to provide a formal account of recent archaeological investigations of Removal Period Cherokee housesites in southwestern North Carolina.

To accomplish these goals, this study draws upon a large corpus of primary historical documentation generated preparatory to, or as a result of, the mass Cherokee deportation of 1838. Data from these sources are considered both collateral to, and conjunctively with, the archaeological records of six Removal Period Cherokee households. Quantitative historical data are derived from three documentary sources: the Cherokee census of 1835 (U.S. War Department 1835), federal valuations of Cherokee properties conducted in 1836-1837 (Welch and Jarrett 1837), and spoliation claims recorded and filed by the Cherokees themselves between 1838 and 1843 (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1843; Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1847). Specific cases within each of these data sets are identified to discrete households, and casewise agreement among these data sets allows cross reference for combined analyses and interpretation. The census, property valuations, and spoliation claims data used in this study were transcribed from microfilm or photocopies of original manuscript versions into Paradox$_{TM}$ database files for compilation, cross-indexing, and manipulation. Quantitative analyses of these data sets were accomplished using the JMP$_{TM}$ statistical software package.

Archaeological data derive from a large-scale survey and testing project directed toward identification of Removal Period Cherokee residential sites in southwestern North Carolina (Riggs 1996a), as well as from archaeological reconnaissances of Hiwassee and Apalachia reservoirs, both located within the study area (Riggs 1996b; Riggs and Kimball 1996). Removal Period sites specifically considered in this study are the Christie Cabin (31CE274), *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin (31CE276), *Kianna* Cabin (31CE288), *Sataka* Cabin (31CE279), Brushpicker Cabin (31CE541), Buzzard Cabin (31CE279) and John Wayne, Jr. Cabin (31CE627). All of these sites represent Cherokee single family farmsteads, and most can be referenced to specific Cherokee households documented by the census, property valuations, and spoliation claims datasets. Such direct linkage between the archaeological and documentary records facilitates a reciprocal and complementary relationship which enhances the interpretation of both datasets. Comparative analysis of the Removal Period archaeological assemblages is augmented by data from four post-Removal era Anglo-American farmstead sites (31CE273, 31CE363, 31CE530, 31CE586) and five Cherokee residential sites (31CE289, 31CE290, 31CE358, 31CE386, 31CE387) which date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These data are incorporated in the analysis as

controls against which to gauge the relative divergence of Removal Period Cherokee assemblages from their direct cultural antecedents and their approach toward Anglo-American material models.

Analysis and interpretation of archaeological and historical data are informed by a number of contemporary narrative accounts, including the journals of Major John Norton (Klinck and Talman 1970), Lieutenant Charles Noland (1991), and Reverend Evan B. Jones (1826-1836), as well as the contemporary correspondence of Major. W.G. Williams (1838), and J.B. Evans (1977), and the travel narratives of George Featherstonaugh (1847) and Charles Lanman (1849). Account records of Hunter's (Hunter 1836-1838) and Thomas' (Thomas and King 1836-1845) stores provide insights into Cherokee consumer behavior in the study area. Genealogical and kinship data included in the 1840 Thomas Census, the 1848 Mullay Roll, the 1851 Chapman and Siler rolls, and testimonies for the 1909 Guion Miller enrollment facilitate construction of kin linkages among study group households. Detailed surveys of the study area conducted by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1837-1838 provide a geographic context for interpretation of material culture patterns.

The 1835 federal census of the Cherokee Nation was conducted by the United States War Department to gain statistical data for estimating costs necessary to effect a complete cession of Eastern Cherokee lands and removal of the Cherokee population to Oklahoma. This household level census documents household membership, literacy, slave ownership, cultivated acreage, agricultural production and sales, artisan skills and other statistical categories for 2637 household units in the Cherokee Nation, including 607 households in the study area (see Appendix 1). These data are key to understanding the size and distribution of the study population, the racial/ethnic composition of the population, and general patterns of production and wealth holding at the household level. Census data also allow assessment of household structure (i.e. nuclear vs. extended households) and marriage patterns with regard to ethnicity. The census data provide racial and linguistic measures of ethnicity applicable to the analysis and interpretation of the property valuations and spoliation claims datasets. The original manuscript census is housed by the U.S. National Archives (Record Group 75) and is available for inspection in published microform (U.S. National Archives Microcopy T-496).

Several of the census categories are useful measures of differential Westernization among Cherokee households. Presumed indices of Westernization and traditionalism (following McLoughlin and Conser 1977) include slaveholding, English literacy, Sequoyan literacy, and capacity for production of agricultural surplus. The distributions of these characteristics among bioracial subsets (i.e. fullblood Cherokee, co-resident white, Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, African-Cherokee *métis*) of the population are described using summary statistics, and patterns of

covariation among these categories are described through correlation analysis to determine whether these measures co-occur as consistent, multidimensional measures of Western affinity.

The improved real properties of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina are documented by U.S. government property appraisals conducted in the winter of 1836-1837. Agents of the War Department undertook these evaluations to facilitate government compensation to Cherokee families for individual properties lost due to the territorial cession outlined in the Treaty of New Echota (Dec 29, 1835) (Royce 1887). Agents William Welch and Nimrod Jarrett visited each improved property in the study area, described its composition, and estimated the value of each property element (Welch and Jarrett 1837). Their appraisals include narrative descriptions and dimensions of dwellings and other buildings, cultivated fields and other cleared or fenced land, fruit trees, ditches, wells, mills, and other facilities present on 684 properties. Welch and Jarrett's appraisals exist in manuscript form as part of the United States National Archives Record Group 75. At the author's request, the archives prepared a microfilm copy of the original valuation ledgerbooks for inspection and transcription.

The property valuations document the degrees to which different Cherokee households espoused Western capitalist agrarianism and its attendant domestic lifestyle, or maintained traditional patterns of subsistence horticulturalism and domestic environments. Estimates of cultivated acreage gauge each household's ability (and intent) to produce agricultural surplus for market disposal. Dwelling dimensions, construction components, and degree of archtectural elaboration or formalization indicate a wide range of variation between Anglo-American ideals of architectural permanence and comfort and indigenous ideals of simplicity and expediency. Numbers and sizes of ancillary domestic and farm structures reflect Westernizing trends toward functional diversification and task specialization among some households or maintenance of more traditional patterns of generalized workspaces by others.

Hierarchical agglomerative (Ward's method) cluster analysis is used to define "types" of properties based upon similarities in the values assigned to dwellings, nonresidential structures, and agricultural improvements by the federal appraisers. The resultant cluster solution is interpreted as a series of farmstead models which can be ranked from those more traditional in composition to those more closely resembling Western agrarian modes. The membership of each cluster is evaluated in terms of ethnic composition and with respect to household specific indices of Westernization derived from the census data. This analysis serves to define the overall structure of the study area population in regard to Western and traditional economic strategies and material lifestyle.

The most complex dataset derives from spoliation claims which Cherokees from the study area filed against the United States government for chattel property lost during the forced removal

of 1838. One group of claims records is curated by the Tennessee State Library and Archives as part of its Penelope Allen Cherokee Collection and is available for reference on microfilm (TSLA M-151). A second, less extensive body of claims is maintained within the records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners housed by the U.S. National Archives. Photocopy versions of the Fourth Board manuscripts were used for this study.

The spoliation claims document clothing, furniture, household goods, cookware and tableware, agricultural equipment and other tools, livestock, and other material possessions of more than 400 Cherokee households from the study area. Because the federal and state troops who performed the mass arrests during removal gave Cherokee families little opportunity to gather or transport their belongings, many of these spoliation claims represent complete inventories of Cherokee household possesions. As such, these claims reflect the totality of "goods assembled together in ownership" to "make physical, visible statements about the hierarchy of values to which their chooser[s] subscribe ..." (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:5).

The claims document more than 270 discrete types of chattel possessions abandoned by Cherokee families. The distributions, functions, and significance of these items with respect to traditional or Western orientations are discussed in narrative prelude to quantitative analyses. This discussion also considers distributions of various possessions among bioracial and linguistic groups defined by the census and attempts to identify material categories that reflect market-oriented agrarianism or subsistence oriented horticulturalism or Western style domestic environments versus more traditional domestic patterns. Such categories reflect the defining material choices made by Cherokee households as part of the debate over acculturation and traditionalism.

The claims data are further explored through univariate comparisons of the distributions of major functional groups of chattel property among bioracial/linguistic subsets of the study population. Hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis is applied to define major structures (components) of variation and to group individual household cases by inventory type based upon these components. The membership of these groups of households is then evaluated with respect to racial/ethnic composition to determine whether ethnicity plays a significant role in the formation of household assemblages. The cluster solution of claims data is also evaluated with respect to the property valuations data to determine the relationship between real property and chattel property.

Archaeological data present a collateral, yet independent gauge of variation in the material lifeways of Removal Period Cherokee households in the study area. To illustrate the differences in material culture that distinguish more Westernized from more traditional Cherokee households, artifact assemblages representing one Anglo-Cherokee *métis* occupation, five fullblood Cherokee

household occupations and three Cherokee household occupations of unknown composition are compared and contrasted in terms of diversity, content, and relative composition. Specific historical contexts are discussed for each occupation, together with accounts of the archaeological investigations at each site and descriptions of the archaeological contexts and assemblages. Comparison and contrasts of these assemblages are undertaken in narrative form; the small sizes and dichotomous structure of the material collections obviate complex statistical manipulation. These Removal Period assemblages are also compared and contrasted with archaeological data from four Anglo-American residential components and five pre-Removal era Cherokee residential components which serve as material models.

The study is concluded with a synoptic discussion of the patterns of material culture variation evident in the historical and archaeological records. These configurations are interpreted within the broader contexts of differential acculturation and ethnic identity formation to illustrate the Cherokee peoples' active manipulation and management of material culture in their struggle over the cultural identity of the Cherokee Nation.

Previous Studies in Nineteenth Century Cherokee Acculturation and Material Culture

The present study builds upon a number of previous historical, geographical, and anthropological treatments of nineteenth century Cherokee acculturation and cultural resistance, but departs from the majority of these studies with a primary focus on material culture in quantitative perspective. The earliest ethnological studies of the Cherokees (e.g. Gilbert 1943; Harrington 1922; Mooney 1891, 1900; Speck 1920) primarily sought to document cultural survivals or to reconstruct distinctively aboriginal features of Cherokee culture. Such studies treat acculturation and other forms of culture change as peripheral issues; these were the processes which Boasian ethnologists viewed as detracting from Cherokee cultural integrity. These studies are especially valuable because they preserve the reminiscences of Cherokee informants born in the early and mid-nineteenth century, whose images of traditional culture derive from the period and area considered in this study. For instance, Mooney conducted extensive interviews with John Ax and James Wafford, Cherokees who were adult householders in southwestern North Carolina at the time of Removal. Much of our current understanding of traditional Cherokee culture derives from the cultural sensibilities and experiences of these Cherokees who came to adulthood by the mid-nineteenth century.

Early historical treatments of nineteenth century Cherokee society, such as Starr (1921), Walker (1931), Dale and Litton (1939), Foreman (1934, 1953) and Starkey (1946), either focus upon political relations with the United States or Protestant missionary activities among the Cherokees, or provide genealogies and biographies of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* elite. Such studies typically treat the fullblood traditionalists as a silent majority who were generally passive

and acquiescent to the "progressive" leadership of the *métis* elite and the directed acculturation policies of the federal government and Protestant missionaries. These early historical works convey a sense of unilinear "progress" or "civilization" on the part of the Cherokee people, who are depicted as embracing a "superior" Anglo-American culture for its intrinsic qualities. The cultural factionalism of nineteenth century Cherokee society is generally reduced to political terms.

It was Bloom (1942) who first applied the acculturation concept to describe the processes of cultural change that affected the Cherokees during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bloom's essay is primarily a review of Cherokee culture history, but he does note that the Cherokees experienced different types of acculturation relative to temporal phases of contact with Anglo-Americans, and he makes the important observation that the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina constituted a particularly isolated and conservative segment of nineteenth century Cherokee society.

Malone (1956) provides the first detailed historical description of nineteenth century Cherokee society, with an emphasis placed on Cherokee lifeways and economy rather than on external political relations. His study portrays acculturation as a comprehensive and positive process by which all Cherokees adopted, at differing rates, the values and material culture of southern Anglo-American agrarian society. Malone stressed the rapidity of Cherokee acculturation and the influence of the *métis* economic elite, and accorded relatively little attention to the adaptive modifications and persistence of native systems. As a consequence, Malone's study underrepresents the extreme socioeconomic heterogeneity of Cherokee society and largely ignores the social conflict that factionalized the Cherokee Nation. Malone's study incorporates many of the primary sources of quantitative data employed in the present study, but uses these data in an anecdotal, illustrative manner rather than as a basis for analysis.

During the 1950s, anthropologists associated with the Cross-Cultural Laboratory of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina conducted extensive ethnographic fieldwork among the Eastern Cherokees (Gulick 1958, 1960). In contrast to earlier research, these efforts focused upon documentation and explanation of modern Cherokee cultural diversity and its relationship to acculturation and resistance in the current spirit of acculturation studies by Spicer (1954, 1961), Spindler (1955), Vogt (1957) and others. These studies gave rise to a number of published works (e.g. Gulick 1958, 1960; Holtzinger 1961; Kupferer 1966) as well as the seminal, but regrettably unpublished, essays by Robert Thomas, a Western Cherokee anthropologist. Thomas' works on individual acculturation of Oklahoma Cherokees (1957), acculturation of the Eastern Cherokees (1958a), and Cherokee world view (1958b) introduce the idea of differential Westernization as a source of societal tension and factionalization. Following

Bruner (1956), Thomas posits that contemporary Cherokee society comprises a graduated continuum from traditionalism to Westernization, and derives such diversity from the differential effects of Cherokee acculturation in the nineteenth century. Thomas specifically outlines patterns of variability in Cherokee ideologies, language usage, socioeconomic status, and material lifestyles in discussions which presage contemporary treatments of ethnic identity formation and boundary maintenance.

Thomas' work provides important perspectives on differential acculturation and Cherokee factionalization for subsequent anthropological studies by Jordan (1975) and Neeley (1991). Jordan's (1975) examination of continuity and change in the Oklahoma Cherokee community of Long Valley focuses on the historical efforts of members of a traditionalist community to maintain themselves as a corporate entity in the face of domination and competition with whites and Westernized Anglo-Cherokee *métis*. Her study emphasizes aspects of Cherokee factionalism stemming from differential Westernization and conservatism. Neeley's (1976;1991) discussion of ethnicity among the Cherokees of the Snowbird and Tomotla enclaves is an especially important exploration of cultural differentiation and group identity among modern Cherokee people. It is particularly significant that Neeley gives historical depth to ethnic differentiation in Cherokee society, and establishes a precedent for use of an ethnicity model for describing socioeconomic diversity in Removal Period Cherokee society.

More recent ethnohistorical examinations of nineteenth century Cherokee society, such as Duggan (1998), Finger (1980, 1984, 1991, 1995), Hill (1997), McLoughlin (1984a, 1984b, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1993), Perdue (1979a, 1989, 1998), and Young (1980, 1981) have accorded greater attention to societal diversity and the divisiveness it generated. In a series of articles and books, John Finger (1980, 1984, 1991, 1995) has explored the origins and development of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The earlier of these focus primarily upon the Eastern Band's post-Removal era struggle to acquire a land base, resist continuing removal efforts, and maintain themselves as a legal corporate entity. These studies emphasize legal and political aspects of Eastern Band history, but also provide diachronic descriptions of eastern Cherokee social and economic life in the pre-removal and post-removal eras. Because the Eastern Band was dominated by some of the most conservative elements of Cherokee society, Finger's study is primarily an important chronicle of traditionalist life, but it also documents the continuing role of the acculturated Anglo-Cherokee *métis* who remained in the East after removal. In a broader overview of Cherokee culture change and persistence, Finger (1995) discusses the high degree of cultural diversification in pre-removal Cherokee society, and the relative homogeneity of Cherokee life in southwestern North Carolina:

> ...The economic disparity between Cherokee political leaders and the rest of tribal society, and the periodic resistance of traditionalists to these changes suggest as much. Thus Cherokee

> civilization of the early nineteenth century must be seen as a multifaceted phenomenon incorporating progress and traditionalism at the same time and existing in different degrees in different areas of the Cherokee Nation (1995:28-29).

This observation reinforces Mary Young's (1981) conclusions in an important early examination of Cherokee acculturation and cultural differentiation in the early nineteenth century. While Young notes the trends of ethnic group formation and hegemonic relations in Cherokee society, she is careful not to overdraw "the social class divisions that burgeoning wealth had created in the tribe" (Young 1980) to construct a simple diametric model of Cherokee life. Young notes:

> ...cultural variations among the Cherokees in the 1830s reflected the choices of those who varied, and while most mixed-bloods got richer than most full-bloods, cultural conservatism did not necessarily follow racial lines, nor did it entail poverty for those who continued in the old ways ... in most ...respects the experiment in "civilization" broadend, rather than constricted, the people's range of choice as to how they would live (1981:515-516).

Young's 1981 study is especially pertinent to the present effort in that she cites spoliation claims and property valuations data as primary evidence for the broad scope of Cherokee property and patterns of ownership.

Perdue (1979a) addresses the differential acculturation of Cherokees during the early nineteenth century in relation to the institution of black slavery and describes Cherokee slaveholding as linked to the general Westernization of Cherokee society and the capitalization of Cherokee resources. In a more recent article, Perdue (1989) examines the development of political factionalism between Cherokee socioeconomic classes as a contributing factor in the Cherokee Removal. Following Young's 1980 article on the role of Cherokee women in the "civilization" process, Perdue (1998) has also examined Cherokee acculturation and cultural conservatism from a more gendered perspective. Perdue concludes that Cherokee women acted simultaneously as innovators and conservators of Cherokee culture in the rapidly evolving social and economic landscape of the nineteenth century. As Young had observed, much of the government-directed efforts at "civilization" were intended to modify Cherokee men's roles and behaviors, yet they impinged upon women's traditional domains and eroded women's status in Cherokee society. Perdue successfully uses the contrasting gender roles prescribed by Western and tradional Cherokee society as axes for differential change and resistance by Cherokee families. Although Cherokee ethnicity is an active component in Perdue's argument, it is not central.

Hill (1997) also emphasizes women's roles in Cherokee society, and uses basketry as both mechanism and metaphor to examine change and stability in Cherokee life and values over a three century period. Hill ably develops the theme of cultural tradition as flexible and dynamic in the face of changing conditions. This dynamic quality has enabled Cherokee tradition to remain viable and distinct despite centuries of contact with Euro-American culture. Hill's study focuses

on continuity and change in a traditional craft and its context; this emphasis on a traditional component of Cherokee culture does not accommodate treatment of ethnic group formation and competition within Cherokee society.

Duggan (1998) deals more squarely with Cherokee ethnicity, focusing on the persistence of Indian identity in a small Cherokee enclave during the post-removal era. The primary goal of Duggan's study is exploration of the coalescence, development, and ultimate dispersion of the Turtletown (Tennessee) community, with particular attention accorded to interethnic (i.e. Indian-white) relationships. As used by Duggan in describing this particular context, ethnic contrasts are drawn primarily between more conservative, "fullblood" Cherokees and their Anglo-American neighbors. Although Duggan discusses the dynamic, and sometimes situational, cultural and social identity of mixed bloods and their relationships as mediators between more conservative Cherokees and whites, she does not develop the theme of contrastive or multiple ethnic identities within Cherokee society; such a multiethnic model is inapplicable to the Cherokee community at Turtletown.

It is William McLoughlin who has most thoroughly explored themes of social and economic differentiation and cultural discord in a series of essays and volumes devoted to nineteenth century Cherokee political and social history (McLoughlin 1984a, 1984b, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1993; McLoughlin and Conser 1977). Throughout detailed examinations of Cherokee political and economic development, Protestant missionary activities, Cherokee relations with the U.S. federal and state governments, and the removal issue, McLoughlin intersperses consideration of cultural disparity, factionalism, and societal dissonance as a context for his interpretation of critical events and broader historical processes. These discussions are informed by the anthropological writings of Thomas and Gulick on Cherokee world view and acculturation to achieve a broadly based, syncretic ethnohistorical approach.

McLoughlin summarizes his views on differential acculturation and the diversification of Cherokee society in a 1984 discussion on the rise of a Westernized Cherokee bourgeoisie:

> ...not all Cherokees prospered equally or were equally pleased by the rapid pace of acculturation. ...Cherokee society in the 1820s was too complex to be divided into simplistic categories such as pro- or antimission, fullblood or mixed blood. Many other factors were at work: regionalism, social class or wealth, slave ownership, kinship, and opinions regarding the optimal amount and speed of change. For example, class divisions arose because the more ambitions and better educated rapidly accumulated wealth, slaves and credit and then took up the best land for their expanding farms, pastures, plantations; they seized the most lucrative opportunities for trade and manufacture, inns and ferries, mills and trading posts; they assumed a prominent place in politics and in effect made policies which suited their interests. Most of those in this rising Cherokee middle class were of mixed ancestry and had been the first to obtain the skills of reading and writing English and learning arithmetic. Among their symbols of prestige and respectability were not only regular use of the whiteman's dress, language, and social manners, but also their friendship with whites, the regular attendance of their children at mission schools, the adoption of the whiteman's religious beliefs, his ethical values, and his concept of merit based upon individualistic competition and the accumulation of property. All of which they

> passed on to their children...The size of this aspiring middle class was small, not more than 8 to 10 percent of the Cherokee families (roughly corresponding to the 7.4 percent of the families who owned slaves), but their influence was large.
>
> ...Logically those who lived outside the centers of commerce in the distant valleys and mountain regions were slower to acculturate and adopted only minimally to new ways, Those parts of the nation lying next to the Creeks in the southern part of the nation and those in the Great Smoky Mountains in the North were the major areas of conservatism, although as a general cast of thought it could be found anywhere and in times of crisis it welled up everywhere. There was a common tendency for fullbloods to marry fullbloods and mixed bloods to marry among themselves. While everyone was aware of these differences, the assumption was that the Cherokees were one people who were all moving in the same direction although some were at different stages in the march of progress (McLoughlin 1984b:126-127).

McLoughlin further comments on such differentiation as a central source of discord in Cherokee society:

> ...Inevitably the gap between the rich and the poor, the influential and the ne'er-do-wells increased from year to year among the Cherokees as in the white settlements. Sometimes all that seemed to hold the nation together was resistance to white prejudices and pressures. Occassionally the leaders praised the common people, and the common people expressed pride in their acculturated chiefs. More often, the old-fashioned Cherokees were an embarrassment to the highly acculturated, and the highly acculturated were an affront to the traditionalists (McLoughlin 1984b:128).

McLoughlin depicts this cultural discord as periodically shrinking or swelling, but continuously present and steadily increasing; it was this "division between the assimilationists and traditionalists... [that] fatally fractured the Cherokees" (McLoughlin 1984a:190). McLoughlin supports this perspective throughout his writings with abundant primary narrative and convincingly applies this perspective to an interpretation of such episodes as the nativistic revitalization movements of 1811-1812 and 1827 and the constitutional crisis of 1827. It is this perspective on differential acculturation and its divisive effects that forms a primary basis for the present study.

As Finger (1989:203) notes, McLoughlin's expansive and insightful writings on nineteenth century Cherokee society are based largely upon narrative materials from "the records in the National Archives and various missionary agencies" and consequently reflect the "views of acculturated Cherokees and white supporters." Although McLoughlin's works do not explore the negotiations of the acculturation debate in daily life, and do not take advantage of the records of Cherokee material culture as "texts" for the specific analysis of socioeconomic and cultural differentiation, he has clearly advocated such an approach (McLoughlin and Conser 1977:703; William McLoughlin, personal communication 1991). In a single foray into quantification, McLoughlin, with Walter Conser (1977), analyzed data from the 1835 Cherokee census to evaluate the assertion of Anglo-American officials that Cherokee society was divided between a small, wealthy *métis* upperclass and a poor, politically repressed fullblood majority underclass. Using summary statistics and correlation analysis, McLoughlin and Conser examined the

distribution of particular indices of acculturation and wealth (i.e. English and Cherokee literacy, slave ownership, artisan skills, cultivated acreage) among *a priori* data groups, to wit:

> The principal concern in this study has been...a delineation of... variations in the levels of development among different groups and parts of the nation. This has been undertaken by four means: geographic, using North Carolina as a traditionalist region; community type, through statistical construction of more and less fullblood communities; family type, through statistical construction of all-fullblood, no-fullblood, and mixed families; and by definition of a social élite...(McLoughlin and Conser 1977:703).

Although their *a priori* data groupings tended to obscure interesting intraregional, intracommunity, and household level patterns of variability within the census, they reached a number of conclusions of importance to the present study:

> ...The all-fullblood families have a strong positive correlation with Cherokee reading and a strong negative correlation with slaveowning and English reading. Conversely, families with no fullbloods correlate positively with slaveowning and English reading and have a strong negative correlation regarding Cherokee reading and acquired skills. The absence of skills and the high positive correlation between no-fullblood families and readers of both English and Cherokee, again suggests the possibility that these were the individuals engaged in commerce and trade. In this regard, familes of mixed blood represent something of an intermediate position; they have positive correlations to slave ownership, acquired skills, and the ability to read both Cherokee and English, yet a negative correlation to Cherokee reading.
>
> On the whole these correlations imply that the acquisition of white skills, English reading and the ownership of slaves, were a function of acculturation, increasing wealth, and upward mobility, as in the surrounding white settlements. The Cherokees, in short, were acquiring by 1835, only a generation after giving up warfare against advancing white expansion, a bourgeois socioeconomic structure... (McLoughlin and Conser 1977:695).
>
> ...The gradation of economic wealth and acculturation, measured in this census in terms of the acquisition of white skills, seems to indicate that at least a three-tiered class system was emerging; a very wealthy group, consisting of less than fifty out of 2637 families; a sizable middle class, and a large class of poor families tilling only two or three acres... The result of this investigation ...has been to sustain the claim made by many others at the time that the Cherokees were indeed far advanced in the acquisition of wealth and skills and that those with a high porportion of mixed Cherokee-white ancestry tended to have more skills and more wealth. It also appears that there was a definite trend toward an agrarian-capitalist social order, that economic classes were beginning to appear... (McLoughlin and Conser 1977:680)

It is noteworthy that McLoughlin and Conser elected to use the North Carolina portion of the Cherokee Nation, the subject of the present study, as a model for traditionalism. They observed that the North Carolina portion of the Nation "had less racial mixing, proportionately fewer white skills, proportionately less wealth, and proportionately fewer readers of English" than all other areas considered, and further noted that none of the mixed blood economic elite (defined as households owning 10 or more black slaves) resided in North Carolina.

Wilms (1973; 1974) and Pillsbury (1983) examined the quantitative records of Removal Period Cherokee occupation in Georgia in studies which sought, respectively, to reconstruct the Cherokee cultural landscape and evaluate the assimilation of European landscape technologies. Wilms synthesized data from the 1835 Cherokee census, federal valuations of Cherokee property improvements, and surveys of the Georgia Land Lottery to characterize settlement patterns and

population density, land use patterns and landscape modifications by stream drainage area, county, and physiographic region. Through simple comparison of summary statistics, Wilms evaluates the differential spatial distribution of Cherokee property improvements and their constituent elements, including dwellings and other building types, mills, ferries, agricultural acreage, and fruit trees. He also examines the related data categories such as production and sales of corn and wheat. Wilm's study concludes that there existed substantial interregional variation in Cherokee property and partially attributes interregional patterning to distributions of more acculturated Cherokee mixed bloods and more traditionally oriented fullbloods. Although he presents and discusses several case studies of individual households as typical of particular classes and regions, Wilms did not undertake a large-scale household level analysis of property holding and did not specifically address household level patterning in the context of socioeconomic variation and differential acculturation.

Pillsbury undertook a more modest study of the same record groups "in order to increase our understanding of the impact of European culture upon the Cherokee settlement landscape" (Pillsbury 1983:59) in Fannin and Gilmer counties, Georgia. He compares settlement patterns and "the assemblages of structures and fields that form farming units, and the characteristics of the major building types" with qualitative accounts of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century antecedents to determine the effects of Western style agrarianism on the Cherokee landscape. Pillsbury examines the land lottery surveys to reconstruct settlement morphologies and to model farmstead placement. He also compiles household level data to achieve simple statistical descriptions of Cherokee farmsteads. Pillsbury concludes that:

> The acceptance of these technological innovations is not a *prima facie* case for acculturation....The Cherokees had accepted many elements of the white Upland South settlement technology by the 1830s, but the degree of acceptance of that technology's accompanying values is unknown. Certainly the households with adults of white lineage often adopted the economic values of the white Upland South. The degree of acceptance of these values and preferences among the full bloods, however, is an entirely different matter... while the Europeanization of that [Cherokee settlement] landscape was near complete, the acceptance of this technology probably was not accompanied by a similar level of acceptance of the inherent values of the white Upland South culture (Pillsbury 1983:68).

Pillsbury's analysis does not address interhousehold patterns of property variation, nor is it particulary concerned with the differential incorporation of Anglo-American technologies by various elements of Cherokee society. He does raise an important point, in his assertion that the adoption of certain Western technologies did not necessarily require significant modifications of traditional Cherokee values and beliefs.

Other aspects of nineteenth century Cherokee material life have received far less attention than the real properties documented by the federal appraisals and the 1835 census. To date, no researcher has taken more than a fleeting excursion into the extensive, and daunting, Cherokee

spoliation claims. Instead, most of the objective or quantitatively based descriptions, discussions, and analyses of ninteenth century Cherokee material culture (other than real property) have considered archaeological data as their primary source. Archaeological interest in nineteenth century Cherokee life is first expressed in Caldwell's (1955) description of Cherokee ceramics from the Chattahoochee and Etowah river basins of northern Georgia. DeBaillou's (1955) excavations at the Cherokee capital of New Echota are scantily reported, and archaeological description of nineteenth century Cherokee material culture was not seriously undertaken until Baker's (1970) discussion of assemblages from the Hicks Cabin Site at New Echota. Although the site (which is associated with the wealthy Cherokee *métis*, Elijah Hicks) yielded an array of goods substantially like those of contemporary southern Anglo-American sites, Baker did not take the opportunity to examine Cherokee material acculturation, and focused instead on the associated native ceramics. His study is, however, a particularly important precedent for the present analysis, because Baker outlined the collateral methodology employed herein:

> ...by combining information contained in the pre-removal United States Government Property Evaluations of the Cherokee Nation, the census of the same concern, and map coverage of the Nation during this period, it should be possible to locate and [archaeologically] research documented homesteads of specific individuals who have been removed to Oklahoma (Baker 1970:127-128).

Other published accounts of nineteenth century Cherokee contexts and assemblages in northern Georgia include Garrow's (1979) discussion of the Coosawattee Cabin Site, and the Ledbetter, et al. (1987) report detailing the discovery and documentation of the Moses Downing Site and other components of Sixes Town. Garrow's study is important as the first discussion that relates variability among Cherokee archaeological assemblages to differences in socioeconomic status and level of acculturation of site occupants:

> The basic differences between the Historic Cabin and Boyd Farm Sites and the somewhat different Hicks Cabin and Lavender's Trading Post Sites appear to have been predicated more on differences of function and socioeconomic class than on broad chronological differences. This means that the conservative or less affluent Cherokee families probably retained their native ceramic traditions up to the time of the Removal in 1838, while members of the leading social and economic class emulated their white counterparts more closely in regards to material culture.
>
> Much more work needs to be done on the difference in the material culture by social and economic class among the Cherokees in nineteenth century Northwest Georgia... (Garrow 1979:18-19).

The Ledbetter, et al. (1987) study of Altoona Reservoir in northern Georgia is noteworthy for its application of Removal Period documents (i.e. federal property valuations; 1835 census; Georgia Land Lottery surveys) to the location, and in some cases, specific household identification of nineteenth century Cherokee residential sites. Recent work in the former Cherokee settlement of Hickory Log (Alvey, et al. 1993; Webb 1995) promises to significantly expand current understanding of nineteenth century Cherokee material lifeways in northern Georgia.

From the late 1960s through the 1980s, investigators from the Universtiy of Tennessee undertook extensive and sustained archaeological examinations of Overhill Cherokee material culture from contexts in the Tellico Reservoir area of eastern Tennessee (Baden 1983; Ford 1982; Gleeson 1970; Guthe and Bistline 1981; Polhemus 1987; Riggs 1987; Russ 1984; Russ and Chapman 1984; Salo 1969; Schroedl 1986b). Among the principal goals of these studies was definition of temporal patterning in Overhill Cherokee material culture and assessment of the temporally progressive effects of contact with Euro-Americans. Most of these studies focused on the extensive eighteenth century Cherokee archaeological record, but studies by Ford (1982) and Riggs (1987, 1989) specifically considered early nineteenth century contexts and assemblages.

Ford's (1982) study aimed to define three distinct material patterns: Federal Period (ca. 1794-1819) Cherokee, frontier settler, and U.S. government facilities, and sought to assess their significance to the process of Cherokee acculturation. He compared Cherokee assemblages from the Citico (40MR7), Chota (40MR2), and Starnes (40MR32) sites with contemporaneous Anglo-American settler assemblages from the Harrison Branch (40MR21), Hodge (40MR46), and McGhee Cabin (40MR30) sites and military installation assemblages from Tellico Blockhouse (40MR50) and Southwest Point (40RE119). As an initial step in this comparison, Ford constructed profiles of artifact functional group representation for each assemblage and derived Cherokee, frontier settler, and U.S. military material culture patterns by averaging the assemblage profiles that represented each affiliation. Ford compared the resultant overall material culture patterns through statistical tests of rank-order correlation in order to determine whether the material culture profiles of Cherokee, frontier settler, and U.S. military sites differ significantly. Results of these tests suggest overall similarities between material patterns of military and frontier settler occupations, general similarity between the Cherokee and frontier settler patterns, and overall distinctiveness of the Cherokee and military facility patterns. Ford interprets the similarity of the Cherokee and frontier settler patterns as indicative of Cherokee acculturation to Anglo-American models. He attributes the similarity of the frontier settler and military patterns to their relationship as subsets of Anglo-American culture.

Inasmuch as Ford focused on understanding material aspects of intersocietal contact, he did not address the emergent diversity within early nineteenth century Cherokee society. However, Ford's study stands as an important contribution to the quantification of nineteenth century Cherokee material culture, and is especially significant for its comparative approach in assessing the relationships among Cherokee society, frontier Anglo-American society, and the United States military and the material consequences of such cultural contacts.

Riggs' (1987, 1989) comparative analysis of nineteenth century Cherokee assemblages and contexts from the Citico (40MR7), Chota (40MR2), and Bell Rattle Cabin (40MR211) sites is

specifically directed toward discrimination of material evidence of socioeconomic diversity and differential acculturation, as manifested by interassemblage variability. Because qualitative accounts of early nineteenth century Cherokee material culture suggest a wide range of household variation from highly traditional patterns like those of eighteenth century antecedents to highly acculturated patterns resembling those of southern Anglo-American households, Riggs compared the early nineteenth century Cherokee assemblages with eighteenth century Cherokee feature assemblages from the Tomotley Site (40MR 5) and early nineteenth century Anglo-American farmstead assemblages from the Harrison Branch (40MR 21), Hodge (40MR 46), and McGhee Cabin (40MR 30) sites. By application of Kinteigh's diversity analysis, principal components analysis, Ward's cluster analysis, and canonical discriminant analysis, Riggs concluded that the Colonial era Tomotly assemblages are very homogeneous in composition, and, as expected, highly divergent from nineteenth century Anglo-American assemblages. By contrast, the nineteenth century Cherokee assemblages are quite heterogeneous in composition, with some closely approximating eighteenth century models, some resembling Anglo-American models, and others classifying between these two extremes. Riggs interpreted these results to represent the socioeconomic diversification and growing cultural disunity of nineteenth century Cherokee society.

Riggs' 1987 study was important in several respects. First, it established consideration of differential acculturation and socioeconomic inequity as productive avenues for interpretation of variability among nineteenth century Cherokee archaeological assemblages. Secondly, Riggs' study of the Bell Rattle Cabin Site and the Old Bark locality at Chota, like Baker's investigation of the Hicks Cabin Site, demonstrated that nineteenth century Cherokee archaeological assemblages and contexts can frequently be attributed to historical personae, and specific historical documentation may be brought to bear on their interpretation. Finally, Riggs concluded the 1987 study with a call for the more expansive and inclusive analysis undertaken in the present work:

> Hence, it is difficult to document the full range of variability which might be expected among Federal Period Cherokee archaeological assemblage. Fortunately, the extensive historic record of early nineteenth century Cherokee society provides data for the identification and location of household sites representative of the entire socioeconomic continuum from impoverished conservatives to the wealthiest Cherokee planters.... The 1835 Cherokee census, improvement and spoliation claims relating to the Cherokee removal..., and Army Corps of Engineers surveys of the Cherokee Nation... are a database which provide information necessary for locating many sites of identifiable post-Federal Period Cherokee households. Documentary evidence and archaeological assemblages recovered from these sites could afford a unique opportunity for conjunctive ethnohistoric and archaeological examination of the processes of differential acculturation, socioeconomic diversification, economic radiation, and the rapid emergence of capital economy and its effects on a traditional society (Riggs 1987:111-112).

Many of the previous historical, geographical, and archaeological treatments of nineteenth century Cherokee culture reviewed above provide important theoretical, methodological, and

substantive insights into the current study. However, the present study departs significantly from previous analyses in a number of respects. First, it does not presuppose nineteenth century Cherokee society as a single, unified cultural entity in transition, but rather as a multiethnic, multicultural population aggregate engaged in constant and dynamic cultural negotiation and struggle within the bounds of a shared territory and political system. In contrast to the numerous narrative-based historical treatments of nineteenth century Cherokee society, this study focuses on material culture as the primary "text" for investigation of Cherokee cultural diversity. Unlike previous approaches to nineteenth century Cherokee material life, this study undertakes multilinear examination of historically defined households as the basic units of analysis. This emphasis on household level analysis is predicated upon the obvious role of the household as the primary unit of production and reproduction in Cherokee society. As the basic environment for cultural transmission and change, it is within the household that decisions about traditionalism and acculturation were made and implemented (Mithun 1983). This household level approach is facilitated by the unique, collateral nature of Removal Period documents and their specific relationship to the archaeological records of particular households.

Paradigmatic Perspective: Ethnicity, Ideology, and Material Culture

Throughout the remainder of this study, I employ the terms ethnicity and ideology as concepts that help to frame inquiries into the structure of variation in Cherokee material culture and that aid in the interpetation of such structure. The following discussion provides operational definitions for these terms as used in this study and as applicable to nineteenth century Cherokee society.

Like its nineteenth century antecedent, contemporary Cherokee society encompasses substantial biological, cultural, linguistic, and ideological diversity. This diversity spans a continuum from the most traditionally oriented fullblood individuals who speak Cherokee habitually and preferentially, to individuals who are phenotypically, culturally, and linguistically indistinguishable from their Anglo-American neighbors. Researchers who have observed and described this continuum (e.g. Gulick 1960; Holtzinger 1961; Kupferer 1966;Thomas 1958a) posit several gradations in degrees of Westernization and traditionalism, but note that the Cherokees themselves tend to dichotomize tribal members as either "real" Indians (i.e. more traditionally oriented individuals) or "white" Indians (i.e. highly Westernized individuals of Cherokee descent). These emically defined divisions correspond to large-scale communities of association and interest that periodically constitute opposing factions in acrimonious debates over identity and entitlement, political action, and inequitable distribution of tribal resources (see Jordan 1975; Neeley 1991; Wahrhaftig and Lukens-Wahrhaftig 1979). Jordan (1975) views such dichotomous factionalization as a predictable consequence of acculturation in a corporate society:

> In a corporate society undergoing acculturation... social pressures on individuals restrict directions of adaptation, so there will be fewer options for "deviant" or individualistic adaptive solutions. The range of allowable behavior in a [traditional] Cherokee community is slight, certain leveling mechanisms exist to equalize the wealth, and sanctions exist whereby individuals can be vigorously exhorted to come back into the fold.... Those who highly value the Cherokee communal social and economic life will conform. Those who do not will leave... There is only one way at a time to find peace and prosperity in this world ....
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> Given the minimization of individual gradation of acculturation in corporate societies, any push for change which threatens to alter vital relationships inside and outside of the community will produce factionalism which will affect every member of the community....(Jordan 1975:375).
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> Factions in Cherokee communities have usually been confined to two--one always more adherent to native culture than the other, no matter how slight the difference. Relative to the Cherokee case Thomas pointed out: "Fullblood Cherokee culture is highly organized and does not allow for much difference of opinion as does American culture. There is no channeling of factionalism. When the break does come there is no reconciliation and no common ground for the factions to meet on. There is no other course to take but for one faction to go one way and the other faction another way (Thomas 1954:102)" (Jordan 1975:374-375).

In a recently published study of cultural persistence among the Snowbird Cherokees of Graham County, North Carolina, Neeley (1976, 1991) has convincingly argued that the "real" (or "fullblood") Indian and "white" Indian communities constitute two competing ethnic groups subsumed within federally recognized tribal entities. Although this distinction is implicit in earlier studies, Neeley's invocation of the ethnicity concept is important because it promotes the application of a well-developed body of ethnicity theory to interpretation of cultural differentiation among the Cherokees. Particularly important to the current study is Neely's contention that these modern Cherokee ethnic factions have considerable historical depth, and were operative within North Carolina during the pre-removal era:

> The factionalism that exists today between real Indians and white Indians can be traced back to the nineteenth century when these factions then had a geographical correspondence; most white Indians lived to the south in the hill country while most fullbloods lived to the north in the mountains. The racial terms, fullblood and white Indian, also carried cultural connotations in that the term fullblood represented cultural traditionalism while white Indian was associated with acculturation, Fullbloods, or conservatives, rarely came into contact with white traders, missionaries, and educators while white Indians, or progressives, often did, and white Indians frequently had whites as kinsmen by blood or by marriage.
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> In North Carolina it is possible to draw a line separating pre-removal northern Cherokee conservatives from southern Cherokee progressives. Such a boundary can be established at the Snowbird Mountains (Neely 1991:17).

Neeley's study suggests that differential acculturation within nineteenth century Cherokee society led to societal dichotomization, the formation of discrete ethnic groups (ethnogenesis), and the construction and long-term maintenance of ethnic boundaries. This interpretation of differential acculturation as a prime factor in modern Cherokee ethnogenesis is a point of departure for the current study. The ethnicity concept provides an operational framework within which Cherokee cultural diversity may be viewed as a function of competition and conflict over resources and political power between distinct groups within a single polity. Within such a

framework, the respective ethnic groups and their constituent members are seen as engaged in dynamic negotiations of identity and boundary demarcation. This obviates interpretation of traditionalism as static or acculturation as progressive. Aspects of ethnic identity, such as group ideology and material culture, can be articulated as coherent bodies of information that are consciously maintained or actively manipulated to enhance group identity or achieve group and individual goals. This perspective accords material culture a central, active role in both the cultural content of Cherokee ethnic groups and boundary demarcation between such groups.

In his signal essay on ethnic groups and boundaries, Barth (1969) provides theoretical and operational definitions of ethnicity that promote the interpretation of Cherokee social, cultural, and economic variation as structured (rather than stochastic) phenomena. Barth minimally defines an ethnic group as an organizational entity which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth 1969:10-11).

The current study evaluates the efficacy of the second criterion, the sharing of "fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms" as a principle that structures Cherokee material culture variation along ethnic lines. The other three criteria are briefly examined to appraise the general applicability of an ethnic model to Cherokee cultural diversity in southwestern North Carolina.

Barth contends that these four criteria, although universally applicable to ethnic groups, are inadequate to distinguish ethnicity as a distinctive form of social organization. More important to Barth, Spicer (1971), and others, are the contrastive or oppositional dimensions of ethnicity, whereby ethnic groups arise and are perpetuated in either competitive or complementary interdependent relationships with other ethnic groups. It is the form and content of the contrasts, the ways in which ethnic groups distinguish and demarcate themselves from other groups to perpetuate group identity and maintain prescribed intragroup relationships, that are of primary importance in understanding ethnicity. Barth notes:

> ...When [the ethnic group is] defined as an ascriptive and exclusive group, the nature of continuity of ethnic units becomes clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary... the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content (Barth 1969:14).

The forms and content of such ethnic identity and boundary maintenence behaviors are multifarious and complex, but often include material differentiae of the types considered in this study:

> It is important to recognize that although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of

> 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant. Not only do ecologic variations mark and exaggerate differences; some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied. The cultural contents of ethnic dichotomies would seem analytically to be of two orders: (i) overt signals or signs - the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form, or general style of life, and (ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged (Barth 1969:14).

The present study is primarily concerned with variability in Cherokee material culture as constituting the visible content of a nascent ethnic dichotomy between more traditionally oriented segments of Cherokee society (primarily Cherokee fullbloods) and more Westernized Cherokee citizens (primarily Anglo-Cherokee *métis*). The structure of such material variation is rendered more coherent and interpretable by consideration of the contrasting value orientations and world views of the most traditional and most acculturated individuals in nineteenth century Cherokee society. Thomas (1957) and others (e.g. Gulick 1960, Kupferer 1966, Neeley 1991), assert that the "real" Indian (traditionalists) and "white" Indian (Westernized) factions in contemporary Cherokee society are differentiated by the simultaneous operation of two, markedly different value orientations: the Cherokee Harmony Ethic and the Western Protestant Ethic. These two value orientations, or ideologies, may be defined as integrated, socially maintained systems of beliefs and values that structure social and economic behaviors on a daily basis. Ideological systems are not abstract philosophies, but rather constitute unifying codes applied in practice. Ideological systems supply blueprints for behavior, delineating appropriate from inappropriate actions for their adherents. These codes provide their practitioners with culturally based justifications for their behaviors and constitute frameworks for the judgement or evaluation of the behaviors of others. Such behavioral codes serve to reduce ambiguity and alleviate anxiety within a society. This does not imply that ideology is causative or even explanatory of cultural behaviors; it is simply the emic justification for cultural norms.

The most culturally conservative Cherokees are guided by tenets of the traditonal Cherokee Harmony Ethic, which Thomas, himself a Western Cherokee, describes in the following terms:

> The Cherokee tries to maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships with his fellow Cherokee by avoiding giving offense, on the negative side, and by giving of himself to his fellow Cherokee in regard to his time and his material goods, on the positive side (Thomas 1958a:1).
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> ...This system gives very little tangible reward to the individual for being a "good Cherokee." Harmonious relations are the norm-- the minimum-- rather than some goal to be reached. And violations of this ethic are punished by ... sanctions which, though diffuse, are severe to one raised to be sensitive to others. To achieve rewards in this system one must be a "super Cherokee" in all of these respects-- almost an unobtainable goal for the average human being. And the rewards are once again very diffuse-- being held in esteem by other Cherokees (Thomas 1958a:5).

Thomas (1957) evaluates Spindler and Spindler's (1957) study of American Indian personality traits in relation to conservative Cherokee behavior and the Harmony Ethic and finds these specific points of agreement:

1. Non-demonstrative emotionality--control of interpersonal aggression in the in-group...
2. A pattern of generosity that varies greatly in the extent to which it is a formalized social device without emotional depth.

   ....generosity is highly valued by Cherokees...Cherokees give of themselves to other Cherokees--either time or material goods. If another Cherokee comes to see you and you are working, you stop working and give of yourself to him. Harmonious relationships are much more important than any reward or achievement for yourself.... This also applies to people in need. Even if they [other Cherokees] make no explicit demands on you, the very fact that they are in need and that you have more than they do obligates you to help them. Everyone is the same size economically in this tribal society. Not to respond to another's needs would, in a sense, be giving offense. This is particularly true of food. The sharing of food has great symbolic value in Cherokee society, and there is a special Cherokee word which means stingy with food apart from another word which means stingy in other respects (Thomas 1958a:7)....
3. Autonomy of the individual, linked with low socio-political dominance-submission hierarchies.
   ...any authority given to one individual to wield over another is immoral according to Cherokee standards. This would be real interference and "giving offense." In the old aboriginal structures and institutions lack of hierarchy is apparent...
6. A generalized view of the world as dangerous, and particularly a fear of witchcraft.
   I think a generalized view of the world as dangerous is another outgrowth of the core of the value system...Fear of witchcraft acts to keep relations smooth and to punish offenders...
8. Attention to the concrete realities of the present...in contrast to abstract integration in terms of long-range goals.
   ...It is pretty hard to think in terms of long range if one has to focus on immediate interpersonal relations. The Cherokee is so busy *being* (being a good Cherokee) that he doesn't have time to *become* in the sense that whites are striving toward a long-range goal and always *becoming* in the process, but never reaching the end of becoming...
9. A dependence upon supernatural power outside one's self power that determines one's fate...

Thomas views the Harmony Ethic as embedded in a traditional world view that incorporates the following perspectives:

> ...the conservative Cherokee sees himself as a special kind of human being...ordained to be different and separate from the beginning of the world to the end of time... To the conservative Cherokee a Cherokee or an "Indian" (Yunwiya) is one who had at least one parent who was a functioning member of conservative society and who is himself a functioning member of that society. By a "functioning member of that society," I mean one who interacted with other conservative Cherokees, is a real part of the community, and who is linguistically and culturally a Cherokee....
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> ...The white, to the conservative, is a great "bugaboo."... He is "smart" but his behavior is seen as erratic and unpredictable....Whites may even be superior in intelligence and general competence to the Cherokee but they are morally inferior to the Cherokee...
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> ...To the conservatives, ... too much departure from the Cherokee ethic is seen as becoming "crooked." The white man is by nature "crooked" and so if one becomes like a white, one becomes "crooked." Older conservatives say, "Education just makes crooks out of the Indian. They are not for the people, just out for themselves."...The conservative does want to be "like whites," i.e. "civilized;" but he ...does not want to *be* a white man.
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> ...the Cherokee world is an ordered system. The system has parts and there are reciprocal obligations between the parts. Cherokees are a "part" and have these kinds of obligations. They have an obligation to maintain harmonious interpersonal relations and if this is done, the system

> works and everyone has the good life or, just another way, the supernatural is obliged to do its part... If the Cherokee lives up to the Cherokee value system...then order is restored and the "good life," which is the norm in Cherokee eyes, accrues...(Thomas 1958a:18-21).

Implicit in Thomas' essay is the idea that conservative Cherokees view themselves relative to the corporate group, rather than in individualistic or egoistic terms. This corporate group is defined and organized in terms of kinship (rather than voluntaristic association) and extends outward in a clinal nexus that encompasses both real and putative kin relations. Jordan (1975) sees this corporate perspective as the essence of the traditional Harmony Ethic, and notes that the specific components of the Harmony Ethic function to maintain the community as a corporate entity (rather than promoting the success or well being of the individual). According to Jordan (1975:16), this "closed, corporate community", with its elaborate network of reciprocal obligations, serves "to equalize the life chances and life risks of its members (Wolf 1957:241)". Thomas indicates that this corporate mentality functions as a "social security system."

Thomas (1958) and others (e.g. Gulick 1960, Kupferer 1966, Jordan 1975, Neely 1990) view the Harmony Ethic as a distinctively aboriginal value system with great historical depth among the Cherokee people, and which presumably derives from Cherokee ideologies of the precontact and early contact eras. It is the value system of a closed corporate society that coevolved with village-based horticulturalism throughout the Mississippian period. Prior to the nineteenth century the Harmony Ethic (or a closely comparable system) was the singular and unifying value orientation of the Cherokee people. This ethic, which guided the fullblood Cherokee majority in the pre-removal era, reinforced the corporate nature of traditional Cherokee society and promoted maintenence of social and economic equity in what Jordan (1975) has termed "the rewards of shared poverty." The inherent insularity of the Cherokee world view inhibited the pace and extent of acculturation to Western models, and directed Cherokee culture change to primarily technological realms.

The Harmony Ethic's emphasis on communalism and collectivism contrasts sharply with the individualistic orientation of the dominant Anglo-American value system adopted by a prominent minority of Cherokees during the early nineteenth century as a result of their acculturation, as well as or enculturation by a white parent (usually the father). Weber views this core Western ideology as a direct outgrowth of the related Protestant Ethic and "spirit of capitalism" concepts which arose during the Reformation era:

> ... For Puritanism, that conduct was a certain methodical, rational way of life...proving oneself before God...proving oneself before man...they helped to deliver the spirit of modern capitalism; its specific ethos: the ethos of the modern bourgeois middle class (Weber 1958:320-321).

The Protestant Ethic is based upon the Calvinist doctrines of election and predestination, which place the individual, without intercession, into direct relationships with God, the universe,

the concrete world at large, and other individuals. Individuals play out their eternal election in worldly arenas by the exercise of ascetic callings to achieve mastery of social, economic, and physical environments to the greater glory of God. The secular manifestation of this Calvinist outlook is the "spirit of capitalism," an ethical individualism which, according to Poggi:

> ...enjoins upon the entrepreneur seeking continuously to increase his capital... a strenuous effort to master and rationalise reality, to innovate...fervent effort to make a difference to reality around which the spirit of capitalism centres its design of a morally worthy existence (Poggi 1983:60-61).

Poggi (1983) lists a series of characteristics of this "spirit of capitalism" and its prescribed behaviors that may be clearly counterposed to the Harmony Ethic:

> The first and possibly most vital feature of the spirit of capitalism is that it invested economising itself with high moral significance.... the spirit of capitalism enjoins the entrepreneur to consider his economic activity as a calling (1983: 40-41).
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> ...The spirit of capitalism (as, indeed the nature of modern capitalism itself) clearly establishes the increase of capital as this ultimate point of reference... its point is to attribute moral significance to entrepreneurial activity, not simply to supply a set of pragmatic rules for the pursuit of an utterly utilitarian end... The spirit of capitalism is intended to lend meaning to the existence of those committed to it (Poggi 1983:46).
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> ...Rationality is enjoined upon him in contrast with traditionalism, with the slavish or unreflected adherence to past practices and arrangements... The attachment of money-values to all his assets...allows him to employ the most pliable and sophisticated aid to rational choice, mathematical calculation. Arbitrium, tradition, emotionality- all alternatives to rationality are expunged from the range of consideration motivating and guiding the entrepreneur's conduct...(1983:45).
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> ...since...the spirit of capitalism centres the entrepeneur's whole existence around his business, unavoidably his attitude toward time comes to shape also his attitude toward other human beings...The entrepreneur's involvements with other human beings must be kept from interfering with the requirements of capital's realisation and expansion, and to that end must be made shallower, more specialised, less durable, more open to change than they might otherwise be... his activity is obviously and primarily intended to benefit him, possibly (or unavoidably?) at other people's expense... (1983:44).
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> ...the entrepreneur is unmistakably oriented toward the future, as is shown negatively by his abstention from present consumption and ostentation and by the willingness to ignore and violate tradition...(1983:43).

Weber sees the progressive secularization and generalization of these principles resulting in the modern (post-medieval) world view and practical ideology of Western society. By the late eighteenth century, the Protestant Ethic had been translated through the European intellectual philosophies of the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment and gradually vernacularized to produce the widespread secular ideals that guided most Anglo-Americans. As detailed by Shumate (1992) this so-called Georgian world view was based on the following tenets: "1) science as a means of perception; 2) secularism as a new point of departure; 3) progress as a new goal; 4) individualism as an economic strategy; and 5) capitalism as the engine of this new world order" (Shumate 1992:72). This world view emphasized the natural rights and responsibilities of the individual, promoted an empirical view of the natural world coupled with material

rationalism, and fostered the belief that material improvement and an increase in property were destinies to which all humans should strive. Orderliness, control, and structure were prescribed for every aspect of the human endeavor and pervaded every material aesthetic in the symmetrical forms we now associate with the "Georgian" style. The value system prevalent in early nineteenth century Anglo-America enjoined economic self-reliance, long-term personal goal orientation (a *becoming* focus), and an emphasis on economic goals with positive social sanctions for the acquisition of personal property and the accumulation of wealth. Central to this ethic were positive attitudes regarding "progress" and "improvement" as defined by economic expansion, technological innovation, and formal education (directed toward economically productive outlets). Geographer Daniel Adams observed in 1820 that "A desire of gain is the ruling passion of the people of the United States... A spirit of enterprise, and a boldness in the execution of their designs are also remarkable characteristics of the people..." (Adams 1820:102). The nineteenth century secular manifestation of the Protestant Ethic defined continuous work, whether in terms of actual labor or the application of capital, as honorable and morally correct; the material evidence of such work (i.e. wealth) was laudable. By extension, overt consumerism (directed in aesthetically "correct" channels) advertised not only financial and personal success, but also the individual's understanding of the ethic and "civilization." Conversely, indolence and nonproductivity are viewed as reprehensible, and poverty is regarded as the acceptable penalty for sloth and ignorance. In contrast to the Harmony Ethic, the Western value orientation encouraged interpersonal competition and self-assertiveness, and even sanctioned some forms of open conflict in the pursuit of individual goals.

In the predominantly rural context of the young American republic, this world view and ethic gave rise to a form of market-oriented agrarianism, which, while not fully capitalistic in its labor configurations, was intimately connected with larger capitalist systems (Kulikoff 1992). Household scale "yeoman" agrarian producers were touted by Thomas Jefferson and many of his idealist contemporaries as the backbone of the new nation and as the embodiment of the pastoral progressivism of America. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, U.S. government agents and Protestant missionaries attempted to "civilize" the Cherokees and other native groups with this agrarian model of household self-sufficiency and prosperity attained through "scientific" agriculture, cottage industries, and female domesticity.

Interjection of Western value orientations into Cherokee society began as early as the mid-eighteenth century with the the progressive incorporation (by intermarriage) of Anglo-Americans (primarily traders) and the subsequent Western enculturation of their Anglo-Cherokee offspring. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ranks of these intermarried whites and Anglo-Cherokee *métis* had swelled to a significant, Western-oriented minority (~15%) of Cherokee

society. Further Westernization of Cherokee society occurred with the directed acculturation of Cherokee children and adults through the "civilization" programs of the federal government and Protestant missionaries and through more passive, informal channels of cultural exchange.

It was the Anglo-Cherokee *métis,* individuals who spoke English preferentially and who were culturally oriented toward Anglo-American society at large, who were greatest exemplars of the Protestant Capitalist Ethic in pre-Removal Cherokee society. By 1830, these Anglo-Cherokee *métis* formed an endogamous petty bourgeoisie who controlled the majority of material wealth in the Cherokee Nation and who dominated Cherokee politics. Their rise to prominence within Cherokee society took place during the post-Revolutionary War phase of tribal disorientation, when the *métis* emerged as mediators and leaders in formal political exchanges with Anglo-Americans and as brokers in economic interactions. The *métis*, with business acumen learned from Anglo-American fathers and grandfathers, led the economic revitalization of the Cherokee Nation and served as models for the agrarian reorganization of the Cherokee people.

Many of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* reaped substantial personal profits from sales of livestock and agricultural crops to American markets, as well as through mercantilism and capital investment. The economic success of the *métis* class was based largely upon their embracement of agrarian capitalism, coupled with their practically unrestricted access to the corporate resources of the Cherokee Nation. However, such success did not meet universal approbation within Cherokee society. To many of the more traditionally oriented Cherokees, the disproportionate privatization of corporate property by the *métis* signaled a diminution of the common good, which upset the balance of the Cherokee world. Traditionalists resented such concentration of personal wealth and the *métis*' conspicuous display of the Anglo-American lifestyle as flagrant rejections of the traditional world order that threatened not only the continuance of traditional lifeways but also the very survival of the Cherokee cosmos.

It is the emergence of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* as a distinct social and cultural minority that gave rise to ethnic polarity within nineteenth century Cherokee society. Although many *métis* exhibited marked affinity for Anglo-American values and lifestyles, they were barred from entry and acceptance into white society by racial prejudice. Despite such rejection, the Western enculcated *métis* viewed Anglo-American "civilization" as the correct template for behavior, and assembled their lifestyles in microscopic replication of southern Anglo-American society. The *métis* consciously distinguished themselves in social, cultural, and linguistic terms from traditionalist fullblood Cherokees, whom southern Anglo-Americans reviled as "savages" inferior to their own black slaves. At the same time, Anglo-Cherokees perceived themselves as models promoting the Western "civilization" of all Cherokees and as leaders in an inexorable (and laudable) shift from traditional to Western modes. Through their exclusion from Anglo-American

society, and by their conscious distancing from traditional Cherokee society, the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* came to constitute a new ethnic identity. This *métis* identity was projected to both Cherokee and Anglo-American audiences.

The counterposition of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* against traditional values and lifeways almost certainly heightened identity consciousness among conservative Cherokees. While the Cherokees had long regarded Anglo-Americans in oppositional terms, the great social, cultural, and physical distance between these groups obviated additional boundary demarcation. Traditional Cherokee cultural identity was more clearly challenged by the Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, who held kinship status in Cherokee society and who occupied much the same territory as traditionalist Cherokees. The *métis* internalized the clash of Western and Cherokee cultures, and brought Western cultural modes into the daily experience of many Cherokees. As Anglo-Cherokee *métis* came to dominate the Cherokee national political arena, they enacted Western-style legal codes that severely impinged on traditional law and practices. Their most damning offense was the seeming complicity of many *métis* in the American government's attempts to obtain Cherokee territory. Discontent over the growing dominance of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* sharpened the traditionalists' image of themselves as a distinct group under cultural siege. This discontent erupted in the form of nativistic revitalization movements in 1811-1812 and again in 1828 in movements whose rhetoric hinted the eradication of the Westernized *métis* class. Most of the time, however, Cherokee traditonalists chose to assert and affirm their status as the "real" Indians by participation in distinctively native behaviors, such as traditional all-night dances, ceremonies, healing rituals, and ball games, to accentuate their native identity. In many instances, traditionally oriented Cherokees segregated themselves from whites and Westernized Cherokees by settling in remote and isolated areas of the Cherokee Nation. Identity consciousness on the part of traditionalists also heightened their awareness of the significance of daily social and economic behaviors, and canalized certain choices to produce results contrastive with the Westernized *métis*. As will be argued in the remainder of this study, such identity consciousness weighed heavily upon decisions about material culture, consumption patterns, and the construction of material identities for Cherokee traditionalists, Westernized Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, and all those along the continuum that spanned this dichotomy.

How, then, does material culture, the subject matter of this study, relate to ethnicity and ideology? Material culture may be defined as any concrete entity or configuration of objects that have been produced, modified, or assembled by human agency. This corresponds with the archaeological concept of "artifact," but also comprises cultural transformations of the natural landscape, modifications of the human body (e.g. piercing, tattooing, hair arrangement), domesticated plants and animals, abstract capital assets, even human beings objectified as chattel

wealth under systems of bondage. Deetz elegantly summarizes material culture as "culture writ large" and characterizes the inclusiveness of material culture as "that segment of man's physical environment which is purposely shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans" (Deetz 1977:24). In this study, the term material culture signifies all real and chattel property documented in the historical record, as well as archaeological evidence of such property represented by artifact assemblages and facilities.

Material culture is properly viewed as an integral and interdependent component of the cultural whole and most formulations regarding material culture note its linkage to social and ideological beliefs and actions. Hodder (1985) expresses this relationship:

> Material culture patterning evokes and forms values and expectations. It is through the arrangement of the material world-the association of forms and uses- that the social world is produced and reproduced. Material culture provides the environment within which individuals find their places and learn the places of others, their goals and expectations. Yet it also produces new situations and is, with language and gesture, the medium through which individuals achieve their ends (Hodder 1985:5).

Material culture can, and often does, constitute information systems (see Wobst 1977) that connote group identity and boundaries, wealth, power, prestige, domination, and subordination. Material culture is particularly noted for its reflexive qualities, that is, its connotative and denotative roles in projecting or implementing the beliefs and values of particular ideological systems. While material culture can function in such information exchange in abstract symbolic or iconographic modes, Hodder (1989) suggests that material culture more frequently conveys information through the daily contexts of use:

> ... material culture often is not a good mechanism for expressing complex and clear messages... On the other hand, material culture often has obvious functional significance. It is these contexts of use, rather than abstract communication codes, which inform its meanings most immediately (Hodder 1989: 260).

Leone (1992) and others have argued for consideration of the recursive properties of material culture as well. This view contends that material culture not only reflects cultural meaning, but that the production and use of material culture generates cultural meaning. Thus, material culture is both produced by and productive of culture at large. Far from being a pale image of cultural reality, material culture *is* culture in the concrete.

As suggested by Barth (1969), Spicer (1971), Wobst (1977), and others, material culture can be considered as the physical, highly visible medium for the constitution and expression of ethnic identity. Material culture can function to symbolize or signal identity in an overt, conscious, denotative fashion, as is frequently the case with stylistic elaboration (see Weissner 1989). Or, as Hodder suggests, the communication may be more diffuse, unconscious, and passive in the "contexts of use." Pyszczyk (1989) addresses the relationship between ethnic identity and material culture in a study of differential commercial consumption between European ethnic groups in Western Canada:

> ...differences in ethnic identity exist in the formal variation of utilitarian and nonutilitarian goods; and ...differences in ethnic consumption behavior can be investigated with both proportional frequency measures as well as with artifact diversity measures, Apparently ethnicity does not reside in only one class of material objects.... and most ethnic groups do not differ in only one set of behaviors, beliefs, or values. Because ethnic identity may reside in the entire range of material culture, it seems justifiable to measure the degree of difference between two or more ethnic groups with entire archaeological assemblages. In historical archaeology, this method resembles South's (1977) approach of searching for general large-scale artifact patterning associated with different cultural groups or regions, However, it differs in that the amount of variability in material use is also measured within the ethnic groups- in other words, the household becomes the primary analytical unit to measure consumption variability both within and between ethnic groups .
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> ...This is ethnicity. It is a view of culture where the variability related to the material culture record is a consequence of that distinctiveness in views and behavior within and between cultural groups. The variability found within the same cultural group is often the mechanism by which different members adapt to and participate in their surroundings. It too produces assemblage variability between different sites of the same cultural groups (Pyszczyk 1989:244-245).

Assuming the perspective that material culture can form both content and expression of ethnicity and ideology, in what ways can we expect differential acculturation and the presumed ethnic differentiation of nineteenth century Cherokee society to be reflected in material dimensions? First, the traditional Cherokee Harmony Ethic and the Western Protestant Ethic enjoin radically different attitudes toward the production, accumulation, and consumption of material wealth. Cherokees acculturated or enculcated with elements of the Protestant Ethic assumed a strong orientation toward wealth production and personal or household-level accumulation of wealth (including capital assets). Differing degrees of success in such pursuits produced broadly varying amounts of personal or household wealth, but in general, it can be predicted that the wealthholding of Westernized individuals and families was substantially greater than among more traditionally oriented Cherokees who were not specifically oriented toward the production and increase of personal wealth. For this latter group of Cherokees who embraced the Harmony Ethic, wealth production was limited by an institutionalized pattern of hospitality and generosity that functioned to level wealth and, as Thomas (1958a:7) observes, keep everyone "the same size economically." Thus the contrasting attitudes of the Harmony Ethic and the Protestant Ethic toward wealth production and accumulation can be expected to have produced a two (or more) tiered economic structure with a relatively homogeneous majority who constituted the lower economic tier, and a relatively heterogeneous minority which produced and accumulated relatively greater amounts of wealth. Among the primary goals of this study are to ascertain whether a tiered model of Cherokee economic structure existed and to determine the overall scale and amount of variability within this structure by measuring differential wealth among Cherokees who varied in terms of acculturational status. In this study, wealth is measured as the monetary value of personal possessions and real property, and subsumes capital resources, noncapital resources, and means of production.

Ethnic differentiation between more traditionally oriented Cherokees and more Westernized Cherokees almost certainly produced marked variations in material life as individuals and groups negotiated the content and boundaries of group identity. Identity consciousness probably produced contrastive configurations in some, but not all, aspects of material life. By the 1830s, all Cherokees had adopted Western technologies and economic strategies to a substantial degree, and most derived a large proportion of their material repertoires from commercial sources. As a result, the material lifeways of all Cherokees were substantially Westernized in character. Still, awareness of ethnic identity probably governed particular consumer choices to produce distinctive patterning in material inventories. More Western oriented Cherokees presumably purchased or manufactured the necessary clothing and household furnishings to present "civilized" and "modern" images by Anglo-American standards. Store accounts from the study area indicate purchases of fine hats, striped pantaloons, dress coats, patent shoes, suspenders, and neckties by *métis* patrons (Hunter 1836-1838). Other records indicate that *métis* in the Valley and Ridge Province of eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia indulged in expensive luxuries such as rosewood pianofortes, silverware, Brussels carpets, fine carriages, and books to demonstrate their refinement and worldliness. Such Westernized Cherokees abandoned or de-emphasized their use of native technologies to distance themselves from any "savage" or "pagan" associations. In contrast, traditionally oriented Cherokees retained certain native technologies for technofunctional and economic reasons and as a means to project and reinforce their identities both within and outside the home environment. The most traditionally oriented Cherokees wore leggings and moccasins, pounded hominy in wooden mortars, fermented corn soup in native made earthenwares, hunted birds with cane blowguns, and smoked handcarved stone tobacco pipes. Contemporary accounts also indicate that traditionalist Cherokees used or modified a wide range of commercial goods in distinctively native or non-Western configurations to achieve identity definition and demarcation. They transformed silk shawls into turbans, wooden kegs into dance drums, and straight pins into conjurers' *kanuga*. Other manufactured goods, such as firearms, hoes, axes, and metal cooking vessels may have been considered entirely traditional in character, because such items had been integrated into native contexts of meaning and use over the previous three or four generations of trade with Europeans.

The more Western oriented *métis* sought to, as Featherstonaugh noted "conform... in every thing to the custom of the whites" in emulation of the material success, political power, and "moral imperative" wielded by Anglo-Americans. Conversely, the most traditionally oriented fullbloods strove to "cling to their old customs as much as possible" (Evans 1977) and distance themselves in behavior and material life from Anglo-Americans, whom they feared and reviled.

Definition of the specific patterns of material variation produced by these contrastive attitudes is one of the central goals of this study.

Summary

During the early nineteenth century, Cherokee Indian society of the southeastern United States developed a high degree of socioeconomic and cultural heterogeneity as a consequence of rapid, yet differential acculturation of Anglo-American values, economic modes, and material culture. The resulting cultural disunity spawned a high level of intrasocietal tension, which was eventually manifest in a polarization of Cherokee ethnic identities. While highly Westernized Cherokees, primarily Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, sought to rebuild Cherokee society in a southern Anglo-American image, the most traditionally oriented Cherokees (primarily fullbloods) struggled to preserve the distinctively native identity of Cherokee society. Contemporary accounts by Anglo-American and Anglo-Cherokee observers framed these distinctions in terms of wealthy "half-breed" and impoverished "fullblood" factions distinguished by language use, civic and religious participation, political involvement, land use practices, housing, dress, and other aspects of material culture. Although all Cherokee people have, more or less, continuously acculturated to Anglo-American modes since that time, the ethnic dichotomy of "real" Indians and "white" Indians has been perpetuated to the present day, and now constitutes a major axis of competition and conflict in modern Cherokee society.

The narrative historical record suggests that, by 1830, practically every aspect of Cherokee life was charged with awareness of cultural affinity and identity consciousness, and the debate over assimilation and tradition was joined in both material and nonmaterial arenas. Unfortunately, such narrative accounts are usually anecdotal in nature, and do not allow detailed analysis of these phenomena. However, extensive quantitative documentary records of Cherokee material culture generated relative to the New Echota Treaty of 1835, together with the archaeological records of Cherokee households from this same period, provide an excellent basis for the exploration of differential acculturation and ethnic identity formation at the household level.

The study presented herein undertakes conjunctive analysis and interpretation of these records of material culture for Cherokee households located in southwestern North Carolina. These analyses seek to determine the scale and structure of material variation among Cherokee households and to assess these patterns of interhousehold variation for evidence of differential acculturation and ethnic identity demarcation. This approach is unique inasmuch as it addresses Cherokee acculturation at the household level from an expressly material perspective on a regional scale. By using multiple lines of evidence, this study achieves a synoptic description and interpretation of variation and pattern in nineteenth century Cherokee material life. This is the first study of its type to integrate archaeological and historical data at the household level in an

effort to define socioeconomic and cultural variation among southeastern Native American households. In addition, this is the first study to focus on the pre-removal Cherokee occupants of North Carolina, who are described in contemporary accounts as the most conservative element of Cherokee society. As will be seen, however, there existed appreciable cultural and ethnic diversity even in this "wildest part of the Nation" before their forced removal and deportation over the infamous "Trail of Tears."

Chapter 2
Study Context

This chapter defines and describes the temporal and geographic contexts of this study, and identifies the size and distribution of the human population considered herein. In addition, a description of the regional natural environment is provided and a general cultural historical context for the study is established.

Study Period

This study considers the three years (1835–1838) prior to and including the military deportation of the majority of the Cherokee people from the eastern United States in 1838. This span, hereafter termed the Removal Period, was an extremely stressful episode for the Cherokees, not only because of their impending dispossession and deportation, but also due to recurrent famine, epidemic disease, political turmoil, and unrelenting encroachment and persecution by Anglo-Americans (McLoughlin 1990; Thornton 1984). As used within this study, the Removal Period is an historical unit eqivalent to the Spanish Exploration (1540–1669), British Contact (ca. 1670–1745), Colonial (1746–1776), Revolutionary (1776–1794) and Federal (1794–1819) periods defined by Ford (1982), Newman (1977), Riggs (1987, 1989), Russ (1984), and Schroedl (1986a, 1986b, 1989) for the analysis of Overhill Cherokee culture contact and change. Each of these periods may be characterized as a distinct phase of contact and cultural exchange between Cherokee society and European or Euro-American societies. The general historical background presented below also introduces the term Nationalist Period (1820–1835) to designate an era of political and economic florescence during which the Cherokee Nation successfully repelled concerted American attempts to secure a Cherokee land exchange and removal.

The limited timespan considered in this study provides an essentially synchronic view of the material life of Cherokee households, yet the heterogeneity in material culture monitored by this analysis is primarily attributable to the differential effects of acculturation and wealth accumulation, processes which are optimally viewed in diachronic perspective. The synchronic approach applied here is predicated on the analysis of a uniquely rich and detailed body of collateral documents generated relative to the brief historical episode that culminated in the removal of 1838. Unfortunately, no closely comparable records exist for the periods preceding 1835 or postdating 1838, and the level of detail pursued in the present study cannot be sustained in diachronic perspective for the Cherokee case, although, in some instances, particular families can be traced in longer historical view.

Study Area

The study area (Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) is defined as the northeastern corner of the former Cherokee Nation located within the modern limits of North Carolina at the time of the Treaty of

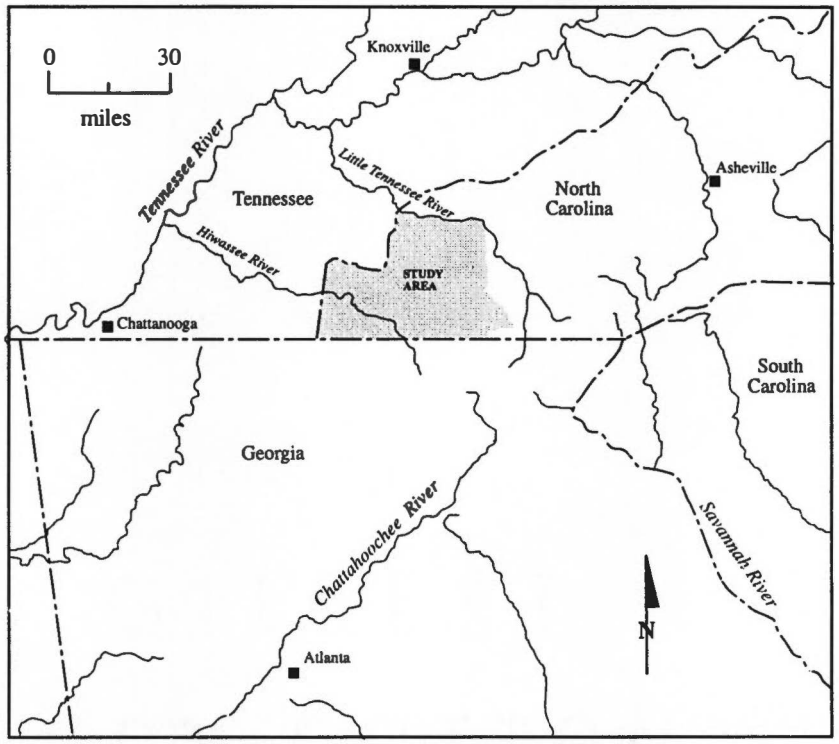


Figure 2.1. Location of the study area.

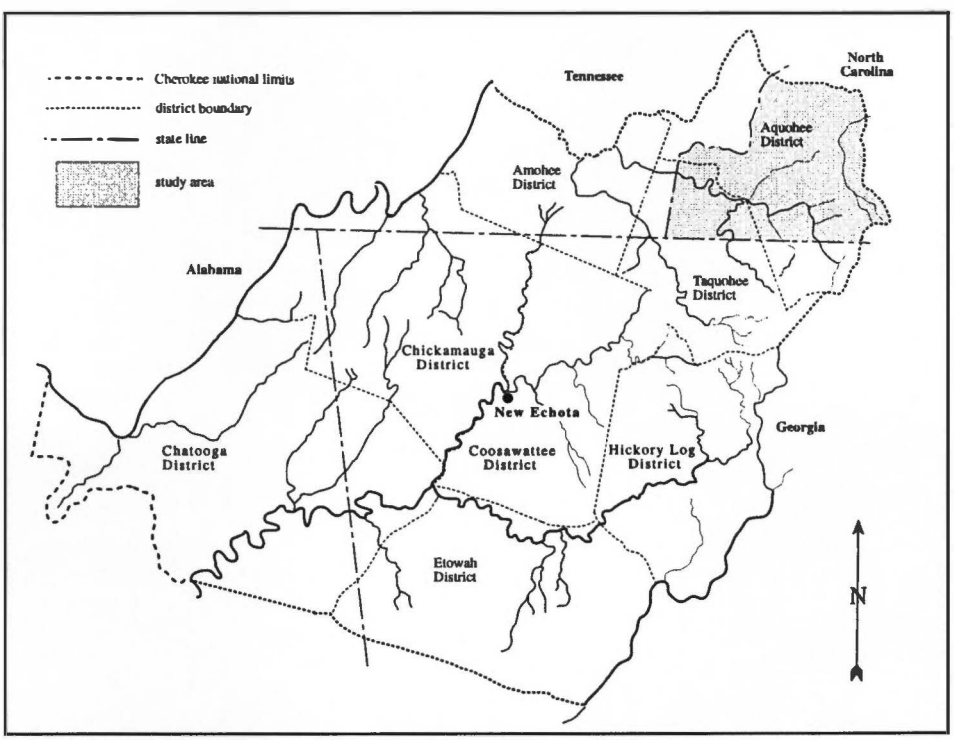


Figure 2.2. The Cherokee Nation, ca. 1820-1835.

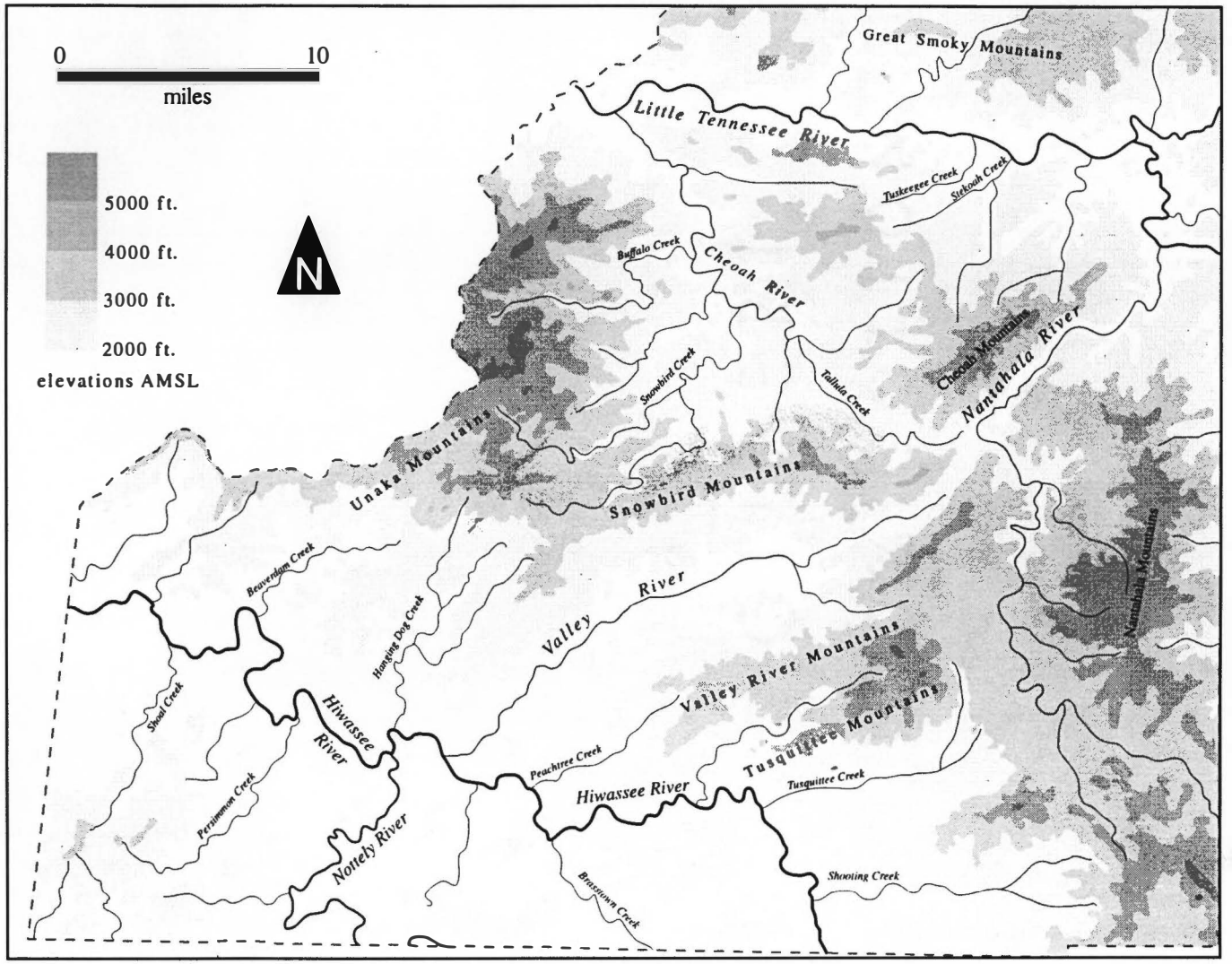


Figure 2.3. Major physiographic features of southwestern North Carolina.

New Echota (Dec. 29, 1835). This area comprises that portion of southwestern North Carolina lying west of the crestline of the Nantahala Mountains and south of the Little Tennessee River, including all of modern-day Cherokee, Clay and Graham counties, as well as the westernmost portions of Macon and Swain counties. These lands, ceded by a minority council of Cherokees in the controversial Treaty of New Echota, comprise approximately 1,112 square miles or 711,680 acres (Pomeroy and Yoho 1964) in the extreme southwestern corner of North Carolina.

The northern and eastern boundaries of this area were defined as the Cherokee national limits by territorial cessions contained in the Calhoun Treaty of 1819 (Finger 1984; Riggs 1988; Royce 1887); these boundaries formed the frontier of the Cherokee Nation and the state of North Carolina. These boundaries served not only as political divisions, but also as cultural frontiers, which separated Cherokees from Anglo-Americans in the Little Tennessee River Valley. The states of Tennessee and Georgia form the western and southern boundaries of the study area. Although these state lines were arbitrary Anglo-American political boundaries imposed upon sovereign Cherokee territory in 1828 and 1833, the North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee boundaries bore contemporary cultural and political significance for the Cherokee people. The state of Georgia extended its jurisdiction over Cherokee lands within its modern boundaries in 1828, and sold Cherokee lands in a state lottery in 1830 (Mooney 1975). Cherokee national sovereignty and personal rights were largely disregarded by Georgia and its citizens, and thousands of Cherokees in Georgia were forcibly dispossessed or harassed by Anglo-American vigilantes. Large numbers of Georgia Cherokees sought refuge in the project area in the early 1830s, and the North Carolina–Georgia line came to demarcate safe areas from high-risk areas. Tennessee followed Georgia's example in 1833, and asserted its jurisdiction over Cherokee lands in southeastern Tennessee as a prelude to Indian removal. However, persecution of the Cherokees in Tennessee appears to have been far less extreme than in Georgia, and many Cherokees from northwestern Georgia found temporary havens in southeastern Tennessee (White 1973).

The project area encompasses the former Valley Towns, an eighteenth century Cherokee geographic and sociopolitical division equivalent to the Lower Towns of South Carolina, the Middle Towns of North Carolina, and the Overhill Towns of Tennessee (Figure 2.4). After *circa* 1790, the Cherokee settlements in the study area were also known as part of the Upper Towns, distinguished from the new Lower Towns of southeastern Tennessee, northwestern Georgia and northeastern Alabama. After 1820, the project area was subsumed within the Aquohee and Tahquohee Districts (Figure 2.2), judicial and administrative divisions within the Cherokee Nation established with the formal organization of the national government (Cherokee Nation 1852).

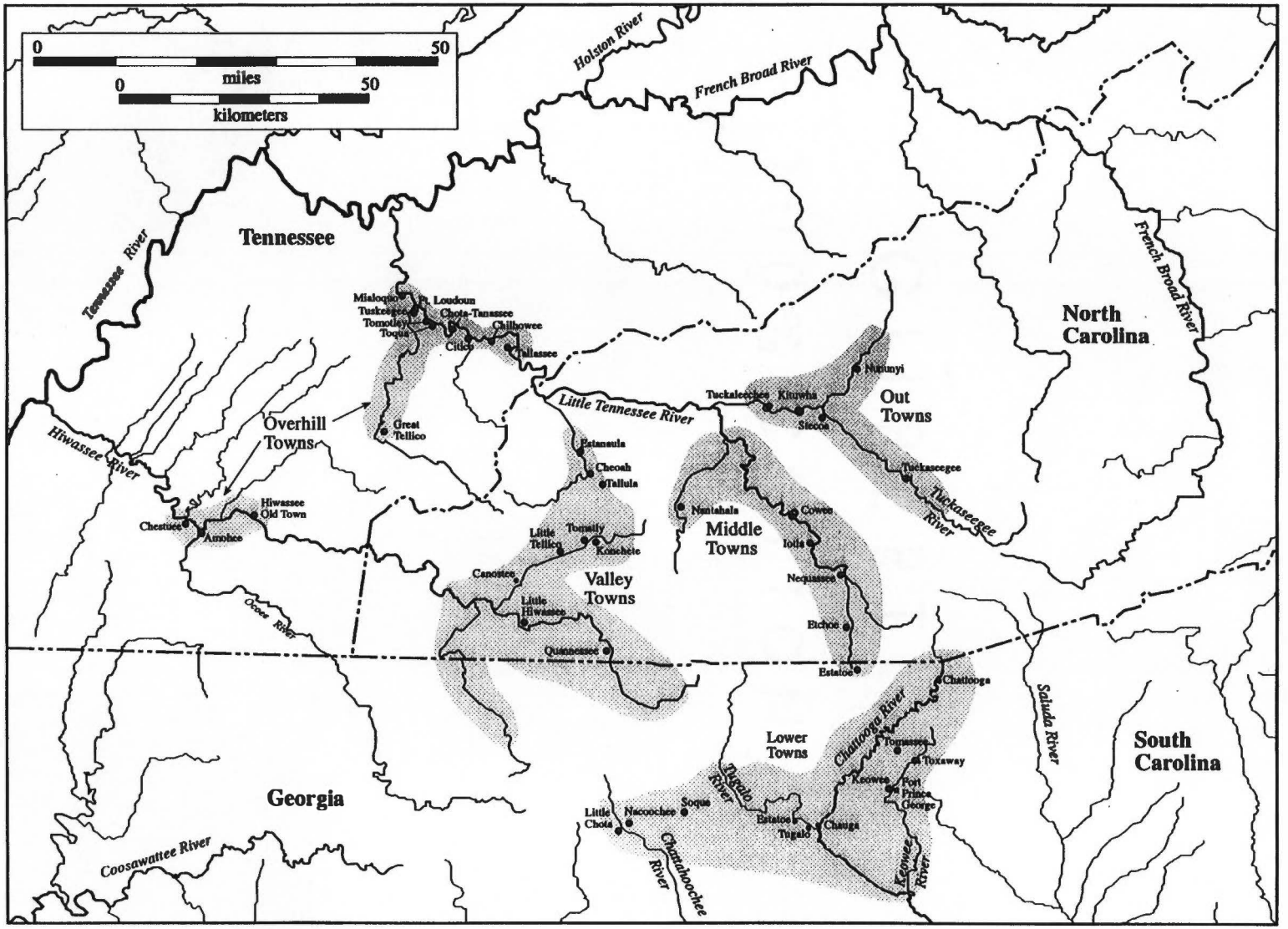


Figure 2.4. Mid-eighteenth century Cherokee settlement areas and key towns.

According to the federal enumeration of Cherokee households conducted in 1835 (United States War Department 1835), the North Carolina portion of the Cherokee Nation (exclusive of the Oconolufty or Soco Cherokees) consisted of 3404 individuals who constituted 607 households (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 for details). The 1836-1837 valuations of Cherokee properties (Welch and Jarrett 1837) suggest the presence of an additional 38 Cherokee households within this area (see Chapter 4 and Appendix 2). The 1835 census, the 1836-1837 property valuations, and the 1837-1838 Army surveys indicate that these households comprised a minimum of 22 discrete communities distributed through the major river and creek valleys of the region (Figure 2.5).Various other records indicate that substantial numbers of Anglo-Americans, free African Americans and Catawba, Creek and Natchez Indians also resided within the southern portion of the study area during the 1830s.

By all accounts, the North Carolina portion of the Cherokee Nation comprised the most culturally conservative and traditionally oriented elements of nineteenth century Cherokee society (Finger 1984; McLoughlin and Conser 1977; Neeley 1991). Davis (1808) viewed the Valley Cherokees as "at least twenty years behind the rest of the nation," while Norton (Klinck and Talman 1970:146) observed that they were "not so generally advanced in civilization and industry ... [as] those who inhabit the banks of the Tennessee." The Baptist missionary Evan B. Jones termed southwestern North Carolina "the darkest part of the Nation"; Evans (1979:10) called it "a part of the nation least influenced by civilization." These narratives suggest that an analysis of North Carolina Cherokee households would be strongly biased toward representation of more traditionally oriented families and might not reflect the types of socioeconomic and cultural variability that characterized the Cherokee Nation at large. However, the 1835 census and 1836-1837 property valuations indicate a substantial, if minority, presence of more Westernized Anglo-Cherokee *métis* in the southern half of the study area. Inclusion of these households in the study contributes sufficient variation for an assessment of the effects of differential acculturation and ethnicity on material culture composition, although the extreme upper range of socioeconomic variation (the Cherokee "elite" defined by McLoughlin and Conser [1977]) is not represented in the North Carolina sample. The predominance of fullblood Cherokee households in the study sample provides a basis for exploration of material culture variation within the traditionalist stratum of Cherokee society and for definition of the material parameters of traditionalism against which other samples can be measured.

Environmental Setting

The study area is situated within the Blue Ridge Physiographic Province (Fenneman 1938), a zone characterized by mountainous topography (Figure 2.3). This area includes the Nantahala, Tusquittee, Valley River, Snowbird, Cheoah and Unaka Mountain ranges. The Great Smoky

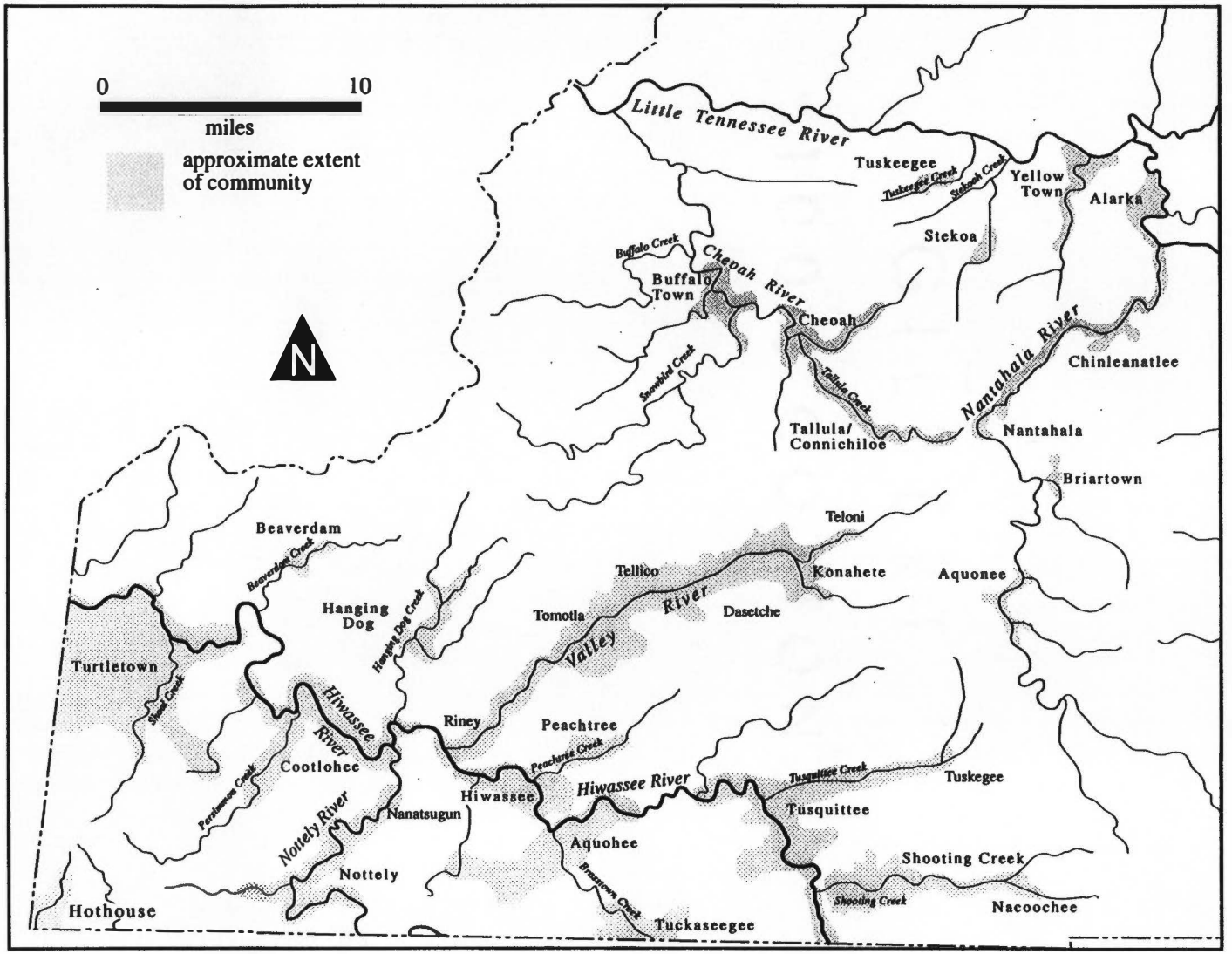


Figure 2.5. Cherokee communities in southwestern North Carolina (1835–1838).

Mountains border the area on the north. Elevations within the study area range from 1168 feet (356 m) AMSL along the Hiwassee River at the Tennessee state line to 5429 feet (1655m) AMSL on Hooper's Bald. The topography of the area is generally rugged and highly dissected, and more than 85% of the study area exhibits slopes greater than 20°. The high degree of topographic relief across the project area strongly conditions the distribution of natural resources exploited by the Cherokee inhabitants of the region. Although landforms in the area exhibit over 4000 feet of relief, Removal Period Cherokee residences and agricultural improvements appear to have been restricted to the zone below 2800 ft AMSL. Cherokee residential occupation within the study area was particularly concentrated within the large basin areas around present-day Murphy, Hayesville and Andrews and in the Cheoah River Valley around present-day Robbinsville.

The study area is drained by the upper Hiwassee and upper Little Tennessee river watersheds (Figure 2.3). The Hiwassee River and its major affluents, the Valley and Nottely rivers, are located in the southern half of the project area, and include a total drainage area of approximately 1000 square miles with an average total discharge between 1500 and 2400 cubic feet per second (Johnson and Mann 1938). The Hiwassee River is also fed by a number of major creeks within the Murphy–Hayesville Basin, including Shooting Creek, Tusquittee Creek, Brasstown Creek, Peachtree Creek, Hanging Dog Creek, Persimmon Creek, Beaverdam Creek, and Shoal Creek. The Hiwassee River and its major tributaries in the study area are now regulated or affected by three Tennessee Valley Authority impoundments: Lake Chatuge, Hiwassee Lake and Appalachia Lake.

The northern portion of the project area is bounded by the Little Tennessee River and includes the Little Tennessee River and its tributaries, the Nantahala and Cheoah rivers, and Stecoah and Tuskeegee creeks. The Cheoah River is fed by Tallulah, Snowbird, Santeetlah, Yellow, Buffalo, and East Buffalo creeks. Within the Little Tennessee system, the Little Tennessee River and the Nantahala River are currently regulated by TVA's Fontana Dam, and the Nantahala is impounded at Aquone by Nantahala Power & Light Company's Nantahala Lake. The Cheoah River is regulated by Santeetlah Lake.

Much of the bedrock geology of the study area is attributable to the Upper Precambrian Great Smoky formation (Hatcher and Goldberg 1991), a metasedimentary group which dominates the southern terminus of the Appalachian chain. However, the study area is also distinguished by the Murphy Syncline (Fritz and La Tour 1988; Power and Forrest 1973; Thomas and Hatcher 1988), an early to middle Paleozoic calcareous formation overlying the Great Smoky Group within the Murphy Basin. The Murphy Syncline, with its constituent Murphy Belt materials (including Murphy Marble), extends from Hewitt, North Carolina, southwestward into Georgia.

The eighteenth century Cherokee Valley settlements and the densest concentrations of Removal Period Cherokee settlement are coextensive with the basins formed within this geologic feature.

Soils within the project area are typically highly acidic shallow sandy loams overlying clay or clay loam subsoils (Perkins and Gettys 1951). Steeper slopes have extensively eroded as a result of timbering and other land clearing activities in the last 150 years. Colluvium from such erosion has collected along the juncture of upland areas and flatter stream valleys. Increased runoff resulting from land clearing has led to frequent and intense flooding in the study area and there has been considerable accumulation of modern alluvium on the lowest terraces of local stream valleys.

The Hiwassee and Valley river valleys exhibit well-developed terrace systems. Older, higher terraces are generally composed of cobbly or stony clay loams. Second and third terrace formations, with relatively deep, well developed sandy loams and silt loam soils, appear to have been favored for agricultural use by the Cherokees in the Removal Period. Many of the locations of Cherokee fields depicted by 1837–1838 Army reconnaissance sketchmaps (United States Army 1837-1838) or listed in the 1836–1837 Property Valuations (Welch and Jarrett 1837) correspond with occurrences of Chewacla Tate silt loam, Congaree silt loam, and State silt loam (Perkins and Gettys 1951). It should be noted that these soil associations constitute less than three percent of the total study area. Cherokee houses were most frequently situated on colluvial fans or benches adjacent to their agricultural plots on the second and third terraces. These locations frequently correspond with occurrences of Hiwassee loam, Masada clay loam, and Tate silt loam soils (Perkins and Gettys 1951).

The climate of the region is mild and humid, yet is subject to substantial variation due to elevational differences (Carney, et al. 1963; Perkins and Getty 1951). At elevations within the zone of Cherokee occupation (below 2800 feet AMSL), the average annual precipitation is approximately 60 inches, and primarily occurs in the form of rain. Highest yearly rainfall typically occurs in January; lowest levels rainfall occur in October. Average annual temperature in the project area is 57.3°F., ranging between an average January temperature of 41.8° to an average July temperature of 72°F. The growing period within and immediately adjacent to the project area averages 195 frost-free days between April 25 and October 19. Higher elevations surrounding the project area tend to receive greater annual precipitation (>65 inches) and exhibit lower seasonal temperatures.

The flora and fauna of the study area are typical of the Southern Appalachian region, which lies within the Carolinian Biotic Province (Dice 1943). Vegetation of this region, including the project area, is generally characterized by variations of the oak-chestnut deciduous forest (Braun 1950); localized distribution of species and communities are determined by factors of elevation,

slope, aspect and soils. Because the study area exhibits an elevation differential of 4260 feet, topographic relief is the most significant factor affecting vegetation, and plant communities are distributed in broad zones from mountain summits to valley floors.

The highest elevations (4500- 5429 feet AMSL) are dominated by treeless grassy balds or heath balds; the spruce-fir communities found in the Great Smoky Mountains are virtually absent from the study area (Braun 1950). The origins and antiquity of the bald communities is uncertain (Stratton and White 1982), yet contemporary surveys indicate their presence in the area during the Removal Period (Williams 1838a). Although limited in distribution and extent, mountain summit balds areas may have been economically significant to the pre-Removal Cherokee occupants of the study area. Grassy balds, along with adjacent "grassy orchards" probably provided summer forage for Indian livestock. In addition, heath balds provide localized concentrations of edible berries suitable for human and animal consumption. The grasses, herbs and berries of the balds also attract large game animals important to native subsistence. According to Mooney (1900), however, Cherokees in the nineteenth century regarded balds as spiritually charged areas, and were circumspect about venturing into these microhabitats.

In many areas, the oak-chestnut community is immediately adjacent to bald communities, or grades into balds via "grassy orchards,", open forests with grassy undergrowth. In some situations, however, communities of "northern" hardwoods, such as beech, birch and maple, occupy higher elevations. Lower (sloping) elevations in mesic situations are dominated by oak-chestnut forests with an ericaceous understory (Braun 1950). A wide variety of oaks are present in the oak-chestnut forest. Red oaks and chestnut oaks are typical at higher elevations; white oak is more characteristic of lower elevations. Chestnuts (*Castanea dentata*), once a substantial component (30-95%) of the oak-chestnut forests, were almost completely eradicated by Eurasian chestnut blight during the first third of the twentieth century (Buttrick 1925). Chestnut trees provided a number of important resources to Cherokee and later Anglo-American inhabitants of the project area, including nuts for human and livestock consumption, tanbark, and rot-resistant lumber. Chestnuts, which are now virtually absent in the Southern Appalachians, should be regarded as one of the central resources of the Cherokee economy at the time of the Removal.

Drier slopes and low elevation hills in the study area typically are covered with oak-pine forests, consisting primarily of red oaks, post oaks and blackjack oaks with shortleaf pine, Virginia pine and pitch pine. Pines are dominant in many situations, and white pines occur in more mesic settings. The similarity of these oak-pine communities to those of the Piedmont Physiographic Region was noted by Army surveyors in 1838, who observed that western Cherokee County, from Shoal Creek to Turtletown. "resembles... the vicinity of the pine barrens of S. Carolina- slightly undulating & pine being the principal growth" (United States Army 1837-

38). These oak-pine forests, which were often located in close proximity to areas of Cherokee occupation, were important sources of fuel and architectural material for the pre-Removal Cherokee population of the region.

Coves, ravines and other mesic settings in the study area exhibit a mixed mesophytic vegetation, including beech, white ash, sweet buckeye, and tulip poplar (Braun 1950). The mixed mesophytic or cove hardwood communities provided many of the woods, bark, and herbs needed for Cherokee crafts, architecture, and medicine. Tulip poplars were especially important as the primary source of timber for cribbed log cabins and dugout canoes and for large sheets of bark used in many constructions.

River and creek margins display riparian species such as yellow birch, alders, sycamore, and water maple. Canebrakes may once have dominated riverbottoms in the area, but land clearing, burning and grazing have reduced rivercane to small patches. Rivercane was particularly important to the early nineteenth century Cherokee economy as the primary raw material for basket weaving and for winter forage for Cherokee cattle.

Although timbering and land clearing activities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have substantially modified the local environment, Braun's (1950) descriptions of the modern forest in the region appear to be applicable to the study area prior to Anglo-American settlement. Capt. W.G. Williams described similar vegetation in the project area in 1838:

> ...The country is however so generally open that little is to be apprehended on the fear of ambush or surprise on any of the trails hitherto mentioned, if ordinary precautions are taken. Laurel thickets and coppice woods occasionally skirt or cross the trails we have indicated but generally of such small extent and so sparse as to be easily scoured by an advanced guard.
>
> The mountains are generally clothed with woods for their summits, with but a few exceptions, called bald mountains, but the vallies having been subjected to cultivation, by the Indians from time immemorial, are almost entirely devoid of timber, and where not actually tilled are partially overgrown with oak coppice. The banks of streams, especially where they take their sources in the mountains, frequently have a skirting of laurel, which in some instances spread out into extensive thickets. The forests are generally very open, that is, the trees are wide apart, and the fires which the Indians continually make to burn the undergrowth or brush, in order to facilitate hunting, remove the obstructions which it could otherwise present to a free passage in all directions. The varieties of trees are those common to the Alleghanies, among which the many kinds of oak predominate. Hickory, walnut, chestnut and gums are common. The pine and hemlock take possession of the more barren rocky and precipitous activities (Williams 1838a).

A diverse fauna was present in the study area during the Removal Period. Mammalian species important to Cherokee subsistence included deer, black bear, raccoon, groundhog, opossum, red, gray and fox squirrels, and cottontail rabbits . Eastern bison and elk were apparently extirpated from the area during the eighteenth century. Wolves and cougars now absent from the area, were present during the study period. Sale or barter of pelts taken from a variety of mammalian species provided income for Cherokees in the project area. During the

eighteenth century, the Valley Cherokees participated in the deerskin economy, providing deerhides for leather to itinerant British traders in exchange for manufactured goods (Reid 1976). The deerhide trade collapsed during the late eighteenth century, and Cherokee hunters and trappers shifted their focus to furbearers. The importance of the fur trade to the Cherokee economy rapidly diminished as regional game populations declined and expanding Anglo-American settlements cut off access to western hunting grounds. As the Cherokee John Ridge indicated in 1826, "Skins were formerly sold in respectable quantities, but that kind of trade is fast declining and becomes less reputable" (Sturtevant 1981:82). However, contemporary store accounts indicate that area Cherokees continued to trade raccoon, fox, muskrat and otter skins, and peak sales of powder, lead, blankets, and stirrups in November suggest that Cherokees made extended winter hunts (Hunter 1836-1838).

Avian fauna were also important to Cherokee subsistence in the region. Turkey was the most economically significant species, followed by bobwhite quail, ruffed grouse, the now extinct passenger pigeon, and a variety of small passerines. Because the project area does not intersect any major flyways, wild waterfowl did not frequent the area in large numbers prior to the major river impoundments.

Fish found in area streams were a significant component of Cherokee diet at the time of the Removal. Waters above 3000 ft AMSL provided a suitable habitat for native brook trout. Area rivers and larger creeks at lower elevations abounded with largemouth and smallmouth bass, channel catfish, a wide assortment of sunfish and several species of redhorse. Archaeological evidence from historic Cherokee contexts indicates that redhorse was the most extensively utilized variety of fish (Bogan, et al. 1986; Riggs 1987), most likely due to their relative abundance and ease of capture during spring spawning.

In sum, the natural environment of the project area may be characterized as highly diverse, with variation strongly conditioned by elevation and underlying geology. This diverse environment afforded the Removal Period occupants of the area a wide array of natural resources and supported a relatively dense Cherokee population despite the general scarcity of arable land in the study area.

Culture Historical Overview

Prehistoric Background

The Removal Period was the practical culmination of, perhaps, a millennium of Cherokee dominance in southwestern North Carolina, yet it is difficult to conclusively document the origins of this occupation. Although the Cherokees are an Iroquoian speaking group linguistically related to northern Iroquois, they appear to have been separate from northern parent groups for several millennia (Lounsbury 1961), and the Cherokee cultural pattern is patently Southeastern in

character. Archaeological evidence of the historic Cherokee occupation of southwestern North Carolina has been characterized as the Qualla phase (Egloff 1967; Keel 1976), an archaeological construct with a temporal span from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century. Dickens (1976, 1978, 1979, 1986) and others derive the Qualla phase from the antecedent Pisgah phase (ca. A.D. 1100-1450), a Mississippian manifestation in the Appalachian Summit region. This derivation is based primarily on similarities between Pisgah and Qualla ceramic technology and styles, particularly in the shared prevalence of grit tempering, stamped surface treatments and elaborate rim decorations. However, the equivalency of the prehistoric Pisgah archaeological phase with the Cherokee ethnic and linguistic group must be regarded as tentative. The derivation of the Pisgah phase is even more problematic. Keel (1976) and Dickens (1976) have made a case for the *in situ* development of the Pisgah phase from the Middle Woodland Connestee phase and earlier antecedents. This argument entails a direct, linear evolution of Cherokee culture in western North Carolina for at least 2000 years. Alternatively, Moore (1986) suggests that the apparently rapid appearance and development of the Pisgah phase may represent, in part or whole, the migration of new (presumably Cherokee) populations into the southern Appalachian region.

Because Pisgah phase sites are poorly documented in extreme southwestern North Carolina, it is difficult to attribute Qualla phase manifestations in the study area to *in situ* development from Pisgah phase antecedents. Instead, evidence from the Peachtree Site (Setzler and Jennings 1941) and from a recent survey of Hiwassee Lake (Riggs and Kimball, in prep.) indicates that the Qualla phase in the study area was the culmination of a Napier–Woodstock–Etowah–Wilbanks–Savannah–Lamar developmental trajectory, similar to the cultural historical sequence documented for northern Georgia (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Wauchope 1966; Wynn 1990). Thus, historic Cherokee *archaeological* culture in the study area can be viewed as the product of *in situ* lineal development with strong associations to the south rather than with the more northerly Pisgah phase. However, because material culture and ethnicity can operate as independent phenomena, establishment of a direct correspondence of the late prehistoric archaeological cultures of southwestern North Carolina with the historic Cherokee ethnic group remains problematic.

Spanish Contact Period (1540-1669)

The earliest historic records of the southern Appalachian region do little to clarify the origins of the Cherokees or their location in the sixteenth century. References to Cherokee place names in the chronicles of the sixteenth century Spanish entradas are unfortunately ambiguous and cannot be conclusively located on the modern landscape. Swanton (1939) asserted that the DeSoto entrada passed through the upper Hiwassee River region in crossing the Southern Appalachians. Swanton equates the Peachtree Site (Cherokee: *Ayuwhasi*; English: Hiwassee Town) with

DeSoto's *Guasili*, and notes that the occupants of *Guasili* were most likely Cherokee speakers. More recently, Hudson (1990) and other researchers (Beck 1997; Hudson et al. 1984; Smith 1987) have argued for a more northerly route for the DeSoto and Pardo entradas, which bypasses the Valley Towns region and places *Guasili* in the Asheville Basin. Various reconstructions of these entrada routes have generated considerable discussion and controversy, but offer scant promise of resolution.

Other lines of evidence, albeit tenuous, suggest early Spanish contact with native peoples in and around the project area. George Featherstonaugh, a British traveler who visited the Valley River region in 1835, encountered evidence of mining operations, which he attributed to sixteenth century Spaniards on the basis of the following oral tradition:

> ...an aged Cherokee female who had always lived in Valley River...told ... that she had heard from her grandfather that his father...said there was a tradition amongst the Cherokees in his time that these diggings were made by a few strangers who came into the country they did not know where from, with yellow countenances and of short stature. That they behaved very civilly, and after staying awhile and travelling about the country, they went away and returned with eight or ten more, and resumed their diggings. After remaining some time, they again left the district and returned a second time with about sixty of their companions, bringing presents with them of cloth, silk, yellow money, and other things, and began to establish themselves in the country by building huts.... The Cherokees, perceiving they always returned with increased numbers, held a council, and deeming it unsafe to have so many strangers in their country, surprised and massacred them all (Featherstonaugh 1847:288-289).

Mooney (1900) notes a similar tradition of a Cherokee attack on a Spanish expedition surrounding the place name *Askwandigugunyi* [English translation: "where the Spaniard is in the water"] on Soco Creek, in Jackson County, north of the project area. A boulder located on Hooper's Bald, on the western edge of the project area, bears the patinated inscription *PREDARMES CASADA A.D. 1617*, possibly a contraction of the Spanish phrase *Presidio de armes de Casada* (Jefferson Chapman, personal communication 1990). This inscription, if genuine, may be a boundary marker establishing a property claim or jurisdiction by a Spanish individual named Casada, a rare Castilian surname.

Regardless of DeSoto route reconstructions, vague oral traditions and enigmatic inscriptions, it is noteworthy that several large archaeological sites in the area, particularly Peachtree, have produced DeSoto era and later sixteenth century and seventeenth century Spanish artifacts in association with early Qualla phase materials (Bass 1985; Setzler and Jennings 1941; Skowronek 1991; Waselkov 1989). These large, late Mississippian and protohistoric Qualla phase sites indicate a high population density along the Valley, Hiwassee and Nottely rivers during the sixteenth century (Moore 1990a, 1990b) when Spanish explorers sought out native population centers. Whether these early Qualla phase settlements were consolidated as a multitown polity within a large chiefdom, or were simply loosely associated as autonomous villages, is unclear.

The distribution of protohistoric period occupation in the study area exhibits a mixed pattern of nucleated towns, diffuse villages, hamlets, and farmsteads which presages the eighteenth century Valley Town Cherokee settlement pattern. The ethnic affiliations of the late prehistoric and protohistoric populations of the project area have not been definitively demonstrated, yet current evidence indicates that these groups were directly ancestral to the Valley Cherokees of the eighteenth century.

The long-term effects of direct or indirect Spanish contact with native peoples in the project area are unclear. The few European manufactured goods traded or brought into the interior in the sixteenth century probably had little effect on native technologies, although such trade goods may have altered the values and meanings of native sumptuary goods. More importantly, the European and African diseases introduced into the interior by the Spanish decimated native populations throughout the Southeast during the sixteenth century (Dobyns 1983; Ramenofsky 1987). While the effects of Old World diseases on the inhabitants of the upper Hiwassee and Little Tennessee drainages are not specifically documented, it is doubtful that people in the Valley Towns region wholly escaped the pandemics that ravaged other Southeastern groups. It is likely that episodes of massive depopulation posited for the southern Appalachian region would have resulted in the collapse of hierarchical chiefdoms and the emergence of the egalitarian village societies which are documented in the region during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Schroedl 1986a; Smith 1987).

British Contact and Colonial Periods (ca. 1670-1775)

Cherokee populations in the southern Appalachian region were not conclusively documented in the historic record until sustained contact with British colonials was established during the late seventeenth century. At this time, the Cherokees were a large, diverse ethnic group settled in nuclear towns, diffuse villages, hamlets, and scattered farmsteads on the headwaters of the Savannah, Chattahoochee and Flint rivers and along the length of the Hiwassee and Little Tennessee rivers. Other settlements may have been located along the Watauga and Little rivers in Tennessee, in the Pigeon River basin in North Carolina and in the upper Broad River drainage of South Carolina. The Cherokees practiced a basic Mississippian subsistence pattern, with intensive maize-beans-squash horticulture heavily supplemented by hunting and gathering. Kinship was the primary mechanism structuring Cherokee social organization and in historic times Cherokee society was segmented into seven exogamous, matrilineal clans (Gearing 1962; Gilbert 1943; Mooney 1900). Sociopolitical organization centered at the level of autonomous towns, which were rather loosely associated at the regional and tribal levels. However, multitown alliances were common, and the multitown settlement divisions (i.e. Lower, Middle, Valley and Overhill towns) often functioned as discrete units in diplomacy with other native groups or with Europeans

(Corkran 1962). The relationship of the early historic Cherokee sociopolitical pattern to that of the preceding late Mississippian and protohistoric patterns is unclear, but early accounts (e.g. Long 1725) hint at vestiges of more highly structured, hierarchical systems surviving into the eighteenth century.

Although the Valley Cherokees had sporadically received European manufactured goods as early as the mid-sixteenth century, their direct contact with Europeans was minimal until the end of the seventeenth century, when British traders from Charleston, South Carolina, began to make inroads into the southeastern interior. British explorers probably traversed the Valley Towns region as early as 1685, and Charleston traders took up residence among the Valley Cherokees by 1715 (Crane 1929; Mooney 1975; Rothrock 1929). Resident and itinerant traders offered the Cherokees a wide array of British manufactured goods, including cloth, clothing, steel tools, firearms and ammunition, brass kettles, glass beads and liquor in return for deerhides, furs, herbs and Indian slaves (Reid 1976; Rothrock 1929). These manufactured goods revolutionized Cherokee agriculture, hunting and warfare, and the Cherokees rapidly became dependent upon trade for their essential technologies. The Cherokees' dependence on British technology was the primary determinant of their political and economic alliance with the British over the next 90 years.

The Valley Towns occupied a strategic position astride the main traders' path from Charleston to the Overhill Towns of east Tennessee and the Chickasaw settlements of west Tennessee. During the early eighteenth century, the Lower and Valley towns dominated the British trade among the Cherokees (McDowell 1955). Throughout the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Valley towns of Quonushee and Hiwassee were the focus of British colonial attentions in the study area. By 1740, however, the Valley settlements were eclipsed politically and economically by the Overhill Towns, settlements which served to buffer the British seaboard colonies from French expansion in the Mississippi Valley. The Overhills occupied the Cherokee western frontier, and came to dominate the rich hunting grounds of the Nashville Basin and the Bluegrass region of Kentucky.

While contact with the British brought the advantages of trade and technological innovations, this contact also exacted a toll on the Cherokees. Smallpox brought into the interior from the British coastal settlements decimated the Cherokees in 1738–1739 (Adair 1930; Wood 1989); some accounts indicate that half of the Cherokee population perished in this single epidemic. Such catastrophic depopulation led to overall contraction of Cherokee settlement areas, with retrenchment from peripheral settlements on the Hiwassee and Little rivers in Tennessee, the upper Chattahoochee in Georgia and the Tugalo River in South Carolina. Many smaller settlements collapsed due to depopulation, and their remnants were absorbed by larger towns,

eliminating an entire level of community from Cherokee settlement systems (Schroedl and Riggs 1989).

Alliance with the English entangled the Cherokees in conflicts with other native groups who opposed British hegemony. The Cherokees first aided the English colonials in the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), then halfheartedly joined the British in the Yamassee War of 1715–1716 (Corkran 1962). Through their coalition with the English, the Cherokees selectively pursued wars against traditional enemies allied with the French of Canada and the Mississippi Valley. Because they were insulated from enemy attacks by other Cherokee settlements, the Valley Cherokees could carry on such warfare with relative impunity. However, the more exposed Overhill Cherokees were practically besieged by pro-French groups. The political and military significance of the Cherokee/British alliance grew throughout the first half of the eighteenth century as British expansion from the Atlantic coast clashed with French expansion from Canada and the Mississippi Valley. The Cherokees aided the British in the French and Indian War and fought French allied native groups across eastern North America during the 1750s. By the end of the decade, however, abuses of Cherokee customers by British traders and clashes between American colonials and Cherokees on the Virginia and Carolina frontiers had soured Cherokee-British relations. When Cherokee-British diplomacy failed in 1760, the Valley Cherokees participated with Middle, Lower, and Overhill Cherokees in raids against the colonial backcountry of the Carolinas and Virginia. Two British punitive expeditions were mounted against the Cherokees. The Montgomery expedition destroyed the Lower Towns on the headwaters of the Savannah River, but was turned back by Cherokee resistance before achieving the Middle Towns of the upper Little Tennessee River (Corkran 1962). The subsequent Grant expedition of 1761 again scourged the Lower Towns, and penetrated the Middle Cherokee country, devastating Cherokee settlements on the upper Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee Rivers (Corkran 1962; Grant 1933; King and Evans 1977). Although the Valley Towns did not suffer military invasion during the British-Cherokee conflict of 1760–1761, this war was highly stressful for the Valley Cherokees on two accounts. First, the British enacted a trade embargo against the Cherokees when hostilities broke out in 1760, and the entire Cherokee nation was deprived of the manufactured goods upon which they depended. The lack of firearms, ammunition, cloth, and clothing was especially severe. Secondly, the Valley and Overhill Cherokees, although spared from British attack, were overrun with Lower and Middle Cherokee refugees from settlements destroyed by the Montgomery and Grant expeditions. Food stores and other resources were undoubtedly strained. After the Cherokee War of 1760–1761 and the ultimate defeat of the French in 1763, the Cherokees never again attained the degree of political and economic importance to the British colonies that they had enjoyed in the first half of the eighteenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Cherokee culture changed appreciably as a result of contact and trade with the British. Cherokee political structures took on a facade of greater centralization to accommodate trade and diplomatic relations with the British (Gearing 1962). The influx of material wealth, in the form of manufactured trade goods, fostered individual accumulation of property and the nascent development of a prestige system based upon wealth and the ability to facilitate trade (Perdue 1979b). The traditional gender roles of male hunters and female agriculturalists were accentuated by the hide trade (Hatley 1993), and the seasonal round was increasingly punctuated by extended winter hunts by the men. Cherokee hunters and their families became heavily indebted to British traders who extended credit throughout the year, and the three-month-long winter hunt became a crucial economic event. Male absenteeism from the settlements substantially increased as hunters traveled hundreds of miles in pursuit of deerhides for trade and the scalps of French allied Indians for British bounties.

The trade economy wrought substantial change in Cherokee material culture as well. Manufactured goods introduced by British traders rapidly supplanted native made counterparts and created a high level of material dependency on the part of the Cherokees. For instance, native cloth manufacture virtually ceased when British textiles became readily available. Certain native ceramic cooking vessels, such as cazuela bowls, appear to have been less commonly produced after the introduction of brass and tinware kettles. Bow and arrow technology declined quickly after firearms became commonplace (Raven of Chota 1781). Lithic tool production, with the exception of stone pipe manufacture, virtually ceased once iron tools became widely available. Metal ornaments and glass beads superseded native made shell ornaments, and the age old trading networks that brought shell to the interior from the coast withered.

Many of the changes in Cherokee material culture during the eighteenth century were simple analogic substitutions or supplements to preexisting technological or adaptive patterns. These material substitutes required little contextual alteration for accommodation within traditional Cherokee value systems. Instead, these material additions or substitutions were rapidly integrated into the Cherokee cultural repertoire and became elements of traditional life. Importantly, however, many of the transformations of Cherokee material culture in the eighteenth century proceeded from the adoption of mass produced consumer goods that the Cherokees themselves were unable to manufacture. Cherokee dependence on commercial goods grew throughout the eighteenth century, and the Cherokees were locked into a subordinate status in the expanding British world economy.

Among the more important, but poorly documented, aspects of Cherokee/Anglo-American contact during the eighteenth century are the effects of long term residence of English traders in Cherokee settlements. Many of the hide traders from the Carolinas established part time residence

among the Cherokees, cohabited with Cherokee women and founded *métis* familes. In some instances, these intermarried whites "went native" while among the Cherokees, and left the management of their households to Cherokee wives and their matrilineages. In other cases, however, white traders asserted themselves as household patriarchs and enculturated their *métis* offspring with Western values, beliefs and material lifestyles. These traders constructed European-style residences, established orchards in the Cherokee backcounty (Mooney 1900:52), and introduced the Carolina pattern of "woods" ranching as they expanded their economic pursuits from trading to cattle herding (Bays 1991; Fyffe 1761). These resident traders were most likely responsible for the introduction of a wide array of non-native animals and plantsinto the Cherokee cultural repertoire, including horses, swine, cattle, chickens, peaches, apples, sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes, cowpeas, cabbage, and turnips. The Cherokees readily integrated many of these domesticates into existing economic structures and subsistence strategies as supplements to wild foods and native domesticates. Traders and their *métis* families may also have introduced certain elements of Anglo-American frontier architecture, such as cribbed log construction and external stick and clay chimneys, which gained popularity among the Cherokees in the late eighteenth century at the expense of more traditional architectural patterns. While the immediate contributions of the traders and their families in the cultural transfer between Anglo-America and the Cherokee people were not monumental in character, the models they provided in their roles as cultural brokers preconditioned the Cherokees for rapid acculturation in the nineteenth century.

Revolutionary Period (1776-1794)

The Cherokees maintained a general allegiance to the British Crown after 1761, even though friction between the Indians and British colonials on the Appalachian frontier continued to mount with the expansion of American settlements. At the outset of the American Revolution, the majority of Cherokees sided with the Crown, and vented their hostility against American colonists in a series of raids on the southern frontier (O'Donnell 1973). The Americans responded with swift and profound retaliation. During the summer and fall of 1776, American expeditions devastated the Lower, Middle, Out, Valley and Overhill settlements (Brown 1986). The Rutherford expedition (Dickens 1967; O'Donnell 1973) swept through the Valley Towns in 1776, drove the Cherokee communities from their settlements and destroyed practically all of the houses, crops and livestock in the Valley River region.

Although relatively few Cherokees were killed outright by the American incursions, many died from famine the following winter. In addition, American control of the backcountry cut off the supply of British manufactured goods upon which the Cherokees were critically dependent. The American expeditions and the trade blockade broke the Cherokee resistance and the older

Overhill Cherokee leaders sued for peace in 1777 and ceded large portions of Lower Town territory to the Americans. A dissident faction of Lower Cherokees under Overhill leadership, known as the Chickamaugas, broke away from the neutral faction in 1777 and established new settlements around Chattanooga, Tennessee, from which they prosecuted the war against the Americans until 1794. Cherokee warriors from the Overhill, Middle and Valley towns participated in Chickamauga raids on American settlements, and, in turn, their settlements suffered retaliatory raids by American militia. Militia from the Watauga, Nolichucky and Holston settlements (Tennessee), led by Col. John Sevier, raided the upper Hiwassee River Valley in 1782, 1786 and 1788 (Brown 1986), but the Valley Towns suffered far less from such American expeditions than did the Overhills and the Chickamauga Lower Towns of southeastern Tennessee, northwestern Georgia and northeastern Alabama. The Cherokee resistance was finally crushed by Ore's expedition against the Chickamaugas in 1794, and overt Cherokee-American hostilities ended in 1794 with the signing of the Treaty of Tellico (Brown 1986; Cotterill 1954).

Federal (1794-1819) and Nationalist Periods (1820-1835)

In the aftermath of the American Revolution and the Chickamauga conflict, the Cherokees were left in a state of social, political and economic disarray (McLoughlin 1984a, 1984b). Major segments of the Cherokee population had been displaced during the wars and large portions of Cherokee territory were abandoned and surrendered to the Americans. Internal disputes over diplomatic relations with Americans created rifts in Cherokee political structures and polarized factions among the Upper and Lower Cherokees. Social and religious organizations had been crippled by wartime loss of essential personnel and the periodic jarring displacements of Cherokee settlements. Most importantly, the collapse of the deerskin economy at the time of the Revolution, along with loss of key hunting grounds to the Americans, left the Cherokees unable to acquire the manufactured goods upon which they depended. While many Cherokees struggled to maintain a traditional lifestyle based on the fur trade and subsistence horticulture, they grew increasingly impoverished relative to their mid-eighteenth century prosperity. A deep sense of cultural disorientation, social dissolution and material poverty gripped the Cherokees at the end of the eighteenth century (McLoughlin 1984b). A generation of Cherokee individuals born after 1770 suffered cultural alienation and disorientation, and the atomization of Cherokee society appeared eminent at the end of the eighteenth century.

The social and economic disarray of Cherokee society created a climate ripe for acculturative change. The first two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed rapid and profound changes in Cherokee culture as the Cherokees attempted to counter territorial, economic and political circumscription imposed by Anglo-Americans. Cherokee responses to political and economic pressures were varied, but the general pattern of response involved the adaptation of Anglo-

American modes of economic production and political organization. By 1820, the Cherokees had achieved a modicum of political stability and had become integral participants in the rapidly expanding agrarian economy of the American South.

The economic reconstruction of the Cherokee Nation entailed a general shift away from the waning fur trade and increasing focus on sales of livestock and grain to Anglo-Americans. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Cherokees sold large numbers of horses, cattle and swine, as well as surplus maize, to emerging American markets near the Cherokee frontiers (Bays 1991; Newman 1979; Riggs 1987). Sales of agricultural surplus yielded profits on a scale unprecedented during the hide trade, and the economic revitalization of the Cherokee Nation progressed rapidly.

The shift toward agrarian market production by Cherokee households was accompanied by a number of changes in Cherokee settlement patterns, labor organization and material culture. In the absence of intertribal warfare (a *Pax Americana* enforced by the U.S. government), corporate, nucleated villages began to disperse, and Cherokee households founded discrete farmsteads and plantations (Klinck and Talman 1970). Cherokee communities spread from the large riverbottoms necessary for the support of corporate villages, into creek valleys, where rich, previously uncultivated soils boosted the agricultural production of family farmsteads. Farm production, once the domain of Cherokee females, was increasingly shared by Cherokee males as well as black slaves (Perdue 1979b). Males also exchanged their traditional role as hunters for the parallel role of pastoralists, a straightforward transition in a society that defined men as the stewards of animals (Bays 1991; McLoughlin 1988). Although Cherokee females maintained their traditional roles as horticulturalists and housekeepers, they also assumed responsibility for nontraditional home manufactures such cloth production (Young 1980). Cherokee farmers began to integrate Anglo-American farming practices and technologies, especially plow tillage and the use of draft animals. These new technologies allowed many Cherokee farmers to significantly expand the scale of their agricultural activities and increase their market production.

As many Cherokee families developed economic strategies similar to those of their Anglo-American neighbors, they also cultivated material lifestyles like those of rural southern whites. They built residences using Anglo-American styles and techniques, and used income from the sales of agricultural products to purchase commercially manufactured household equipment and furnishings. Some Cherokees also adopted modes of dress comparable to whites. The convergence of Cherokee material culture with that of the American South in the early nineteenth century has led historians such as Malone to assert that the whole of Cherokee society had developed a "curiously pseudo-white agrarian culture" (Malone 1956:136).

The United States government encouraged and subsidized the material and economic assimilation of the Cherokees as a means to neutralize the threat of renewed Cherokee-American hostilities. The "civilization" program of the U.S. Cherokee Agency distributed agricultural implements and cloth production equipment to hundreds of Cherokee families and provided instruction in "modern" farming, spinning and weaving, and a variety of artisan crafts. Assimilation was further promoted by the missions of a number of Protestant denominations. Mission schools within the Cherokee Nation trained native students in both practical and academic skills and inculcated Cherokee students with the virtues of the Protestant Ethic (Kupferer 1963; McLoughlin 1986; Weber 1958).

It should be noted, however, that assimilation of the agrarian lifestyle and economy was neither universal nor complete among the Cherokees, and a broad socioeconomic spectrum developed within Cherokee society as a result of differential acculturation. Those Cherokees living in recently settled areas of the Valley and Ridge Province of southeastern Tennessee and northwestern Georgia and in the upper Piedmont of Georgia, embraced the economic strategies, lifestyle and attendant ideologies of Southern agrarianism most readily and completely. This was especially true of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, who learned agrarian capitalist values and production modes from white fathers and grandfathers who lived in the Cherokee Nation as traders and planters. *Métis* individuals were often bilingual, and many were literate in English. They were familiar with Anglo-American society, and many assumed social and business contacts from their fathers. Such Cherokee entrepreneurs financed and operated stores, toll ferries, turnpikes and way stations throughout the Cherokee Nation. They developed large plantations, and reinvested their profits in black slaves and blooded livestock. Many of these Westernized Cherokees pursued the material lifestyle of the southern planter class. They constructed domestic environments modeled after those of southern Anglo-American plantations, with highly formalized dwellings furnished in the latest fashions.

By contrast, the majority of Cherokees actively resisted wholesale assimilation, and maintained distinctly native cultural identities. Traditionally oriented Cherokees sought to fill the economic void left by the collapse of the hide trade, and they produced and sold only enough agricultural surplus to provide basic material needs. They maintained a subsistence pattern that combined horticulture, herding, hunting and gathering. The majority of Cherokees resided on small farmsteads within kin-based communities governed by traditional town organizations. These closed, corporate communities were bonded by the traditional native ideology described as the "Harmony Ethic" (Thomas 1958a; Gulick 1963). The corporate egalitarianism of traditional Cherokee society contrasted sharply with the individualism and emphasis on personal accumulation of wealth central to the Protestant Capitalist Ethic. The divergence of ideologies

within Cherokee society created a high level of social and political tension in the early nineteenth century Cherokee Nation.

The Cherokee settlements of southwestern North Carolina comprised the most homogeneous, conservative and traditionally oriented segment of Cherokee society in the early nineteenth century. George Barber Davis, who conducted a census of the Cherokee Nation for U.S. Agent R.J. Meigs in 1808, was shocked at the relative traditionalism of these mountain Cherokees: "I had no idea that there were such Indians as there are... in the Valies [sic]. They are at least twenty years behind the rest of the nation" (Davis 1808). Major John Norton, who visited the study area in 1809 noted:

> ... There is a great body of the Cherokee Nation, that dwells in these vallies; they are said to consist of ten thousand souls; - they are not so generally advanced in civilization and industry, nor do they possess property equal to those who inhabit the banks of the Tennessee; but they are a simple, honest people, living nearly in the same manner as their progenitors, with the addition of some horses, cattle, and hogs. Many of the females begin to spin and weave; but the manufacturing of cloth is not so general as in the other part of the Nation. These people are also spoken lightly of concerning their performance in war; but as they appear to be a fine, hardy race of people, it is probable that their deficiency in warlike achievements may have proceeded more from their situation, sequestered from the inroads of enemies, by the mountains which almost surround them, than from any want of natural courage... (Klink and Talman 1970: 144-146).

As Norton indicates, the rugged territory surrounding the Valley Towns protected these settlements from American incursions during the Revolution. In contrast to the other major Cherokee regions, the Valley Towns communities emerged from the Revolutionary Period with civic, religious and political structures largely intact. Kinship networks in the study area maintained greater cohesion *in situ* than was possible among displaced Cherokee populations. Such continuity rendered the Valley Cherokees less susceptible to the political and economic pressures for assimilation than their peer groups in the Valley and Ridge and Piedmont provinces. In addition, the Valley settlements remained isolated from the American frontiers, and contacts between Anglo-Americans and Valley Cherokees were infrequent. The settlements of southeastern Tennessee and northern Georgia included a substantial component of Westernized Anglo-Cherokee *métis* who acted as brokers and mediators between Anglo-American and Cherokee societies. By contrast, the Valley Town settlements consisted overwhelmingly of fullbloods who had little linkage to the Anglo-American world.

There were, nevertheless, substantial changes in Valley Cherokee lifeways in the early nineteenth century. Clustered villages dispersed as households departed to establish individual farmsteads and matrilineage hamlets. Plow agriculture was widespread among the Valley Cherokees by 1820, and animal husbandry was common in the study area. Cribbed log architecture, based on Euroamerican models, was universal among the Valley Cherokees.

The economic and cultural isolation of the Valley Towns region diminished significantly during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The construction of the Unicoi Turnpike through the study area in 1816 linked the Valley River region with American markets in Georgia and Tennessee. The turnpike became a primary avenue for goods trucked from the southeastern coast and Piedmont to towns in eastern Tennessee, and the Valley Cherokees were increasingly exposed to Anglo-Americans (and their material goods) traversing the turnpike. Charley Buffington, a Cherokee *métis* from the study area noted, "on the Unicoy Road ... there was very much travelling ... by the whites with carriages & waggons & droves ...(Buffington 1843).

Between 1818 and 1821, the study area received large numbers of Cherokees displaced from territory ceded by the Jackson and Calhoun treaties (Royce 1887). These emigrants included a number of acculturated Anglo-Cherokee families, such as the Welches, Morrises, Taylors, Downings, Rapers, Buffingtons and Hawkins. These *métis* families and associated Anglo-Americans settled among the Valley Cherokees, and served as models for the Westernization of Cherokee society in the study area.

In 1820, Rev. Humphrey Posey opened a Baptist mission and school for Cherokee students at Peachtree; these facilities soon developed as a major avenue of instruction and acculturation for the Valley Cherokees (McLoughlin 1990). Under the direction of Rev. Evan Jones, the mission established schools and preaching stations throughout much of the study area. The mission and associated schools trained Cherokee students in material and academic skills and generally disseminated information about Western lifeways. The rapid spread of Western agrarian lifeways in the study area prompted Evan Jones to note in 1826:

> ...in this vicinity which has always been deemed the darkest part of the Nation, agriculture, Female industry, general knowledge, good order, and decency of appearance are making very sensible progress... (Jones 1826).

The spread of Western lifeways in the study area was facilitated by the ready availability of commercial goods at Anglo-American owned stores established in the region during the 1820s and 1830s. Stores such as A.R.S. Hunter's at Murphy, N.B. Hyatt's at Hayesville and Robert Hanks' at Marble extended credit to Cherokee customers and provided local outlets for Cherokee goods and produce (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842; Hunter 1836–1838; Welch and Jarrett 1837).

Removal Period (1835-1838)

The social and economic transformation of early nineteenth century Cherokee society took place in the context of a tense political climate dominated by the removal issue. Beginning under Jefferson's administration, the U.S. government articulated a policy of Indian removal to extinguish native corporate claims east of the Mississippi River. In 1802 President Jefferson entered into the Georgia Compact, whereby the state of Georgia relinquished claim to Alabama and Mississippi to the federal government in exchange for a government pledge to extinguish corporate Indian claims to land in Georgia at the first opportunity. The federal government adopted two strategies to extinguish corporate tribal landholdings. First, the government instituted a program of agrarian subsidies and instruction for the Cherokees and other native groups in an effort to transform communalistic tribal groups into constituencies of yeoman farmers who held individual properties in fee simple. Simultaneously, the government attempted to effect land exchanges with eastern tribal groups to promote Indian emigration to the transMississippi west. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase provided the United States with a western outlet for exchange with eastern native groups.

Cherokee political transformations in the early nineteenth century were driven by American pressures for territorial cessions and removal (Perisco 1979). Between 1804 and 1807, Federal agents exacted a series of questionable land cessions from corrupt Cherokee leaders and provided a land exchange for Cherokees willing to emigrate to the Arkansas region of the Louisiana Purchase. To stem the loss of territory and population, a nationalist anti-removal faction led by prominent *métis* individuals seized control of the dual Upper and Lower Towns councils in 1807, and united the Cherokee Nation under a single national council. This national council placed the practical management of external relations with the U.S. federal government in the hands of English speaking *métis*, who were well equipped to handle the political and business machinations of the Anglo-American world. The council then enacted a formal legal code and policies regulating trade and commerce in the Cherokee Nation, outlawed territorial cession as a capital offense and abolished the traditional code of blood vengeance. The majority of internal affairs were still regulated by traditional ritual-civic-political organizations at the town level.

The more centralized council organization dealt effectively with the U.S. government, and staunched the loss of Cherokee lands until 1816, when the federal government forced a succession of treaties upon the Cherokees. The treaties of 1816, 1817 and 1819 exacted more than four million acres of Cherokee territory, and reopened federally sponsored emigration of Cherokees to Arkansas. In response to this renewed threat, the National Council reorganized in 1817 as a bicameral legislature, with a principal chief and vice chief, a thirteen-member executive committee and a larger General Council. In 1820, the Council divided the Nation into eight

judicial and administrative districts. Representatives to the council were elected by general polling within each district and judicial seats were established in each district. The adoption of a Cherokee national constitution in 1827 established a tripartite constitutional republic with a bicameral legislature, an executive branch and a Supreme Court modeled after those within the United States government.

After gold was discovered on Cherokee lands in Georgia in 1828, the state of Georgia redoubled its efforts to see the Compact of 1802 honored. Georgia feared that the establishment of a Cherokee constitutional republic would prevent the ultimate total cession of Cherokee territory, and unilaterally extended its dominion over Cherokee lands. Georgia militias disbanded the Cherokee government in New Echota, destroyed the Cherokee press, and generally terrorized the Cherokee populace within Georgia. The state of Georgia appropriated Cherokee lands and redistributed them to Georgia citizens in a lottery in 1832. It then left the physical dispossession of the Cherokee occupants to the lottery winners, who evicted thousands of Cherokees from their homes.

The Cherokees appealed to the federal government for relief from Georgian oppression but received little solace or assistance. The election of Andrew Jackson, and the passage of Jackson's Indian Removal Act in 1830, sealed the fate of the Cherokee Nation in the east. Over the next few years, the Cherokees witnessed the attrition of their peer groups throughout the Southeast. In a series of dubious and even fraudulent treaties, federal officials engineered the dispossession and removal of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. The federal government used every legal means, as well as bribery, deception and intimidation to secure a total cession, land exchange and complete removal by the Cherokee Nation. Eventually, the unrelenting pressure broke Cherokee resolve and cohesion, and a rump council signed a cession treaty in December 1835. Although 90 percent of the Cherokee population discountenanced the Treaty of New Echota, the United States Congress ratified the agreement and the federal government began measures to force the Cherokees to comply. Army garrisons sprang up throughout the Cherokee Nation to overawe the Cherokees and prevent any uprisings. In turn, the Cherokees and their Anglo-American advocates mounted a strong lobbying effort for the nullification or amendment of the treaty. The National Council prescribed capital punishment for the treaty signers, and members of the minority Treaty Party hurriedly emigrated to Oklahoma after a number of assassinations and assassination attempts. At the advice of the National Council and Principal Chief John Ross, the Cherokee populace maintained the illegality of the New Echota Treaty and made no preparations to evacuate their lands and emigrate to the West.

Cherokees in the study area were nearly unanimous in their opposition to the New Echota treaty, and the Ross-led National Party viewed southwestern North Carolina as their stronghold.

In the years prior to the New Echota treaty, Cherokee leaders in the study area had rebuffed every attempt by federal agents to convene a treaty conference (e.g. Noland 1990). When the U.S. Cherokee Agency conducted a census of the Cherokee Nation in 1835, enumerating agents met active resistance from North Carolina Cherokees who suspected the officials of conducting a clandestine enrollment for emigration. The U.S. government feared that opposition to the removal treaty might erupt into open warfare and viewed southwestern North Carolina as a potential hotbed of Cherokee resistance. Rumors of impending Cherokee uprisings and resistance conspiracies circulated among whites living in the study area and along the North Carolina frontier. Benjamin Curry, the agent in charge of Cherokee removal, dispatched federal troops under Gen. John E. Wool to the Valley River region in July 1836 to suppress any hostilities and make preparations for the removal. Wool founded Fort Butler at the confluence of the Valley and Hiwassee rivers, then demanded that the leaders of the mountain settlements acknowledge the New Echota Treaty and prepare the population for removal. Wool also sought to preclude armed resistance by confiscating the firearms of the mountain Cherokees. Wool summarily arrested a number of headmen who refused to cooperate with his demands, and expelled the missionary Rev. Evan B. Jones from the Cherokee Nation for complicity in political resistance against the treaty.

Wool's heavyhanded approach was unwarranted. He found the North Carolina Cherokees were neither disposed toward nor prepared for armed resistance, but were stubborn in their opposition to the treaty cession and removal. Despite a critical food shortage in the Valley settlements in the summer of 1836, Wool found that:

> Those in the mountains of North Carolina during the summer past, preferred living upon the roots and sap of trees rather than receive provisions from the United States... Many have said they will die before they will leave the country (Wool 1837).

Wool's mission gradually refocused on protection of Cherokee rights against Anglo-American interlopers, a repositioning that drew the ire of Anglo-American settlers and state officials and which prompted his recall to the Cherokee agency.

Despite intense and continuous lobbying efforts by the Cherokee delegation in Washington to have the Treaty of New Echota annulled, the U.S. War Department continued apace its preparations for execution of the removal treaty. Federal valuing agents for Cherokee properties conducted detailed appraisals of Cherokee farmsteads in the study area in the winter of 1836–1837 so that individual Cherokees could receive compensation for their improvements in accordance with Article 9 of the New Echota Treaty. Throughout 1836 and 1837, it became increasingly apparent to government agents that the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina would not comply with the mandatory schedule for self-emigration, and the government prepared to exact a forced military removal. The military constructed additional cantonments for garrisons

of troops in the study area, including Fort Hembree (now Hayesville), Fort Delaney (now Andrews) and Fort Lindsay (now Almond). To facilitate the anticipated removal operation in southwestern North Carolina, the U.S. Army undertook a detailed reconnaissance of the Cherokee country in the winter of 1837–1838, and mapped trails, roads and Cherokee communities throughout the area.

As the treaty-specified deadline for emigration (May 23, 1838) approached, the federal government rebuffed the frantic, last minute calls for renegotiation from Cherokee delegations in Washington. Although great anxiety prevailed throughout the Cherokee Nation, Cherokee citizens maintained a calm appearance, building new homes and planting crops in a purposeful show of opposition to the treaty. Capt. L.B. Webster wrote home from the study area on the eve of the Removal:

> We arrived at Fort Butler on the 7the [June 7, 1838], but did not establish camp till today, which is on the north side of Valley River just above its entrance into Hiawassee, and about one mile from the Fort. We are said to be in the thickest settled portion of the Cherokee Country. There are about six thousand in our neighborhood-- their houses are quite thick about us, and they all remain quietly at home at work on their little farms, as though no evil was intended them. They sell us very cheap anything they have to spare, and look upon the regular troops as their friends... These are innocent and simple people into whose homes we are to obtrude ourselves, and take off by force. They have no idea of fighting, but submit quietly to be tied and lead away...(Webster 1838a).

Meanwhile, state militia and federal troops took their posts at forts throughout the Cherokee Nation, ready to commence the mass military arrest and deportation of Cherokee citizens from their homes at President Van Buren's directive. These forces, styled the "Army of the Cherokee Nation" were headquartered at Fort Cass (present-day Charleston, Tennessee) under command of Major General Winfield Scott. Scott appointed Brigadier General Abraham Eustis commander of the eastern division of the army, based at Fort Butler (present-day Murphy). Eustis' federal troops, who occupied Fort Butler, Fort Delaney and Fort Hembree, were largely responsible for the removal of Cherokees from the Hiwassee River basin in North Carolina. North Carolina militia commanded by Colonel James Gray Bynum (but under control of the regular army) were charged with removal of Cherokee populations in the upper Little Tennessee River basin.

In Georgia, the state which had forced the entire removal issue, politicians and militiamen were impatient to begin the military operations to erase the Cherokee presence from their state. State militia under loose federal control commenced the roundup of Cherokee citizens on May 24, 1838. Georgia militiamen summarily dragged Cherokee citizens from their homes and fields and herded them to local internment camps as prisoners of war; these prisoners were quickly marched to emigration depots at Ross' Landing and Calhoun, Tennessee, and the military operations in Georgia were concluded within two weeks. The Georgia operations were fraught with abuses, leading Superintendent of Cherokee Emigration Nathaniel Smith to write General Winfield Scott:

> I fear great injustice has been done to very many of the Cherokees collected in Georgia; it has happened to me here, to witness more distress within the last two days, than in all my life before. There are several families now in camps at whose houses I have been and personally know them to have been possessed not only of fine stocks of every description, but of a great abundance of household goods, and other varieties of property required to the most comfortable living, who have not been suffered to bring along with them personal clothing sufficient for a change, or bedding enough to accommodate at once, half the family. These people assure me that the military so hurried and urged them away, that no time was allowed to gather up their effects; that, when after much entreaty they had been suffered to return (a day or more having elapsed) to look after their property; they found their houses stripped and robbed of everything left (Smith 1838).

Writing ten days later, Evan B. Jones, the Baptist missionary expelled by Wool, amplified Smith's description of the inhumanity of these mass arrests:

> The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses and camped at the forts and military posts all over the Nation. In Georgia, especially, the most unfeeling and insulting treatment has been experienced by them, in a general way. Multitudes were not allowed time to take anything with them but the clothes they had on. Well furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers who, like hungry wolves, follow the progress of the captors and in many cases accompany them. These wretches rifle the houses and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. ... It is a painful sight. The property of many has been taken and sold before their eyes for almost nothing; the sellers and buyers being in many cases combined to cheat the poor Indian. Private purchases, or at least the sham of purchases, have in many instances been made at the instant of arrest and consternation: the soldiers standing with guns and bayonets, impatient to go on with their work, could give but little time to transact business. The poor captive in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified, children, without a friend to speak one consoling word, is in a very unfavorable condition to make advantageous disposition of his property even were suitable and honest purchasers on the spot, but more especially so when the only purchasers present are harpies.... Many who a few days ago were in comfortable circumstances are now the victims of abject poverty. Many who have been allowed to return to their homes under passport to inquire after their property, have found their houses, cattle, hogs, ploughs, hoes, harness, tables, chares [sic], earthen ware, all gone. And this is not a description of extreme cases. It is altogether a faint and feeble representation of the work of barbarity which has been perpetrated on the unoffending, unarmed, and unresisting Cherokees. I say nothing yet of several cold-blooded murders and other personal cruelties... (Jones 1838).

Military operations in North Carolina were suspended until the second week of June 1838, in part to stage the stream of the thousands Cherokee prisoners who poured into the internment camps and removal depots, in part to stem the type of abuses suffered in Georgia. Fatigue details of state and federal troops began gathering Cherokee prisoners into the North Carolina forts on June 12, 1838. These operations were, for the most part, characterized by military propriety, although some instances of wanton abuse are documented. The Mink of Valley Town swore that:

> ...he was taken prisoner by the military and put in jail [at Fort Delany] 18 days for no other cause than a disinclination to come to the west and [was] much abused by the soldiers, and but for an aunt that fed him, he might have starved (Mink 1842).

Mink's aunt testified:

> She was the person that fed him while under arrest by a vile band of soldiers who tormented the claimant in every way they could invent and would have starved him but for her own sustainance (Sarah 1842).

Another Cherokee, John Welch, deposed that "Genl. Eustis' Florida soldiers with a horde of other equally worthless white men were rioting in and plundering him of his property" (Welch 1841).

Most of the Cherokees in the study area were quickly gathered into local camps and forts, then marched to Fort Butler for concentration in larger groups of 100-1300 individuals to be conducted under military escort to the major emigration depots at Fort Cass (Charleston, Tennessee) and Rosses Landing (Chattanooga, Tennessee). The first group of Cherokee prisoners departed Fort Butler for Fort Cass on June 18, 1838. Brevet General Abraham Eustis noted:

> The first detachment of Cherokees, about 380, left here this morning under escort of Capt. Munroe's company, 4th artillery ... Another party of about 690 will move tomorrow under escort of Capt. Webster's Comp. 1rst Artill. The roads are represented to be in such bad condition that it is estimated to be at least 7 days march from here to Calhoun ... (Eustis 1838a).

L.B. Webster, who conducted the second party, described the trip in a June 23 letter to his wife, Frances:

> I left Fort Butler on the 19th in charge of 800 Cherokees. I had not an officer along to assist me, and only my own company as a guard. Of course I had as much to do as I could attend to, but I experienced no difficulty in getting them along other than what arose from fatigue, and the roughness of the roads over the mountains, which are the worst I ever saw. I arrived with about one hundred more than what I started with- many having joined me on the march, We were eight days in making the journey (80 miles) and it was pitiful to behold the women and children, who suffered exceedingly, as they were all obliged to walk, with the exception of the sick ...
>
> ...I had three regular ministers of the gospel in my party, and ... we had preaching or prayer meetings every night while on the march. And you may well imagine that under the peculiar circumstances of the case, among those sublime mountains and in the deep forest with the thunder often roaring in the distance, that nothing could be more solemn & [missing]. And I always looked on with a hushed awe, lest their prayers, which I felt.... ascending to Heaven and calling.... to Him who alone can & will grant ...[justice]..should fall upon my guilty head as one of the instruments of oppression...(Webster 1838b).

By the end of June, the military roundup and deportation of Cherokee citizens from southwestern North Carolina appeared practically complete. On June 24, 1838, Eustis observed:

> The whole number of Indians which have been collected in North Carolina is something more than 3000. A few are still hiding in the recesses of the mountains. A number of families have obtained permission from the Superintendent of Emigration or his Agents, to remain and become citizens of North Carolina... It is my belief that in four or five days everything will have been done (Eustis 1838b)

The regular removal operations actually continued in southwestern North Carolina through the third week of July, when the militia was disbanded and garrisons of federal troops withdrawn. Several subsequent expeditions revisited the region in pursuit of fugitive Cherokees through the late summer and fall of 1838; these military actions were terminated in November in response to the infamous *Tsali* affair (Finger 1984, 1991; King 1979) , and the remaining Cherokees were granted exemptions from deportation.

When groups of Cherokee prisoners from North Carolina arrived at the main emigration depot at Fort Cass in June and July 1838, they took up temporary residence in internment camps

along the eastern prong of South Mouse Creek on the military reservation. These and thousands of other Cherokee prisoners languished through the hot, drought-ridden summer of 1838, confined to the military reservation and beset by Anglo-American bootleggers, swindlers, and thieves of every stripe. Disease, particularly whooping cough and dysentery, raged through the Cherokee camps, and mortality among children and the elderly was staggering. Although some emigration contingents had traveled west by boat in June, dropping river levels precluded further water travel, and the Cherokees faced an overland trek of almost 1,000 miles. With the Cherokee population already weakened by disease, Chief Ross and the Nationalist party leadership feared that an army-conducted overland emigration to Oklahoma in the summer would be disastrous, especially since reports of cholera outbreaks filtered east from the Arkansas River country. Cherokee leaders petitioned General Winfield Scott to postpone the emigration to Oklahoma until fall, after the "sickly" season had elapsed, and to grant the Cherokees the "privilege" to supervise their own emigration. The military, ready to wash its hands of the removal debacle, granted the Cherokees' request, and agreed to self-conducted emigration with military escorts.

The overland emigration of Cherokee prisoners to Oklahoma commenced in September 1838 with thirteen emigration detachments organized under the command of leaders from various districts. The majority of Cherokees from southwestern North Carolina emigrated in the detachments led by Jesse Bushyhead (a Cherokee Baptist preacher), *Situwakee* (the headman of Hiwassee Town and the Aquohee District judge) and *Chuwaluka* (Old Bark of Taquohee). Rev. Evan B. Jones of the Peachtree Baptist mission assisted as conductor of *Situwakee*'s detachment and J.D. Wafford, a prominent Cherokee *métis* and interpreter for Jones, assisted with *Chuwaluka*'s line. The *Situwakee*, Bushyhead and *Chuwaluka* emigration detachments reached Indian Territory in February and March 1839 after great travail; these groups suffered a total mortality of more than 15 percent en route (Thornton 1990). Once in Indian Territory, the majority of Aquohee and Taquohee District Cherokees settled in Delaware District, where they attempted to reconstitute their respective communities and sociopolitical organizations of the Old Nation (McLoughlin 1990, 1993).

Despite the scope and efficiency of the military removal efforts in North Carolina, more than 10 percent of the Cherokee population of the study area avoided or evaded arrest and deportation and remained in the region after the conclusion of the military operations (Finger 1984, 1991). These included several families with intermarried whites (i.e. Welches, Morrises, Rapers, Colvards, Fallens, Hensons, Smiths, Taylors) who were exempted by virtue of dual citizenship rights. A number of wealthy *métis* families procured official permits (from Superintendent of Emigration Nathaniel Smith) to remain in North Carolina through their demonstrated ability to "manage their own affairs," and their potential to become "useful citizens." Preston Starrett, a

Cherokee countryman (intermarried white) employed by the federal government as an interpreter and enrolling agent, issued emigration waivers for almost 200 Cherokee fullbloods before his commission was rescinded. An undetermined number of Cherokees hid in the mountains for months to avoid arrest (Finger 1984, 1991; King 1979). Many of these were encouraged to hide by Anglo-Cherokees who remained at home under special permit. Col. J.G. Bynum, commander at Fort Montgomery wrote: "I collected yesterday about 80 Indians–they had all received orders from [John] Welch on Valley River to leave home & take to the mountains" (Bynum 1838a). Welch, Gideon Morris, Nancy Hawkins and other wealthy Anglo-Cherokees helped support these fugitives with food and intelligence about military movements (Porter 1838). Despite such aid, the fugitives suffered tragic losses. *Dickageeska*, a leader of one of the main fugitive contingents, recalled

> ...when the troops commenced collecting, he and his family kept out of the way ... he and his family were deprived of the means of subsistence and compelled to subsist on the sap of trees and roots, and nearly all the children belonging to his people died, only about two children remained out of a population of near 100 persons (Dickageeska 1843).

When they emerged from hiding in the fall of 1838, Cherokee survivors of such ordeals faced an uncertain future in a land now overrun by Anglo-American settlers. Most of these Cherokees lacked shelter and food stores for the upcoming winter, and many would have perished had they not been taken in by Anglo-Cherokee and Anglo-American families (Hayes 1843, Shuler 1843). Their immediate prospects for survival were tenuous, and their situation was exacerbated by constant fears of arrest and expulsion. Many of the former residents of the study area sought sanctuary in the Qualla settlements on Soco Creek (now Jackson County, North Carolina), where they joined their "citizen" Cherokee kindred who had been exempted from removal by their peculiar citizenship status and their residence outside the old Cherokee Nation. Yet an 1840 census of the eastern Cherokees (Thomas 1840) indicates 98 Cherokee households (410 individuals) that remained or re-established in the study area. Some of these were Westernized Anglo-Cherokees who obtained state citizenship and retained their homes and property through removal. These families were particularly concentrated at Peachtree (i.e. Smiths, Hensons, Ruddles, Timsons), Marble (i.e. Welches, Morrises, Taylors, Hawkins) and Nottely (i.e. Rapers, Wards). More than half of the Indians who remained in southwestern North Carolina were conservative, monolingual fullbloods who, as noncitizen free persons of color, were barred by state law from land ownership and other privileges. As they sought to re-establish small subsistence farms, these families were forced to occupy marginal unclaimed state lands as squatters, or to obtain permission from sympathetic Anglo-Cherokees and Anglo-Americans to occupy their fee simple properties (Finger 1984). Following the example of William Holland Thomas at Quallatown, several wealthy Anglo-Cherokees in the study area (i.e. Elizabeth Welch

and Gideon Morris) purchased lands for the dispossessed Indians to occupy (Hindman 1841a, 1841b). In some instances these purchasers used their own funds to procure land with the understanding of future repayment; others used the fullbloods' monies and simply held nominal titles for legal convenience. This strategy allowed Cherokee families to rebuild small traditional communities as distinct enclaves in the northern and western parts of the study area (Finger 1984, 1991, 1995; Fourth Board 1846–1847; Mullay 1848; Neeley 1991; Thomas 1840). One community coalesced in the Valley River Valley near Marble on the holdings of John Welch and Gideon Morris; this settlement evolved into the community of Tomotla. Another large fullblood group established in the Cheoah Valley, a remote area with sparse white settlement; this enclave, first known as Buffalo Town, developed into the modern community of Snowbird. Other, smaller groups formed at Hanging Dog and Beaverdam and along the Hiwassee River near the Tennessee state line. The rapid re-establishment of Cherokee communities in the study area in the early post-removal era led one Anglo-American settler to complain:

> ...they are forming settlements, building townhouses, and show every disposition to keep up their former manners and customs of councils, dances, ballplays and other practices, which is disgusting to civilized society... (Barnard 1840).

Cultural and ethnic affinities among Cherokees in the study area appear to have played a significant role in individual decisions about removal or continuance in southwestern North Carolina. The majority of the wealthiest and most Westernized Anglo-Cherokee families who resided in the study area elected to remain after the removal of the Cherokee Nation with the prospect of merging with the Anglo-American community. For these English-speaking households, most of which consisted of an intermarried Anglo-American and *métisses* with less than half Cherokee blood quanta, the decision to to stay in southwestern North Carolina probably reflects a number of considerations, including: 1) close ties to, and social affinity for Anglo-American society; this appears to be coupled with relatively diffuse attachments to Cherokee society; 2) concern over potential loss of, or undercompensation for, valuable property improvements; 3) understanding of the options presented under the Treaty of New Echota for citizenship and preemption rights; and 4) disinterest in, or disaffection from, the Cherokee Nation and Ross' National Party. Such disaffectation may be reflected in John Welch's vocal denunciations of both the removal treaty and of John Ross (Caldwell 1838; Featherstonahaugh 1847), John Timson's advocacy for emigration in 1837 (Smith 1837), and Gideon Morris' business and social connections with core members of the Treaty Party (Peedue 1982; Rogers 1841). For Anglo-Cherokees, the decision to remain in southwestern North Carolina signalled a strongly individualistic confidence in their own abilities to become members of Anglo-American society and to succeed by its measures. By extension, this decision also amounted to a rejection of traditional Cherokee life and society.

For the numerous fullblood Cherokees who remained in southwestern North Carolina, the motivations against removal were mixed. Although none supported the treaty or the Treaty Party, some grew disillusioned with the Nationalist Party and distrustful of John Ross. *Dickageeska*, in an 1843 memorial, related:

> The Cherokees of that [Cheoah] town ... had implicit confidence in John Ross, and...[were] advised by him to remain at home, pay no attention to what was said in relation to a treaty, to do no act that could be construed into and acknowledgement of its validity, to stay at home, improve their land, make good crops, and they need have no fears of being removed ...when the troops commenced emigrating the Cherokees...he and his family kept out of the way in order to ascertain what Ross had done... The next information received from Chief John Ross was that he had undertaken to remove the Cherokees and had received a sum of money for using his influence. Your memorialist and his people then lost confidence in Ross entirely and determined not to go with him. He had often represented to his people that Arkansaw was literally a graveyard, there was no wood, and the water so bad that it would make them vomit to go near the springs ... (*Dickageeska* 1843)

It is likely that many of the fullblood Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina owed primary allegiance to traditional organizations (i.e. matrilineages, clans and towns), and regarded the formal "Cherokee Nation" as a convenient device for maintaining territory against white encroachment. Despite its best efforts, the national government had ultimately failed in its principal charge, and groups of traditionalist Cherokees, like the followers of *Dickageeska*, opted to take charge of the preservation of their families and communities. Encouraged by the support of prosperous Anglo-Cherokees, many fullbloods "took to the woods," choosing the risks of military pursuit, sickness and starvation in a familiar environment over the unknown dangers of emigration and settlement in the west. Their choices were tacit rejections of both the national government and the Treaty Party. While sanguine about their prospects for merger with the Anglo-American society, the more traditionally oriented Cherokees were optimistic about their chances to recreate and maintain discrete communities under the patronage of William Holland Thomas and other sympathetic whites.

The North Carolina Cherokees also maintained an intense connection to place and an equally intense aversion to going west, the traditional "darkening land" of defeat and death. To a far greater degree than in other parts of the pre-removal Cherokee Nation, the Cherokees of North Carolina lived amongst the places of their ancient history and legends. As Cherokee rhetoricians declared, they were loathe to leave the "bones of our ancestors," but also dreaded separation from the *Nunnehi* and their kinsmen who had joined these immortals (Mooney 1900:335-336). The negative symbolism of the west pervaded traditional Cherokee belief; it figured prominently in incantations and maledictions as the abode of evil spirits, violence and chaos (Kilpatrick 1997; Mooney 1900). The west stood in symbolic opposition to the traditional ideals of order and balance, and emigration to the west invited the certain destruction of the Cherokee people and obliteration of their unique identity.

The vast majority of North Carolina Cherokees, fullbood and *métis*, grudgingly submitted to arrest and deportation to the west. The initial crush of the military roundup was overwhelming, and most Cherokees had little opportunity to escape the dragnet. In addition, many Cherokees realized that mass flight and concealment were unrealistic and would only spark aggressive military action. These people had cast their lot with Ross and the Nationalist Party and remained staunch loyalists who went with their nation. Many traditionalists saw submission to military force as the only way to preserve their communities through the painful passage to Indian Territory. Such corporate consciousness in the removal is evident in a letter from Col. James G. Bynum:

> ...One of my interpreters went out yesterday to Buffalotown five miles distant and found a large number of Indians assembled at one house. They told him they understood they were to be taken on that day, and had assembled to be taken together whenever attempted (Bynum 1838b).

Various accounts indicate that nuclear families, extended families, towns, and church congregations made concerted efforts to maintain cohesion through the ordeal of removal. The desire to maintain such comprehensive relationships obviated attempts to avoid removal through permit or flight.

The changing relationships between ethnic subsets of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina in the aftermath of removal are also instructive. Prior to removal, Westernized Anglo-Cherokees and conservative fullbloods sustained equal status under Cherokee national law and custom (Cherokee Nation 1852). Although Anglo-Cherokees wielded the main economic power in the nation and dominated the upper tier of Cherokee government, they operated only through the indulgence of the fullblood majority, whose hereditary claims and rights were the primary basis for the existence of the Cherokee Nation. During the pre-removal era, Anglo-Cherokees were dependent upon their Cherokee heritage to sustain their rights and privileges to the corporate property of the Cherokee Nation. In the post-removal era in southwestern North Carolina, such connections to fullbloods were dramatically devalued in a racist, Anglo-American dominated society, and many Anglo-Cherokees gradually transformed themselves from "Cherokees" to "part Cherokees" to people with some Indian blood (see Duggan 1998). In crossing over to Anglo-American society, Anglo-Cherokees magnified the social distance between themselves and the conservative fullbloods in the region. Yet the dispossessed and impoverished fullbloods were increasingly dependent upon wealthier Anglo-Cherokees as patrons and mediators with white society. Anglo-Cherokee families provided access to land and credit for dependent fullbloods; this new patron-client relationship bore superordinate/subordinate connotations that amplified ethnic differences. Personal, largely pre-removal relationships sustained the primary connections between Anglo-Cherokees and fullbloods; these connections

eroded with the deaths of older personnel. However, the Cherokee identity of highly Westernized mixed bloods was periodically reinforced thoughout the nineteenth century by U.S. government enrollments and disbursements. Anglo-Cherokees were principal participants in the chartering and incorporation of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and acquisition of a corporate land base for the tribe (Finger 1984). In the twentieth century, common interest in the corporate resources of the tribe, along with common access to government programs for the tribe, has maintained political linkages between those Cherokees socially identified as Indians and those with Indian ancestry but who are phenotypically white and socially mainstreamed as Anglo-Americans (Finger 1991; Neeley 1991; Thomas 1957). This common interest has also been a source of intense competition for political power and economic control over tribal resources. Thomas' mid-twentieth century assessment of ethnic and cultural gradations and the emic perception of a "real" Indian–"white" Indian dichotomy reflects this dynamic of competition.

The remainder of this study examines the material realities of ethnic differentiation among Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina prior to the removal of 1838. Although the ethnic dichotomization (and intervening gradation) that characterized Eastern Cherokee society at the time of Thomas' studies developed through a unique, century-long process after 1838, it is clear that the roots of such differentiation were firmly in place at the time of removal.

Chapter 3
The Cherokee Census of 1835

This chapter examines the 1835 Federal census of the Cherokee Nation to determine the ethnic composition the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina at the beginning of the study period. This examination accords particular attention to the bioracial composition of the population and the relationship of household composition to reported indices of Westernization (i.e. English literacy, ownership of black slaves, and market level agricultural production). The incidence and coincidence of these gross measures are used to classify individual household cases into groups reflective of degrees of Westernization. The membership of each of these groups is discussed with reference to the racial/ethnic composition of the constituent households as well as their geographic distributions. The characterizations of household ethnicity and Westernization developed in this chapter are applied to the interpretations of more expressly material datasets considered in chapters 4 and 5.

Purpose, Conduct, and Potential Biases of the 1835 U.S. Federal Census of the Cherokee Nation

In order to facilitate Federal efforts to effect a total Cherokee cession and removal, the U.S. War Department conducted the first household-level census of the entire Cherokee Nation (East) during the second half of 1835. This census, conducted by federally appointed agents on a state by state basis, is known as the Henderson Roll, named for David Henderson, the enumerating agent for Tennessee (Litton 1940). The purpose of the census, as stated by Indian Agent Benjamin Currey, was:

> ...To be fully possessed of a knowledge of their number, the number of each man's houses, the number of his farms, with the quantity of land under cultivation, the proportion of tillable land, the mineral resources & water privileges of the country &c, the commissioners would be able to fix a true estimate upon the value of the country in case the whole tribe does not approve of the gross sum fixed upon already (Currey 1835).

The Henderson Roll census documents a total of 16,542 Cherokee individuals (2,637 named households) resident in the eastern United States. The census lists the heads of Cherokee households by name, and documents numbers of adult and subadult male and female household members, numbers of intermarried whites, blood quantum (full, half, or quarter Cherokee; Catawba, Spanish, or black admixture), numbers of black slaves, numbers of individuals literate in English or Cherokee, number of farms, acreage in cultivation, bushels of wheat and corn grown, sold or bought the previous year, numbers of mills and ferries, number of farmers, mechanics, spinners and weavers, and number of reservees with rights from the 1817 and 1819 treaties.

Nathaniel Smith, a U.S. Army officer who later became the superintendent for Cherokee removal, conducted the census for the North Carolina portion of the nation (United States Congress 1838). He was aided in the enumeration by interpreter Preston Starrett, an intermarried

white who lived in Aquohee near the Baptist Mission. When they began work in June 1835, the Cherokees were immediately (and justifiably) suspicious of the motives of the census, and Smith was stymied by Cherokee opposition. He wrote his superior, emigration agent Major Benjamin Currey, concerning Cherokee cooperation:

> ...I enrolled eleven families before arriving at the house of John Christie..... He [Christie] refused to give me the number of his family and I found it impossible to proceed in consequence of evil disposed persons having preceded me and spread a report that I had been appointed to enroll them secretly for emigration, that soon other individuals would be on to apprize their improvements & remove them &c. (Smith 1835).

Smith appeared before the district council at Aquohee and demanded permission to continue the enumeration unhindered, but the council blocked Smith until they received word from Principal Chief John Ross that the census might be used to bolster Cherokee efforts against removal (Litton 1940). When Smith continued the census, he was accompanied by council member John Timson, who monitored the agent's actions and movements. Together, Smith, Starrett, and Timson completed the enumeration in December 1835.

Smith's census was undoubtedly affected by the tense, anti-removal mood that prevailed throughout the Nation, and potential biases in the census data are numerous. Categories of information which depended upon the cooperation of Cherokee respondents and which could not be directly observed by Smith, such as bushels of corn and wheat grown and sold and numbers of mechanics, weavers, spinners and reservees are probably subject to the greatest error. For example, Smith recorded only 48 claimants to life estate or fee simple reservations, although Cherokee claims papers indicate at least 200 such claimants resided in the study area. Even Smith's estimates of cultivated acreage and counts of structures are questionable, and comparison of these data to detailed property appraisals conducted one year later (Welch and Jarrett 1837) reveal broad discrepancies.

Smith's assignment of individuals to age ranges and ethnic categories was probably also conjectural. Determining and accurately recording blood quantum was particularly problematic. Because quadroon was the lowest classification available to the enumerators, Cherokee citizens with lower blood quanta (e.g. 1/8 and 1/16 quanta) were categorized as quadroons. No provision was made to accommodate the varied fractional blood quanta in eighths, sixteenths, thirty-seconds and sixty-fourths. In addition, Smith apparently used the quadroon category to classify individuals who were one-quarter white as well as individuals who were one-quarter Cherokee. Because Smith's census was the basis of many subsequent Cherokee tribal enrollments, such errors recorded in 1835 have been perpetuated to the present day. Starrett and Timson, who were knowledgeable of the Cherokees residing in the southern portion of the study area, probably informed Smith in general terms about intermarriage and blood quantum and their information may have enabled him to exclude non-Cherokees (such as Creeks, Natchez, and Catawbas) who

lived in the area from the census. However, even Starrett's and Timson's aid was questionable. For instance, Punk, whom Smith indicated as the fullblood head of a fullblood household, was also known as William Richard (Little Richard) Henson, Jr. (Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1846–1847). His father was William Henson, an intermarried white, and his sister Rebecca was married to Preston Starrett (Mullay 1848)!

Complex household configurations with aggregates of Cherokee citizens and noncitizens defied categorization and accurate enumeration. For example the *Cowstaneesta* household contained eight juveniles and two adults, but Smith reported the racial/ethnic composition of the household as only one fullblood and one intermarried white. Other records reveal that *Cowstaneesta*'s white wife, Polly Murphy, had large numbers of children from previous marriages or liaisons with both white and black mates (Manypenny 1857). These co-resident children, although clearly members of a Cherokee household, did not qualify as Cherokee citizens.

Categorical shortcomings in the census may have been complicated by problems Smith faced in defining Cherokee households using Anglo-American criteria. Smith, who had little previous experience with Native Americans, probably assumed a nuclear family structure with male heads of household, patrilineal structure, and generalized patrifocality. Instead, Smith encountered a large number of multigenerational extended households with multiple clustered residences, and surviving elements of the matrilineal Cherokee kinship system undoubtedly confused the census taker. In addition, Cherokee patterns of serial monogamy and polygyny compounded Smith's problems in delineation of Cherokee households.

Census Results

Despite the difficulties encountered by Smith and the biases incorporated into his enumeration, the 1835 census remains a valuable comprehensive resource for understanding the diversity, density, and distribution of the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina. The census recorded 607 Cherokee households (3404 Cherokee citizens; 37 black slaves) which constituted at least 22 discrete communities within the study area (Table 3.1, Appendix 1, Figure 2.5). An additional 42 Cherokee households (234 individuals) resided within Haywood and Macon Counties, North Carolina, outside the bounds of the Cherokee Nation. The population of the study area constituted approximately 19 percent of the total Cherokee national population, and the study area exhibits the highest population density within the Cherokee Nation, with 3.08 persons/mi^2. By comparison, the Cherokee population density of southeastern Tennessee was 2.08 persons/mi^2, while that of Georgia was 1.36 persons/mi^2, and that of Alabama was .7 persons/mi^2. When the rugged topography and limited agricultural land in the study area are taken into account, the practical density of Cherokee population in the study area appears especially great.

Table 3.1 Summary of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

Locality/Community	Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	total household members	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	Corn Production (bu./1835)
Little Tennessee River Basin																
Cheoah River	86	118	134	103	129	484	486	0	0	0	0	79	1	109	877	7675
Stecoah	12	16	22	18	21	77	68	9	0	0	0	26	0	21	114	1385
Tuskeegee	4	1	10	5	7	23	23	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	52	480
Alarka	9	15	17	11	16	59	59	0	0	0	0	18	0	12	66	620
Nantahala River	44	51	61	33	54	199	196	3	0	0	0	69	0	63	347	4300
subtotals	155	201	244	170	227	842	832	12	0	0	0	198	1	211	1456	14460
Hiwassee River Basin																
Hiwassee Town	16	29	21	30	21	101	95	7	0	0	0	23	7	30	267	3320
Hunters Mill Creek	6	12	5	9	8	34	34	0	0	0	0	4	0	7	46	410
Brasstown Creek	36	62	61	50	51	224	208	17	0	0	7	46	5	53	417.5	4761
Peachtree Creek	12	19	11	17	18	65	22	30	10	3	1	12	5	17	165	1575
Tusquittee	77	107	97	104	120	428	392	34	2	2	9	60	17	122	910.5	10560
Lower Valley River	34	65	52	50	53	220	159	55	3	1	3	16	1	54	448	3586
Upper Valley River	74	97	94	86	109	385	339	40	0	7	14	50	24	109	926	10665
Shooting Creek	97	140	141	118	161	560	494	60	8	1	1	41	0	166	834	9676
Hiwassee River (Cootlohee)	26	47	26	27	32	132	110	12	0	2	0	8	0	34	241	2450
Hanging Dog Creek	8	16	13	7	11	47	47	0	0	0	0	3	0	15	71	885
Hanging Dog Creek (Island Ford)	8	8	9	11	8	36	28	7	0	1	0	5	0	8	38	370
Beaverdam Creek	5	7	9	4	11	31	31	0	0	0	0	3	0	14	97	1020
Nottley River	31	38	37	43	36	154	103	46	0	5	2	15	4	51	505	9175
Hothouse Creek	2	6	2	5	3	16	15	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	16	95
Persimmon Creek	20	35	26	35	34	130	129	0	0	0	0	15	0	30	228	3115
subtotals	452	688	604	596	676	2563	2206	309	23	22	37	303	63	712	5210	61663
totals for study area	607	889	848	766	903	3405	3038	321	23	22	37	501	64	923	6666	76123

This bears out Lt. L.B. Webster's 1838 observation that the Valley River region was "the thickest settled portion of the Cherokee Country," and clarifies why Removal era whites and Cherokees alike considered North Carolina to be the stronghold of the Cherokee Nation.

The distribution of the Cherokee population in the study area appears to have been determined largely by the availability of alluvial and colluvial soils suitable for corn production. The majority (75 percent [452 households; 2165 individuals]) of the Cherokee population resided in the upper Hiwassee River basin in the southern half of the study area, where valleys with extensive alluvial bottomlands provided suitable areas for cultivation and occupation. These households were particularly concentrated in the Valley River, Tusquittee Creek, and Shooting Creek valleys, which harbored over 45 percent of the study area population. By contrast, only 155 households (845 individuals) resided in the narrow Cheoah, Nantahala, and Little Tennessee river valleys in the northern half of the study area, where the development of alluvial landforms is highly restricted. Within this portion of the Little Tennessee River basin there are relatively few patches of bottomland that contain five or more contiguous acres of arable soil, and all of these bottoms were occupied during the Removal Period (U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers 1837–1838).

Comparison of the 1835 census with the earlier Meigs Census of 1809 (Table 3.2) and the Cherokee Census of 1824 (Table 3.3) reveals some broad trends in population size and composition in the study area during the early nineteenth century. In 1809, settlements in the study area included a total of 2323 individuals, as compared to 3404 individuals in the area in 1835, a net increase of 47 percent over a 28 year period. The 1825 census presents totals at the district level, and is not directly comparable to the structure of the 1835 census. However, when 1835 estimates for Tahquohee District communities in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia are pooled, the total population is 1325 individuals, compared to an 1825 total of 1359 individuals. The Aquohee District total for 1835 is 2964 individuals, compared with an 1824 total of 2564 individuals. The 1809 census documents 873 individuals in Tahquohee District communities and 1941 individuals in Aquohee District communities.

The apparent changes in population between 1809 and 1835 are attributable to a number of factors. The overall growth of the study area population between 1809 and 1825 reflects, in part, normal expected population growth, but may also reflect the serious undercount of individuals in 1809 as asserted by Major John Norton (Klinck and Talman 1970) and hypothesized by Thornton (1990). However, the primary factor in the rapid growth of the Cherokee population of the study area was the high rate of emigration to extreme southwestern North Carolina following Cherokee land cessions in 1817 and 1819 (Riggs 1987; Royce 1887). Spoliation and improvement claims dating to the Removal period indicate that up to one third of the study area population derived

Table 3.2. 1809 Meigs census figures for the study area.

Community	Males	Females	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Sp. Wheels	Looms	Ploughs	Silversmiths	Gristmill
Nottelee	118	127	18	79	19	96	16	6	4	1	
Tusquittee town	112	138	50	100	30	50	50	3	1	1	
Tugaloe [Tallula?]	96	108	53	265	18	249	20	4	4		
Nantiallee town	107	114	13	65	2	125	3	1			
Buffalo town	81	90	15	62		50	10	3	3		
Little Tellico town	94	110	17	60	10	60	8	2	1	1	1
Little Highwassee	35	35	10	38		28	3	1	1		
Eoyntee town	110	125	14	60		65	8	5			
Teloni in the valley	149	156	10	85	18	118	10	4		1	
Accoee town	101	109	25	70	3	60	15	2	1	1	
Cootchloee town	101	107	16	50	10	26	9	1	1		
	1104	1219	241	934	110	927	152	32	16	5	1

Table 3.3. 1825 Cherokee census figures for the Aquohee and Tahquohee Districts.

District	Males	Females	Black Slaves	Whites	Sp. Wheels	Gristmills	Blacksmiths	Plows	Looms	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Goats	Sheep	Sawmills	Wagons
Aquohee	1245	1319	19	4	346	1	5	446	145	5544	1799	1191	37	765	1	7
Taquohee	693	666	24	9	211	1	1	308	53	2419	1506	554				

from settlements on territory ceded in 1817–1819 (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842). Between 1820 and 1825, the study area experienced a steady influx of dispossessed Cherokees from the upper Little Tennessee River Valley, the lower Hiwassee River Valley, and the headwaters of the Chattahoochee River (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842). Significantly, the majority of Anglo-Cherokee families (e.g. the Welches, Morrises, Blairs, Downings, Buffingtons, Colstons, Jones, Hawkins, Taylors, Rapers) moved into the study area during this period. In many instances, entire communities reestablished in the study area. For example, a group of kin-affiliated households from the settlement of Cowee moved to Tallula Creek and established a community that remained until Removal (Riggs and Duggan 1992). This pattern of community displacement, movement, and recoalescence probably reflects the strength of affiliations to larger kin groups, and this pattern continued after Removal when a number of Cherokee communities reassembled in both Oklahoma and North Carolina.

A very low level of population growth for the study area is indicated for the period between 1825 and 1835. Pooled figures for the Aquohee and Tahquohee Districts reveal an increase from 3923 individuals to 4289 individuals, a net growth of only 366 individuals or .9 percent per annum. The Tahquohee District suffered a net loss of 34 individuals over the eleven-year period, while the Aquohee District grew by 12 percent. Shifts in Tahquohee and Aquohee District populations are attributable to a high rate of Cherokee emigration from Georgia into North Carolina in the 1830s. After the extension of Georgia state jurisdiction over Cherokee lands in 1828, large numbers of Cherokees fled to southwestern North Carolina to escape persecution by whites. For example, *Teyotlla* moved from Choestoe, Georgia, to Hanging Dog, North Carolina, after:

> ...the Georgians in order to force him to abandon his improvement and property, put out his hogs' eyes, first. They came to his house a considerable number of armed men, drove off his cattle. He went to them to claim his property, when one of them asked him for his butcher knife which he immediately gave to him. On getting the knife, he told him to leave there and commenced beating him with a stick. Some of the whites interfered and secured his release (Teyoltla 1843).

Improvement valuations and spoliation claims indicate that at least 50 displaced Georgia Cherokee households resettled in the study area between 1830 and 1838 (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842; Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1846–1847; Welch and Jarrett 1837). The majority of these households simply shifted across the North Carolina-Georgia line but maintained their respective Tahquohee and Aquohee District affiliations. For instance, households from Little Hightower Creek on the headwaters of the Hiwassee River in Georgia moved as a group approximately 20 miles to join kinspeople on the head of Shooting Creek. Similarly, a group of dispossessed households from the Taccoa River, including those of George Owens, Arch Scott, Cherokee George, and Sunday, moved fifteen miles to the upper Nottely

River in North Carolina (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842; Henderson Roll 1835).

Gains in the study area population due to immigration were partially offset by losses due to enrollment and emigration of households to the Western Cherokees in 1833–1834. Enrollment records indicate that 50 households, comprising 217 individuals (primarily *métis*), emigrated to present-day Oklahoma during this period (U.S. Congress 1836). These emigrants suffered a devastating cholera epidemic upon their arrival in the West, and many returned to North Carolina in 1835 and 1836 (Palmer 1970).

The low level of population growth in the study area between 1825 and 1835 suggests that the native population barely sustained its size despite receiving large numbers of emigrants. A number of stress factors probably acted in concert to suppress the Cherokee population in the southwestern North Carolina through this period. Recurrent food shortages (Jones 1836; Wool 1837) curbed population growth by increasing mortality and decreasing fertility. Diseases from the American settlements spread readily into the Cherokee Nation and epidemics of smallpox, whooping cough and measles took a yearly toll in the study area. Famine and disease were exacerbated by the numerous dispossessions and displacements of Cherokee families by whites who swarmed into the Nation after 1828.

Household Composition

The 607 households identified in the 1835 Cherokee census reflect a variety of coresidence arrangements. Smith's operating definition of a Cherokee household appears to have been the occupancy group of a farmstead, including individuals residing under a single roof, as well as clearly affiliated individuals living in adjacent structures. The households Smith documented varied in size from one to thirteen household members, with a mean size of 5.62 and a median size of five individuals. It appears likely that both nuclear and extended households are represented within the population. Because Smith's census identified only the heads of Cherokee households by name and did not detail relationships among household members, it is difficult to differentiate between nuclear and extended household structure, yet some inferences can be drawn on the basis of the numbers of adults per household. For example, twelve singletons (one-person households) obviously constitute minimal residence units. Some of these singleton households, such as that of Rose Hawkins, represent the budding of young adults from parent households and the establishment of independent properties adjacent to parents. Others, like the households of John Tucker and Edmund Falling, reflect heads of households who established improvements in advance of the emigration of their families. Households consisting of one adult female, one adult male, and a number of subadults (n=220) probably represent nuclear families, as do households of single adults with subadults (n=38) and households of two adults with no children (n=34). In contrast, households containing four or more adults (n=166) probably

represent extended multigenerational households, polygynous households, or households with coresident siblings. Such extended or expanded households appear to have been a relatively common coresidence configuration, and may reflect the continued importance of the lineage as a central organizational feature of Cherokee life in the nineteenth century.

The persistence of matrilineal and matrifocal structure within Removal Period Cherokee society, while not apparent from the 1835 census, is suggested by a number of other sources. Crow system matrilineality was prevalent among Cherokees in the study area at the time of Removal (Evans 1979, Gilbert 1943, Mooney 1900, Thomas 1959), and many households in the region appear to have been organized with reference to senior females. Female heads of household are documented in the census for 70 households, and it is likely that Smith underrepresented female heads of household by assuming that any adult male present in a Cherokee household was the head. Cherokee claims records indicate that a large portion of property was controlled by female heads of household, and Cherokee women frequently maintained substantial properties independent of their husbands (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842; Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1846–1847).

Notations to Welch and Jarretts' property valuations (1837), Thomas' census (Thomas 1840) and testimony presented to the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846–1847) indicate the diversity of relationships among members of Cherokee households in the study area. In addition to basic nuclear families, there are numerous instances of children who resided with their grandmothers or maternal aunts, uncles who resided with the families of their adult nephews, and cohabitation of adult siblings. Cohabitation of adult sisters appears to have been especially common, and elderly brothers and sisters frequently lived together or in close proximity. As in most matrilineal societies, uxorilocality appears to have been the most common residence pattern, and Cherokee households in the study area commonly included wife's mother, brothers or uncle (Thomas 1840). However, residence arrangements were not exclusively defined by matrilineal relationships, and elderly fathers frequently resided with sons or daughters.

Cherokee marriage patterns also affected the household compositions observed by Smith. Although the majority of Cherokee unions were monogamous, serial monogamy was prevalent, and many Cherokees had several spouses in their lifetimes. Divorces and remarriages occasioned the residence shifts by male partners, who frequently returned to their own matrilineages and lived with elder sisters between unions. In addition to serial monogamy, polygyny (primarily sororal) was still practiced at the time of removal, despite a national law that forbade polygamy (Cherokee Nation 1852) but did not prescribe any penalty. A number of instances of polygyny in the study area are documented by Welch and Jarrett (1837) and Army Corps surveyors (1837–1838), and polygynous marriage appears to have been practiced by fullblood Cherokees, mixed

blood Cherokees, and intermarried whites. In cases of sororal polygyny, co-wives often resided in the same households. In other instances co-wives maintained separate residences; males in these relationships presumably shifted residences periodically.

Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Cherokee Population of Southwestern North Carolina

The 1835 census is especially important as a comprehensive primary record of the racial composition of Removal Period Cherokee society. Many contemporary accounts equate the racial pluralism of Cherokee society with cultural pluralism (Featherstonhaugh 1847; Jones 1857), an equivalency which suggests the operation of dual (or multiple) ethnic identities. It is, therefore, important to document the racial diversity of Cherokee households in the study area as an initial gauge of ethnic variability to guide the remainder of this study. It is equally important to assess the association between racial diversity and measures of socioeconomic and cultural diversity to determine the relevance of an ethnicity model to understanding cultural differentiation within the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina.

Although Removal Period Cherokee society as a whole encompassed considerable racial diversity, the 1835 census reveals that the population of the study area was comparatively homogeneous. Fullblood Cherokees (n=3038), resident within 560 households, constituted 89 percent of all Cherokee citizens in the study area. *Métis* of Anglo-Cherokee descent (n=321) or African-Cherokee ancestry (n=23) and intermarried whites [i.e. Cherokee countrymen or citizens by marriage] (n=22) constituted approximately 11 percent of the total population of Cherokee citizens in the study area. Smith did not document any individuals of Spanish-Cherokee or Catawba-Cherokee descent. The census also indicates that Cherokee citizens in southwestern North Carolina held 37 African American slaves. In addition to the Cherokee citizens and black slaves documented by the 1835 census, other sources indicate undetermined numbers of Anglo-Americans (>50 households), Catawba Indians, Creek Indians, Natchez Indians, and free blacks who resided in the study area at the time of removal (Mooney 1900; U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers 1837-1838;Williams 1838; Wool 1836). While these individuals had no official status in the Cherokee Nation, they nevertheless formed important components of the face-to-face community that interacted and associated with Cherokee citizens on a daily basis.

Practically all of the racial diversity in the study population was contained within the Hiwassee River basin in the southern portion of the study area. The 155 households resident in the northern third of the region included no whites, no black slaves, no individuals of African-Cherokee descent, and only 12 individuals of Anglo-Cherokee descent (who accounted for only 1.4 percent of the subregional population). In the southern portion of the study area, intermarried whites and Anglo-Cherokee *métis* were particularly concentrated in four linear clusters located in the middle and lower Valley River Valley, the middle Nottely River Valley, the Peachtree Creek

Valley, and along the Unicoi Turnpike near present-day Hayesville (U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers 1837–1838; Welch and Jarrett 1837). The geographic clustering of Anglo-Cherokee households as proximate communities suggests that these units may have formed discrete communities of interest, association and affinity superimposed upon a primarily fullblood settlement system. Such delineation of spatially discrete communities is a characteristic behavior of ethnic groups sharing common, polyethnic territories (Barth 1969).

The Anglo-Cherokee settlement clusters were coincident with the most extensive tracts of agricultural land in extreme southwestern North Carolina, and generally bordered on the commercial routes that linked the study area with outside markets (U.S. Army Corps of Topographic Engineers 1837–1838;Welch and Jarrett 1837). This pattern bespeaks a strategic focus on economic resources and market access by Anglo-Cherokee households, an emphasis consistent with the market-oriented agrarianism that distinguished more westernized Cherokee families. The extent of Anglo-Cherokee control over agricultural land, and other evidence of agrarian intensification by these households is explored in the following section and in Chapter 4.

The racial composition of households in the study region indicates a general pattern of assortative mating suggestive of class endogamy, one of the characteristics of ethnic differentiation (Table 3.4). Among approximately 531 presumptive marriages involving fullbloods, 97.7 percent are with other fullbloods, 1.7 percent are fullblood/*métis*, and .6 percent are fullblood/white. Among 61 *métis* marriages, 55 percent are *métis*/*métis*, 18 percent are *métis*/fullblood, and 27 percent are *métis*/white. Among 19 white intermarriages, 15 (79 percent) involve *métis* spouses and four (21 percent) involve fullblood spouses. Intermarried whites are also indicated in two all-male households; their Cherokee spouses were presumably deceased or absent at the time of the census. As indicated by the contingency table (see Table 3.4) these mate choice ratios deviate significantly from prior expected frequencies, and a Chi-square test suggests that mate choice was not random, but rather was preferentially affected by ethnicity. Fullbloods chose other fullblood mates slightly more often than might be expected under a random model, but fullblood/*métis* and fullblood/white marriages occurred at substantially lower rates than would be expected. In contrast, *métis* individuals chose other *métis* or white mates substantially more often than would be predicted under an assumption of random mating. Whites (predominantly males) appear to have preferred *métis* mates, especially quadroons, over fullbloods. These preferential mate selection patterns probably had far less to do with race, per se, than with cultural affinity. Traditionally oriented fullbloods sought like-minded (or like-cultured) individuals with whom to set up housekeeping. Most of these fullblood Cherokees probably observed traditional rules of clan exogamy and various other clan proscriptions and prescriptions in mate selection,

Table 3.4. Contingency table of mate selection patterns by bioracial affinity.

male / female		fullblood	*métis*	white	
Count	fullblood	479	6	2	487
Expected		439.0242	37.113383	10.8625	
Deviation		39.97584	-31.11338	-8.8625	
Count	*métis*	4	32	10	46
Expected		41.4684	3.5055762	1.02602	
Deviation		-37.4684	28.494424	8.97398	
Count	white	2	3		5
Expected		4.507435	0.3810409		
Deviation		-2.507435	2.6189591		
		485	41		538

Tests

Source	DF	LogLikelihood	RSquare (U)
Model	4	116.16918	0.6279
Error	532	68.8494	
C Total	536	185.01858	
Total Count	538		

Test	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
Likelihood Ratio	232.338	<.0001
Pearson	400.417	<.0001

and choices in mate selection were constrained and canalized by such observance. By contrast, whites' preference for *métis* mates probably signaled an affinity for English-speaking individuals with westernized outlooks whose daily lifestyles more closely approximated that of Anglo-Americans. Marriages between whites and more westernized *métis* provided whites with free and relatively unbridled access to tribal corporate resources (especially farmland) while allowing them to maintain a "civilized" western lifestyle. *Métis* individuals, by exercising a preference for white or *métis* spouses, stated their affinity for western lifestyles and attitudes. In many, if not most, cases *métis* individuals disregarded clan based kinship guidelines in mate selection to opt for ethnic and socioeconomic class endogamy. In addition, it should be noted that the majority of whites and *métis* represented in the census were relatively recent emigrants to the study area who were not ingrained in the longstanding local kinship networks that formed the primary bases for social interaction. As a result, these whites and *métis* were probably regarded as outsiders, who formed their own community of association and who constituted a largely independent pool of mating partners.

Despite the general patterns of assortative mating and their implications for ethnic differentiation, there appear to have been numerous exceptions to these trends. For example,

Gideon Morris, a well-to-do white slaveholder and former preacher, married a fullblood named Rebecca (a.k.a. Naka) to establish a thoroughly westernized household (Mullay 1848; Perdue 1982). By contrast, fullbloods *Cowstaneesta* and *Walletah* married white sisters Polly Murphy and Rachel Riley (Thomas 1840), but maintained material lifestyles on a par with traditionalist neighbors. Many of the more westernized *métis* households included fullblood members, while some apparently conservative fullblood households included single *métis* members.

African-Cherokee *métis* comprise a small subgroup of the regional population that appears to be interspersed among fullblood communities in the southern half of the study area. The census documents 23 African-Cherokee individuals resident in six households (Isaac Tucker, *Culstie*, Jumper, Jenney, Salley, *Tautlentah*), but does not record the obvious presence of African-American household members. Two of these households are particularly noteworthy. Jumper (a.k.a. Old Bearmeat; *Tiokuskiska*) lived in the lower Valley River Valley in a household with four fullbloods, one African-Cherokee *métis* and one intermarried white. The particulars of intrahousehold relationships are unknown. Isaac Tucker was head of a family of three Cherokee fullbloods and six African-Cherokee *métis* resident in the Downing Creek Valley. Tucker himself was actually a mulatto African-American, but was, by odd circumstance, considered a native Cherokee by birth. Testimony heard before the Cherokee Supreme Court in a case concerning Tucker illustrates the often convoluted routes by which African-Americans came to the Cherokee Nation:

> ...a white man and an Indian trader who had a Cherokee woman for his wife but who by his usage of her in beating and otherwise mistreating her when in a state of pregnancy died. The clan or tribe to whom she belonged determined to kill the said white man by name of Sam Dent who to appease them and satisfy said tribe or clan went off to Augusta in Georgia and did then purchase a female slave by the name of Molley and brought female into the Cherokee Nation and did offer her to the clan [as] renumeration for the wrongs he had done. A town council & talk was then had at Chota Old Town on Tennessee River and the said female was then and there received by D[eer] clan and by the authorities agreeable to the Indian law and usage in the place of the murdered wife of the said Sam Dent and has by her self and descendants been ever since recognized by said nation or clan as a Cherokee... Molly was... emancipated & adopted into the clan composing the Deer family ... & since that time she has continued in the nation & enjoyed the liberty of freedom & that her two sons Edward & Isaac Tucker were born at the beloved town called Echota ... & has ever since been free & resided in the Nation... (Big Half Breed, et al. 1833).

Molly's children were fathered by an Anglo-American named John Tucker, who also sired a number of Anglo-Cherokee *métis* offspring. Although Edward and Isaac Tucker had no Cherokee biological affinity, they were legally and socially Cherokees by the inherited rights of matrilineage adoption. Isaac Tucker, who developed large landholdings and a gristmill in Georgia before his dispossession by Anglo-American squatters, appears to have been thoroughly Westernized in orientation. His rather impoverished circumstances at Downing Creek in North Carolina reflected his recent losses.

Measures of Traditionalism and Westernization

The 1835 census provides a number of direct and indirect gauges of the relative Westernization of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina that can be used to measure cultural differentiation among households and between racial (and presumably ethnic) subsets of that population. Some of these measures, such as the ownership of high yield economic facilities (i.e. ferries, mills) are so infrequently represented among the North Carolina data that they are of little utility in the present study. Other measures, such as household counts of weavers and spinners, are omnipresent and reflect the universal integration of particular western technologies by all sectors of Cherokee society. Four data categories, slave ownership, agricultural acreage, English literacy, and Cherokee literacy appear to best monitor differences in the economic orientation and relative Westernization or traditionalism of Cherokee households.

Numerous accounts relate black slaveholding on the part of Cherokee citizens to their assumption of the southern Anglo-American pattern of market oriented agrarianism (Perdue 1979b). Gallatin (ca. 1826) credited the adoption of the institution of black slavery with much of the agrarian "progress" evinced in the Cherokee Nation, confusing cause with effect:

> During their last wars against the United States the Cherokees carried off a rather large number of slaves, which caused a profound and unique revolution among them. They found it convenient to have the Negroes do the work to which they were accustomed; agriculture is no longer exclusively the occupation of the women, and is greatly increased. The cleverest and strongest of the Cherokees appropriated for themselves as many of these useful prisoners as they needed... Soon one saw large, well cultivated fields, good houses.... (cited in Sturtevant 1981:90).

By 1835, Cherokee households owned a total of 1592 black slaves, with some very wealthy planters holding as many as 110 chattels. These slaves were not, however, uniformly distributed within Cherokee society and appear to have been particularly concentrated among Anglo-Cherokee families who aspired to, or achieved, a bourgeois planter status and lifestyle. For instance, John Ridge, a Cherokee *métis*, observed in 1826:

> ...The African Slaves are [generally] mostly held by half breeds ... The valuable portion of property is retained in this class (and their farms are conducted in the same style with southern white farmers of equal ability in point of property) (Sturtevant 1981:81).

The association among slaveholding, Westernization and wealth accumulation among the Cherokees appears to have increased throughout the antebellum period to accentuate the economic and cultural divisions with the Cherokee Nation. By mid-century, issues of slaveholding and abolition split Western Cherokees into opposing factions of wealthy "half breed" slaveholders and poor fullbloods who contended for control of the national government and eventually battled each other during the American Civil War (Perdue 1979b; McLoughlin 1993).

In their general analysis of the 1835 Cherokee census, McLoughlin and Conser (1977) consider slaveholding as *de facto* evidence of household and class wealthholding and

Westernization, and employ household frequencies of black slaves to define an acculturated Cherokee economic elite. This inference appears justified inasmuch as each slave represented both a substantial unit of wealth (≈$100-$500 each) and a captive source of labor for the production of further wealth. Such coercive control over labor, even control over nonCherokees, would seem incongruent with traditional Cherokee attitudes regarding interpersonal behavior, and the adoption of black slavery by members of Cherokee society seems to have signaled a move toward western values regarding wealth and its generation.

The 1835 census reveals that 16 Cherokee households in the study area held a total of 37 African American slaves as chattels. These included seven households with intermarried whites (Gideon Morris, John Welch, David England, Jesse Raper, David Taylor, Robert Hanks, and Dick Downing/James Blythe); four *métis* households (i.e. Ned Christie, George Blair, Charley Buffington, and John Timson), and five fullblood households, (*Autoheeskee*, Catey, *Chicksuttahee*, Robert Muskrat, and *Oolaohee* [a.k.a. Richard Walker]). This distribution suggests that slaveholding was strongly patterned with respect to ethnicity; Anglo-Cherokee families in the study area appear to have been far more likely to own slaves than were fullblood families. The association of black slaves with Anglo-Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina indicates particular concentration of wealth among these few families, and connotes a higher degree of integration of western economic strategies within this presumptive ethnic group. As revealed by consideration of other data categories included in the 1835 census and by the 1836–1837 valuations of Cherokee properties (see Chapter 4), most of these slaveowners maintained real property holdings on a substantially greater scale than their non-slaveowning neighbors. These slaveholding households constituted the uppermost socioeconomic tier of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina, and form an *a priori* group for subsequent consideration and comparisons of household wealth and material culture.

The concentration of black slaves among Anglo-Cherokee households is a pattern predicted by contemporary narrative accounts and which may be explained as evidence of the western orientation of Cherokee *métis* and intermarried whites. It should be noted, however, that almost one-third of the slave population of the study area was represented among fullblood households, an apparent deviation that merits further discussion. *Oolaohee*, a fullblood householder of Brasstown Creek, maintained six black slaves, a number equal to John Welch, the wealthiest man in the region. Parallel records suggest that *Oolaohee* was synonymous with Richard Walker, an officer in the Creek War, respected judge of the Cherokee Supreme Court, signatory to the 1827 Cherokee constitution, and patron of the Valley Towns Baptist Mission. In 1817, the Federal government awarded Walker a fee simple 640 acre reserve by special provision of the Jackson Treaty, deeming him one of two influential individuals "competent to manage his own affairs"

(i.e. highly westernized). Walker's farm at Tuckaleechee on Brasstown Creek, with 27 acres of cultivated land and a substantial log house (Welch and Jarrett 1837), indicates a thoroughly agrarian lifestyle. His holdings were surrounded by his children's farms, which may have constituted a rather large (≈60 acres) composite plantation. This evidence suggests that Walker's ownership of black slaves corresponds with a generally westernized economic and political orientation, attitudes which probably derive from his reported early enculturational experience within an Anglo-American household (Miller 1911) and his associations with wealthy Anglo-Cherokee leaders at New Echota.

Robert (or Robin) and Nancy Muskrat, fullblood householders from Blair's Creek near Hayesville, owned three black slaves in 1835 and six by 1838 (Paige 1838). As in Richard Walker's case, the Muskrats' slaveholding appears to correspond with (and contribute to) a generally westernized agrarian lifestyle. The Muskrats lived in the midst of an Anglo-Cherokee community near Hyatt's store and stand on the Unicoi Turnpike, farmed 30 acres and maintained a substantial residence among the more formal in the region (Welch and Jarrett 1837). A post-removal spoliation claim lists Nancy Muskrat as an heir to Richard Walker's estate, indicating a close kin linkage between these households (Walker 1842).

The three other cases of slave ownership by fullblood households cannot be readily attributed to agrarian expansion or other independent measures of Westernization. *Autoheesky* (Eng: Big Walker), who owned one black slave, appears to have been an elder of the Tusquittee community. Although the 1835 census credits him with a farm of 20 acres, Welch and Jarrett identify *Autoheesky* as a non-householder who controlled only two acres of farmland. Catey and *Chicksuttahee* of the upper Valley River Valley owned one slave each, but neither are distinguished by their real property holdings or any other gauges of western orientation. These cases suggest that small-scale slaveholding alone does not constitute a particularly accurate measure of western orientation. Instead, slaveholding appears to be one of a suite of commonly associated attributes of more westernized Cherokee households. Conversely, the absence slaves in a household does not indicate that the family was particularly traditionalist in orientation. A number of the well-to-do Anglo-Cherokee and fullblood Cherokee families in the region owned no slaves, but operated large farms and maintained substantial herds of livestock.

English literacy is perhaps the clearest measure of Westernization presented by the census, and can be considered an indication of fluency in the English language and educational attainment. Thomas (1958a) considers such fluency in English to be prerequisite to Cherokees' thorough grasp and internalization of the Western value system and world view, a point which Evan B. Jones implied a century earlier:

> ...there are among them two distinct Classes ... One is that of the mixed blood, who speak English and are considered the intelligent and wealthy class. A few of these have a

> tolerable English Education, others, enough for common business, but many can neither read nor write. The other Class, which constitutes the body of the Nation, ... is the Full Cherokees. They speak, and nearly all the men, read the Cherokee language (Jones 1857).

The ability to speak English allowed Cherokees to deal with whites on a much more equal footing than was possible through translation, and literacy in English enabled Cherokees to grasp crucial commercial, political and legal information encoded in English texts. The obvious business and legal advantages of bilingualism led many Cherokees, particularly those who favored Westernization as a survival strategy, to enroll their children in mission or private schools in the Cherokee Nation to obtain an English education (McLoughlin 1984b:155). The Moravian missionaries, who worked with westernized Anglo-Cherokee students accustomed to English usage at home, observed in 1820:

> ...Already there are people, born there, who cannot speak the Cherokee language, and it is believed that in time the English language will be used by everyone. Because of their constantly increasing association with white people the Cherokees want their young children to learn English. Formerly, before they knew about schools, many placed their children in families where English was spoken; now they better understand the value of schools where their children can learn to read and write English (Fries 1922-1969 (7): 3445).

Some fullblood children managed to learn English in school, but such linguistic training was difficult for those with no familiarity with the language from their home environment. Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary at Peachtree, noted:

> ...As respects the full Indians, the time and expence required to teach them the English Language and the medium to instruct them in useful knowledge, is out of all proportion to the good produced... Not one in fifty of those who commence have the resolution to go through (Jones 1827a).

Despite the activity of mission schools, English proficiency was not widespread among native Cherokee speakers, and appears to have been especially rare among Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina. Jones observed that English usage in the study region was primarily confined to Anglo-Cherokees:

> ...persons who speak both languages: as half breeds, whites brought up in the Nation or married into Indian families or otherwise dependent upon them. This class of people have always been a connecting link between the Indians and the Whites and they sustain a very important relation to the Indians...(Jones 1828a).

Evan Jones had particular difficulty in finding and retaining suitable translators for his sermons, because so few individuals were truly fluent in both languages and most of these Anglo-Cherokees were too involved in "worldly affairs" (i.e. economic production) to attend to the mission's needs. When Army surveyors traversed the study area ten years later, they found almost no one who could speak English or who would speak it willingly (Williams 1838a). While this certainly reflects passive linguistic resistance on the part of Cherokees who opposed the Army's actions, it may also reveal the increasing emphasis placed on language usage as a cultural and ethnic diacritic. When the traditionalist Keetoowah secret society formed among the Western

Cherokees (with a high proportion of North Carolina Cherokees) two decades after removal, the society specifically excluded those who spoke or wrote English (McLoughlin 1993:158).

The rarity of competent bilingualism and the differential use of language is represented in the 1835 census, which reports only 64 individuals literate in English distributed among 29 study area households (see Appendix 1). All but two of these households were located in the southern portion of the study area, where all of the mission and private schools operated, and where the majority of Anglo-Cherokees resided. Among the 64 individuals literate in English, 51 (80 percent) were Anglo-Cherokee, either *métis* or intermarried white, and an ethnic dimension in linguistic acculturation is clearly indicated. Most of the English literate fullbloods appear to have been schooled at the Baptist mission; three were native Baptist preachers or exhorters (John Wickliff, *Chutahni*, and Beaver Carrier) and at least two others (Johnson, Young Turkey) were members of the Valleytowns Baptist congregation. Acquisition of English proficiency by Cherokee converts enabled them to access various religious texts (relatively few of which had been translated into Cherokee) and thereby participate more fully in Protestant ritual and practice. The association of English literacy with the Christianization among these few families reflects the limited role of mission activities in directed acculturation of the fullblood majority.

One of the highest household frequencies of English readership is recorded for the Sweetwater household, a fifteen-member unit located in Hiwassee Town. Sweetwater was a fullblood member of the Valleytowns Baptist Church and member of the National Council, who, after the collapse of the mission school, hosted a small boarding school on his own property (Jones 1834a). The census apparently included students in the household enumeration, accounting for the large number of juveniles (n=9), the curious aggregate of fullbloods (n=6) and *métis* (n=7), and the unusual concentration of English readers (n=7).

Although the general trends observed in the distribution of English literacy are probably robust, Smith's efforts to report English literacy among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina were marred by some glaring omissions, which render his data suspect. Although Smith enumerated the James D. Wafford household of Nottely River, he failed to record Wafford's literacy, even though Wafford was an accomplished *métis* writer in both Cherokee and English (Gardner 1989). Wafford, who was published in Cherokee (Wafford 1824), had served as interpreter and translator to the Valleytowns Baptist Mission, clerk to the Aquohee Council, census taker in 1824, and clerk to record Cherokee spoliation and improvement claims in 1838 (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842; Mooney 1900). Smith also omitted Andrew Kell, a *métis* member of the Valleytowns church whose writings are preserved among the papers of Reverend Evan Jones. There were, undoubtedly, many other such omissions, which would modify the overall count of English readers in the study area, but the overall trends revealed by the census

data are probably accurate.

Cherokee (Sequoyan) literacy bore markedly different connotations than English literacy. The syllabaric system invented by Sequoyah (a.k.a. George Guess) and introduced in the 1820s became a touchstone for nativism and Cherokee identity. By developing their own system of literacy, Cherokees asserted their equality, even superiority, over whites. McLoughlin (1984b) describes the effects of Sequoyan as reinvigorating Cherokee traditionalism and providing conservative Cherokees with a new mode of intellectual resistance against cultural infringement by whites and *métis*:

> ...the Sequoyan syllabary played a crucial role in creating a nationalist identity... for the Cherokees, the use of Sequoyan was a great liberation. It also had the important consequence of giving the traditionalists a secret form of communication entirely their own. So few whitemen and so few of the educated mixed bloods spoke Cherokee that Sequoyan became virtually a code to sustain the traditionalist community beyond the perception of the authorities, red or white...Sequoyah's invention thus provided a powerful impetus after 1821 to the growing division between the acculturated and the unacculturated, the rich and the poor, the Christians and the traditionalists... (McLoughlin 1984b:186).

Somewhat ironically, it was the Baptist missionary Evan Jones who most vigorously promoted Sequoyan in the study area. Jones viewed literacy in any form as the best medium for spreading Christian doctrine, and he, along with several Cherokee assistants, held brief Sequoyan schools or workshops at locations throughout southwestern North Carolina (Jones 1826-1836; McLoughlin 1990). By 1835, Sequoyan literacy was widespread in the study area, and the census records 501 readers of Sequoyan syllabary distributed among 294 households. Sequoyan readers are represented in fullblood and *métis* households in equivalent proportions, but are significantly underrepresented among households with intermarried whites (see Table 3.5). It is, however, noteworthy that two thirds of the households with English readers also include Cherokee readers. This suggests that literacy in either language was not exclusive, and that the members of many bilingual households considered information flow in both languages to be important to household affairs. Insofar as literacy constituted a statement of identity or affinity, these bilingual households appear to have made efforts to maintain their viability within both the more traditionally oriented and more western oriented communities. Conversely, low levels of Sequoyan attainment in households with intermarried whites suggest that these Western oriented households devalued the use of Cherokee in tacit rejection of its traditionalist or nationalist implications.

One of the primary trends in the Westernization of Cherokee society was expansion of household economic production from traditional subsistence levels to heightened levels that marked significant market participation and which provided for the generation of surplus wealth. Because Removal Period Cherokee economy was predominantly agricultural, interhousehold

Table 3.5. Spearman's Rank Order Correlations for select census categories.*

		Spearman		Kendall	
Variable 1	Variable 2	Rho	Prob>|Rho|	Tau b	Prob>|Tau b|
whites	*métis*	0.3612	<.0001	0.3612	0
fullbloods	*métis*	-0.7229	<.0001	-0.7229	0
fullbloods	whites	-0.4072	<.0001	-0.4072	0
Cherokee readers	*métis*	-0.0326	0.4222	-0.0326	0.4217
Cherokee readers	whites	-0.0933	0.0215	-0.0933	0.0217
Cherokee readers	fullbloods	0.0694	0.0877	0.0694	0.0877
English readers	*métis*	0.3324	<.0001	0.3324	<.0001
English readers	whites	0.4225	<.0001	0.4225	0
English readers	fullbloods	-0.3306	<.0001	-0.3306	<.0001
English readers	Cherokee readers	0.0766	0.0594	0.0766	0.0595
slaves	*métis*	0.2154	<.0001	0.2154	<.0001
slaves	whites	0.3627	<.0001	0.3627	0
slaves	fullbloods	-0.1777	<.0001	-0.1777	<.0001
slaves	Cherokee readers	-0.0154	0.7045	-0.0154	0.7042
slaves	English readers	0.3971	<.0001	0.3971	0
surplus capacity (ac)	*métis*	0.1733	<.0001	0.1453	<.0001
surplus capacity (ac)	whites	0.2069	<.0001	0.1735	<.0001
surplus capacity (ac)	fullbloods	-0.1299	0.0013	-0.1089	0.0014
surplus capacity (ac)	Cherokee readers	0.0266	0.5127	0.0223	0.5123
surplus capacity (ac)	English readers	0.2192	<.0001	0.1838	<.0001
surplus capacity (ac)	slaves	0.2538	<.0001	0.2127	<.0001

*note: all variables other than surplus capacity calculated as presence-absence.

variation in the extent of Cherokee agricultural properties (i.e. cultivated land) as reported by the census constitutes an important gauge of differential economic activity, and by extension, monitors variability in household level incorporation of Western economic values. Under the Cherokee corporate system of land tenure (Cherokee Nation 1852), all Cherokee citizens maintained (at least theoretically) equal access to agricultural land, and the size of household agricultural improvements were primarily limited by proximity to neighbors, individual economic initiative, and the ability of householders to organize and motivate labor. It can be asserted, therefore, that the extent of cultivated acreage maintained by each household reflects, in gross terms, the economic orientation of the household and the degree to which each family acted out profit motivations.

The census records a total of 6666 acres under cultivation in southwestern North Carolina, with household figures ranging from 0 to 120 acres (mean=11.04; median=8; sd=11.63) (Figure 3.1). Among all fullblood households, acreage values range between 0 and 80, with a mean value of 9.67 and a median value of 8 (sd=6.9). The distribution of acreage values among *métis* households (without whites) differs slightly, with household values ranging from 0 to 75, with a median value of 9.5 and a mean of 13.24 (sd=12.73). Households with intermarried whites

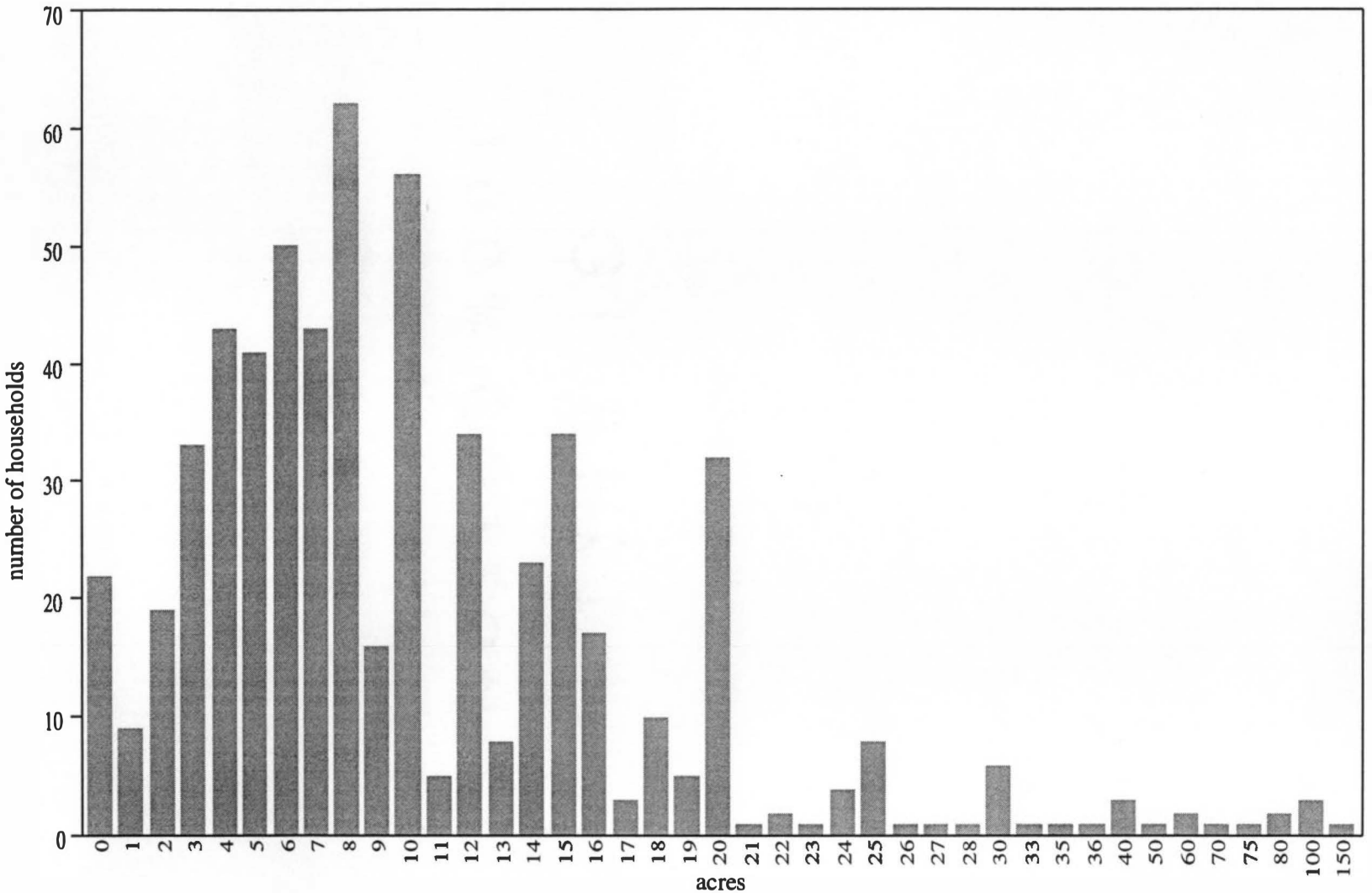


Figure 3.1. Distribution of agricultural land among study area households as indicated by the 1835 census.

maintained from 0 to 120 acres of cropland (mean=38.86; median=22.5; sd=37.7). F statistics reveal that all three distributions differ significantly at a .005 level of probability. This indicates that levels of agrarian activity varied, in part, with respect to household ethnicity, with Anglo-Cherokee households cultivating significantly more land than fullblood households. The generally higher agricultural capacity of Anglo-Cherokee households suggests a greater degree of market involvement than among fullblood households. It should be noted here that Welch and Jarrett's (1837) valuations of Cherokee properties report significantly different (and probably more accurate) agricultural acreages for study area households; these figures are examined in Chapter 4.

A similar pattern of interethnic variation in agricultural properties is evident when household size and subsistence requirements are taken into account to render estimates of household capacity for the production of marketable agricultural surplus. Scudder (1831) and Tarvin (1831) indicate that Cherokee households during the 1830s required between .5 and 1 acres in agricultural production per person to achieve (human) subsistence needs. This estimate appears to reflect the intensive maize consumption typical of traditional Cherokee diet, with an approximate allocation of 10 bushels of corn per person per annum plus other produce such as beans, squash and sweet potatoes. If we conservatively apply the one acre per person figure to the North Carolina data, we can subtract one acre per household member from each household's total agricultural acreage to derive an estimate of surplus production capacity, a measure of the potential for market involvement. It should be noted that some portion of such surplus was necessarily allocated for animal feeds, and larger herds of swine, horses and cattle could consume a household's entire crop surplus. However, such feeding simply represents conversion of surplus crops into readily marketable livestock.

The capacity for surplus production for all Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina ranges from -9 acres (in cases where households did not farm land sufficient for subsistence needs) to a high of 109 acres (mean=5.4; median=3; sd=11.02) (Figure 3.2). Differences in surplus production capacity between Anglo-Cherokee families and fullblood families are significant. All fullblood households exhibit surplus capacities of -8 acres up to 68 acres (mean=4; median=3; sd=6.4), with a median value of 3, a mean of 4, and standard deviation of 6.4. Among *métis* households, the range is -7 to 62 acres, the mean surplus capacity is 8 acres and the median is 5.5 (s.d.=10.76). Households with intermarried whites exhibit a range from -9 to 109 acres, with a mean value of 31.86 acres and a median value of 16.5 acres (s.d.=7.5). Student's t-test comparison of means for fullboods versus *métis* families yields a t value of 5.015 ($p > |t| < .0001$); analysis of variance between these groups yields an F ratio of 25.16 ($p > F < .0001$). Comparison of fullblood households with households with intermarried whites yields a t value of

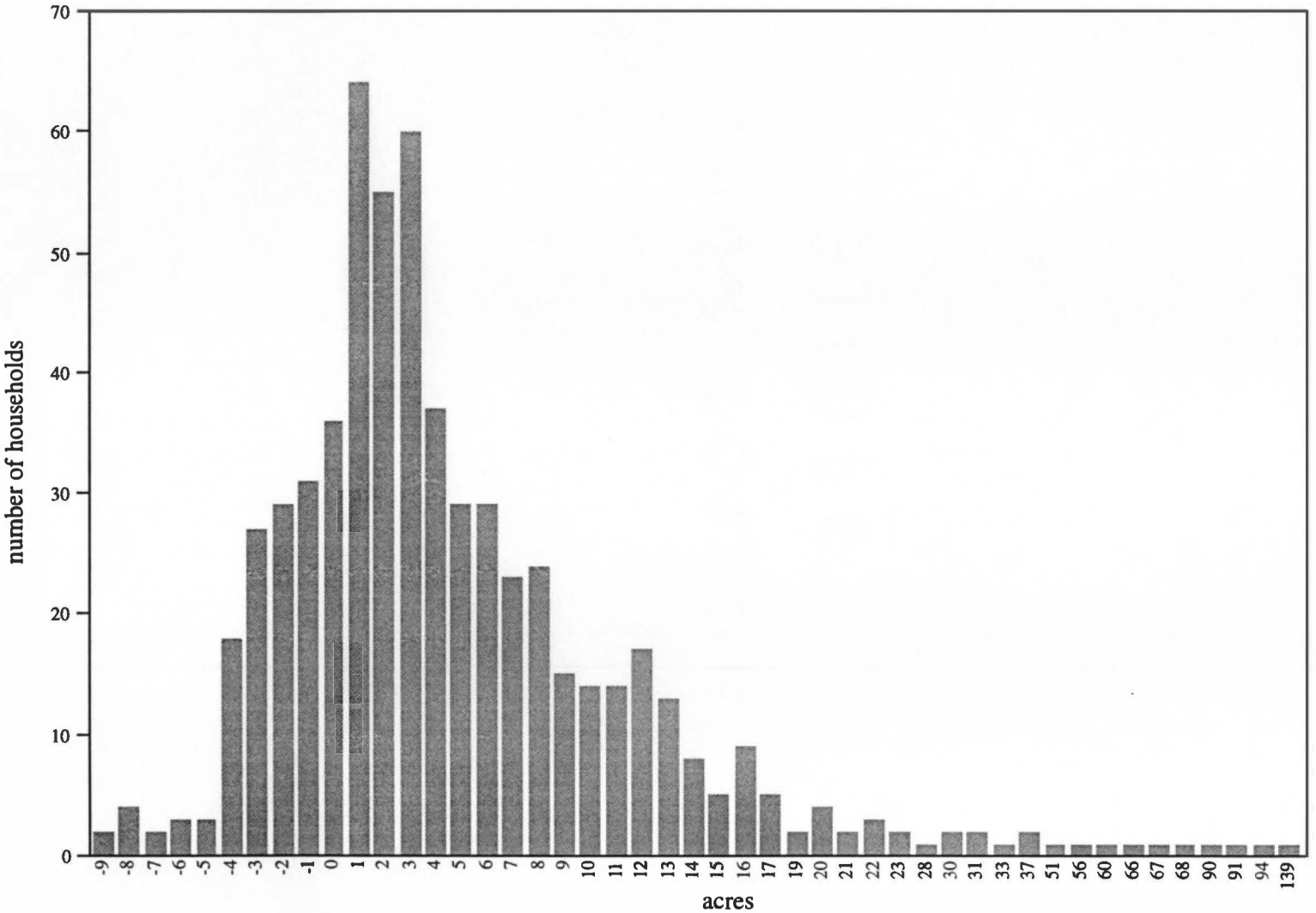


Figure 3.2. Distribution of surplus agricultural capacity among study area households as estimated from the 1835 census.

14.87 (p>|t| <.0001) and an F ratio of 221.08 (p>F <.0001). These distributions indicate that, on average, Anglo-Cherokee households display an appreciably greater capacity to produce marketable surpluses. Comparison of the means for *métis* families and families with intermarried whites yields a t value of 4.95 (p>|t|<0001); analysis of variance indicate a F ratio of 24.52 (p>F <.0001). This indicates that, on average, Anglo-Cherokee families with intermarried whites maintained appreciably greater surplus production capacity than *métis* families without whites.

A priori grouping of households by racial/ethnic affinity masks some interesting particulars in the distribution of agricultural property, and it is useful to consider the overall rank order of agricultural properties (especially in terms of surplus capacity) to help define the socioeconomic structure of the study population (see Appendix 1 for household ranks). The uppermost 5 percent (95th percentile) of agricultural properties comprise 30 cases with 18 or more acres surplus capacity, including 11 Anglo-Cherokee households with intermarried whites (Andrew Calvert, Robert Hanks, Dick Downing, Jonathan England, John Smith, Gideon Morris, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, David England, John Welch, Mulberry Christie), seven *métis* households (Ned Christie, Night Christie, Little Jack (Christie), Sweetwater, Henry Smith, Nancy Blythe, and George Blair), and twelve fullblood households (*Sutawaga*, Grasshopper, *Oolaohee*, Robert Muskrat, Nailer, Young Turkey, Ridge, Go About, *Nickietie*, *Teesaskee*, Buckshorn, Wally). All but two of these households (Go About and *Nickietie*) were located in the southern portion of the study area, a pattern attributable to the limited agricultural land in the Little Tennessee River basin.

Although the ranks of these highest level agricultural producers are dominated by Anglo-Cherokee families, an appreciable number of fullblood households are also represented, an indication that the assumption of market oriented agrarianism was not limited to Anglo-Cherokees, but extended to a small proportion of fullbloods as well. Among fullbloods farming larger acreages were *Situwakee*, the Aquohee District judge, member of the National Council, signer of the Cherokee Constitution, leader of one of the emigration detachments during the removal and, as Evan Jones (1828a) noted, "a very industrious old man." The size of *Situwakee*'s agricultural holdings (80 acres) may have been partially attributable to his redistributive obligations as a chief as well as a function of agrarian orientation. *Wachacha*, a fullblood householder from the upper Valley River Valley, farmed 50 acres. *Wachacha* was brother-in-law and neighbor to Gideon Morris, a white slaveholder and one of the largest landholders in the study region. Grasshopper's apparent agrarian intensification (suggested by the scale of his agriculture) may reflect his close association with the Anglo-Cherokee community of the upper Valley River Valley. *Oolaohee* (Richard Walker) and Robert Muskrat have already been mentioned in the context of slaveholding; the scale of their landholding provides additional

evidence of their similarity to wealthier Anglo-Cherokee households. Nailer, Smith's rendering of the Cherokee name *Toonanailah*, farmed 30 acres next to Thomas and Jesse Raper in Nottely. A case heard by the Cherokee Supreme Court suggests that *Toonanailah* had held far greater acreage (≈75 acres) before land was appropriated by the Rapers (Cherokee Supreme Court 1826-1833). Spoliation claims indicate that *Toonanailah* was a cooper, blacksmith, distiller, and wagoner, Western skills and occupations that set him apart from most fullblood farmers, and which suggest a particularly Western economic orientation (*Toonanailah* 1842). Young Turkey, who farmed 25 acres in Aquohee, was an early convert of the Valley Towns mission, and may have adopted agrarianism as a result of his association with the mission. The other the fullbloods distinguished in the census as larger scale farmers (Ridge, Go About, *Nickietie*, Buckshorn, Wally) do not appear among Welch and Jarrett's (1837) appraisals as large landholders. For instance, Smith indicates that Wally of Beaverdam farmed 25 acres, whereas Welch and Jarrett measured off only nine acres in Wally's improvement. Smith said that *Nickietie* of Aquone had 25 acres (practically impossible in that narrow valley); Welch and Jarrett indicate *Nickatice* of Aquone with only three acres. These discrepancies may reflect misunderstandings on the part of Smith about the ownership of different agricultural plots.

These 30 largest producers include 10 slaveholders who controlled 30 black slaves, 81 percent of the regional total. The association of slaveholding with expanded agricultural production is not surprising, but reinforces the idea that wealth, and the means of producing wealth, was concentrated within a small segment of the study population. It is also noteworthy that English literacy is particularly concentrated within this group of property holders, with 12 households comprising 41 English readers, 64 percent of the regional total. The relatively strong positive association between these measures, as revealed by Pearson product-moment correlation (Table 3.5) suggests that these indices are not independent, but instead function as a polythetic set of characteristics that distinguishes the wealthiest and most Western oriented segment of Removal Period Cherokee society in North Carolina. It is significant that at least 17 of these families emigrated to the study area after 1820, an indication that the study area population was far less diverse prior to the Nationalist Period. This agrees with the 1809 Meigs census, which reports neither intermarried whites nor black slaves among settlements in the study area.

Eighty-eight households farmed improvements with 10 to 17 acres of surplus capacity; these cases comprise the 80th percentile. These mid-level producers include six households with intermarried whites, nine *métis* households, and 73 fullblood households. Twenty of these households farmed in the Little Tennessee River Basin; the remainder were to the south in the Hiwassee River Basin. These 88 families tended between 14 and 30 acres to produce 100-200 bushels of surplus corn (the primary agricultural staple and commercial crop), a portion of which

could be traded at local stores or sold to stock stands along wagon roads for cash or goods at rates of $.50 to $1.50 per bushel. Production on this scale provided households with incomes sufficient to purchase basic manufactured goods and commercial commodities as well as an occasional amenities, but presented little opportunity for the substantive accumulation of capital wealth.

Four hundred eighty-nine households maintained less than 10 acres surplus capacity by farming 0 to 20 acres (Figure 3.2; Appendix 1). These families included five households with intermarried whites, 33 Anglo-Cherokee *métis* households, five African Cherokee *métis* households, and 446 fullblood families. One hundred fifty-four families farmed at, or below, minimum subsistence levels (as defined by one acre/person) and many of these probably maintained client-patron relationships with larger producers, a situation alluded to by Tarvin (1831), who observed: "a portion of the Indians rely on the mixbloods and more industrious Indians for a Subsistence." It is particularly noteworthy that almost one quarter of the households with intermarried whites and two-thirds of the *métis* households figure among these small-scale producers, evidence that an agrarian orientation was not pervasive among Anglo-Cherokees.

These figures indicate that the vast majority (81 percent) of Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina limited their agricultural activities to provisioning themselves and their livestock and could not predictably produce commercially profitable surpluses. This suggests that the profit motivation and economic aspirations characteristic of American agrarianism had not gained a general foothold among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina by 1835. However, differences in wealth production potential among racial/ethnic subsets of the population are instructive. In the tri-partite division outlined above, the uppermost 5 percent of the socioeconomic spectrum comprises 50 percent of the households with intermarried whites, 14 percent of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* households, and just 2 percent of the fullblood households. The next tier accounts for an additional 27 percent of the households with intermarried whites, 18 percent of the *métis* families, and 17 percent of the fullblood families, while the lowermost bracket subsumes 22 percent of the households with intermarried whites, 60 percent of the *métis* households and 83 percent of the fullblood households.

These distributions of surplus production potential suggest that economic variation within the study population was strongly, but not exclusively, conditioned by ethnicity. Small segments of the fullblood population appear to have embraced market oriented agrarianism and produced at levels sufficient to generate considerable wealth. Conversely, a substantial portion of the Anglo-Cherokee population appears to have operated on an economic par with the fullblood majority. It appears, therefore, that while economic aspiration and achievement were affected by the different enculturational or acculturational experiences of these racial/ethnic groups, there was also substantial idiosyncratic variation. The social significance of this idiosyncratic variation, this lack

of fit between bioracial ethnicity and economic potential, is unclear. Some *métis* kin groups, aggregates which exhibit demonstrable social linkages, cross-cut all three levels of this tri-partite scheme. This suggests that socioeconomic level may not have translated into class consciousness. It is significant, however, that kin linkages among the largest landholders were complex. For instance, John Welch's white brother-in-law, James Blythe, married Dick Downing's daughter Nancy; *métis* George Blair married Sarah Blythe, James' sister. The Anglo-American Rapers (Jesse, Thomas, James) married three *métis* sisters (Caty, Polly, and Susan McDaniel); the England brothers married Ward sisters. Gideon Morris and Grasshopper were brothers-in-law. Such relationships suggest that the uppermost socioeconomic stratum formed a highly integrated community of interest and association.

Summary and Conclusions

The U.S. War Department census of 1835 was the first household level enumeration of the Cherokee people, and constitutes a remarkable statistical record of the size, structure, and distribution of the Cherokee population on the eve of their expulsion from the southeastern United States. This enumeration is particularly important to the current study inasmuch as it documents the extent and structure of racial/ethnic variation among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina and offers several gauges of differential Westernization within that population. Census data regarding the size and racial/ethnic composition of households in the study area, as well as data concerning slaveholding, English literacy, and agricultural capacity inform the further analyses and interpretation of interhousehold variation in wealth and material culture undertaken in Chapters 4 and 5.

The census documents a total of 3404 Cherokee citizens who constituted 607 households resident in the study area. This confirms the contemporary assertion that southwestern North Carolina was the most densely settled area of the Cherokee Nation. Comparison of the 1835 figures with data from the 1809 and 1825 censuses suggest that the population of the study area expanded considerably during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, but population growth appears to have stagnated in the fourth decade as a result of emigration and the stresses of the removal crisis.

The census reports a regional population more racially homogeneous than that of any other area of the Cherokee Nation, with 89 percent fullblood Cherokees, 10 percent Anglo-Cherokee *métis*, and less than one percent each of African-Cherokee *métis* and intermarried whites. Practically all of the *métis* and white components of the population were concentrated within a few communities in the Hiwassee River Basin; the settlements in the Little Tennessee River Basin were almost 99 percent fullblood. Three measures of Westernization, slave ownership, English literacy, and surplus agricultural capacity, exhibit strong associations with the Anglo-

Cherokee population in the southern portion of the study area. Within the fullblood communities to the north, no families owned slaves, only one individual is reported as English literate, and agricultural capacity per household is quite low (mean=9.29; median=8; s.d.=5.72).

The concentration of wealth (as measured by slaveholding), capacity for wealth production (measured by surplus agricultural capacity), and educational attainment (indicated by English literacy) among 5 percent of area households (predominantly Anglo-Cherokees) suggests that most Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina neither embraced the values and practice of American agrarianism nor did many avail themselves of educational opportunies at local Protestant schools. Relatively high levels of Cherokee (Sequoyan) literacy (48 percent of all households) suggest a strongly nativistic and nationalistic orientation among households in southwestern North Carolina.

The census figures suggest a population in which socioeconomic variation was heavily skewed and strongly conditioned by ethnicity. The regional population was dominated (~75 percent) by monolingual Cherokee fullbloods who owned no slaves and who farmed small acreages. Judged by the imperfect measures (slaveholding, English literacy, surplus production capacity) presented in the census, these families appear to represent a distinctly conservative, materially impoverished "aboriginal" sector of Cherokee society. A considerable number of Anglo-Cherokee households conform in most respects to this fullblood majority; these *métis* households are distinguished only by a marked propensity for endogamous marriage and coresidence within select communities. A much smaller group of families (~15 percent), both fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees, tilled land sufficient to produce small marketable surpluses. A few of these families included bilingual Cherokees; fewer still held one or two slaves to aid with farm and house work. These households appear to have acculturated, at least partially, to models presented by small-scale southern Anglo-American "dirt farmers." The most divergent group of Cherokees in the study area were the handful of families who exhibited high rates of English literacy and slaveholding and who farmed extensive tracts in the Valley River, Hiwassee River, Nottely River, and Peachtree Creek valleys. These families, which include both Anglo-Cherokee and fullblood households, appear to have pursued and attained economic prosperity comparable to the "middling" farmers or yeomen and small planters of the American South. These few families, the Welches, Rapers, Englands, Christies, Morrises, Downings, Walkers, and others, constitute the most Western oriented sector of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina.

The admittedly nebulous tri-partite construction the Cherokee population of the study area suggested by the census belies the acute operation of an ethnic dichotomy in southwestern North Carolina. Although marriage patterns evident in the census suggest some degree of racial/ethnic endogamy, there were sufficient instances of marriages between fullbloods and *métis* or whites to

indicate that there was no rigidly defined separation. Representation of fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees in all three of these arbitrary socioeconomic tiers suggests that economic orientations were not exclusive. The prevalence of Cherokee readers in Anglo-Cherokee households, and the occurrence of English readers in fullblood households suggests that many *métis* retained a functional interest in Cherokee identity, while some fullbloods actively assimilated Western ideas and skills. Nevertheless, general trends of racial/ethnic endogamy, community composition, and wealth distribution indicate active ethnic differentiation within the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina. It is unclear whether such differentiation had already crystalized into contrastive identities or remained nascent in character, although contemporary accounts suggest that fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees viewed themselves as discrete groups. These differences certainly became accentuated during the post-removal era (McLoughlin 1993), but the roots of ethnic dichotomy were clearly present prior to 1838.

The North Carolina data do not exhibit either the degree of racial/ethnic pluralism or the socioeconomic range evident among Cherokees in the Valley and Ridge and Piedmont provinces of Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, where fullblood subsistence farmers lived interspersed among yeoman agrarians and Anglo-Cherokee planters who owned dozens of slaves and lived in Georgian mansions. None of the largest slaveholders who dominated the ranks of the Cherokee economic and political élite resided in North Carolina (McLoughlin and Conser 1977), nor was intermarriage with Anglo-Americans and other nonCherokees pronounced in the study area. This does not mean that interhousehold variation among the Cherokees in the North Carolina mountains was negligible or insignificant; the population of the study area simply did not encompass the full or extreme range of variation in the Cherokee Nation. The census data suggest that detailed examination of the material life of the North Carolina portion of the nation should largely reflect variation within the majority ethnic group (the fullbloods) that represents the material parameters of the traditionalist lifestyle current at the time of removal. Larger scale variation should distinguish a small segment of the population, both fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees, who strove to achieve the amenities, if not the symbolic content, of an agrarian lifesyle. The most Westernized segment of the population, the few large-scale agricultural producers and slaveholders, can be expected to closely resemble the rural Anglo-American middle class in material dimensions.

Because of limited dimensionality, the census data allow only gross scale resolution of ethnic and economic variability in the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina. The greatly increased complexity of the property valuations data, spoliation claims data, and archaeological data considered in the succeeding chapters yields much richer images of the varied material lifestyles of the North Carolina Cherokees. These data reveal that many of the more significant

contrasts in the lives of traditionalist and Westernized Cherokees are represented in the mundane minutiae of everyday life.

Chapter 4
Real Properties of Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina

The most comprehensive and uniformly reported records of the material lifeways of Removal Period Cherokee families are descriptions of real property improvements recorded by Federal agents in the fall and winter of 1836–1837 (Pillsbury 1983; Welch and Jarrett 1837; Wilms 1973). In this chapter, I undertake an analytic synthesis of these data to determine how variation in housing, outbuildings, and agricultural properties are patterned with respect to racial/ethnic variation and geographic area. Interpretation of these patterns is informed by contemporary narratives to help establish how such interhousehold variation relates to differential assimilation of Western lifeways or retention of traditional Cherokee modes of material life.

The Cherokee houses, outbuildings, fields, and orchards described by the federal appraisers in 1836–1837 represent the "built" environments within which families accomplished their basic economic production and social reproduction. Such built environments are among the most elemental of cultural adaptations; they are the cultural constructions which provide food and shelter. These built environments are generally flexible and adaptive to changing human requirements, but are obviously constrained and canalized by ambient ecological conditions. Built or modified portions of the landscape are also constrained by cultural parameters that define what is "appropriate" given specific societal values (Blanton 1994; Rapoport 1969, 1982). Because the built environment is omnipresent for most human societies, it also tends to structure core value systems as part of a feedback relationship. The built environment is both reflective (or reflexive) and recursive in its relationship to cultural values and their meanings. As Gowans (1986) points out, in reference to dwellings, these built environments become "visible metaphors of ... established social convictions." Yet real properties are not simply metaphorical communicators. Humans construct and use their built environments, both consciously and unconsciously, to affirm, express, and assert the particular value systems to which they subscribe. Rapoport notes:

> ...an understanding of behavior pattern, including desires, motivations, and feelings, is essential to the understanding of the built form, since built form is the physical embodiment of these patterns; and second, in the sense that forms, once built, affect behavior and the way of life (Rapoport 1969:16).

Because built environments are, by definition, considerably more fixed in space and less dynamic through time than most other aspects of material culture, they constitute relatively public, long duration assertions of cultural identity and values (Blanton 1994; McCracken 1988). The communicative capacity of built environments for the expression of identity was recognized by Barth as a common ethnic diacritic:

> The cultural contents of ethnic dichotomies would seem analytically to be of two orders: (i) overt signals or signs – the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, *house-form, or general style of life*, and

> (ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged. (Barth 1969: 14; emphasis added).

If we accept that "built" environments are vested with cultural meaning and are variously structured with reference to particular value systems, it is logical to expect that radically differing value systems will produce distinctive configurations in housing, ancillary facilities, and agricultural properties. Inasmuch as the Western ethic of agrarian capitalism and the traditional Cherokee Harmony Ethic prescribe markedly different attitudes toward the production, personal accumulation and display of wealth, it can be expected that the simultaneous operation of these value systems within Cherokee society produced distinctive patterning among real properties. Discrimination of these patterns is a primary goal of this analysis.

Change in the built environments of Cherokee families toward forms characteristic of southern Anglo-American agrarianism was a primary feature of the Westernization of Cherokee society. The "civilization" programs of the Federal government and Protestant missions emphasized the importance of expanded, "improved" farming and orderly (i.e. Western styled) housing as prerequisite to the "progress" of Cherokee people. Improvement to real properties became the yardstick by which Cherokee "civilization" was measured. The rhetorical importance of a Westernized cultural landscape was expressed in an 1834 memorial to the U.S. Congress by John Ross and a delegation of Cherokee leaders:

> ...They [the Cherokee people] could have pointed with pleasure to the houses they had built, the improvements they had made, the fields they were cultivating; they could have exhibited their domestic establishments, and shown how from wandering in the forests many of them have become the heads of families, with fixed habitations, each the center of a domestic circle like that which forms the happiness of civilized man... (Royce 1887:154).

The central role of real property in nineteenth century rhetoric (both Anglo-American and Cherokee) concerning Cherokee "civilization" suggests that the property improvements of Cherokee households (like those documented by Federal appraisers) constitute a very direct and immediate gauge of household level agrarianization or retention of traditional modes of housing and production.

Valuations of Cherokee Properties (1836–1837)

After congressional ratification of the Treaty of New Echota (May 23, 1836), the War Department immediately began to execute terms of the treaty preparatory to the deadline for Cherokee self-emigration (May 28, 1838). Among the primary provisions that required governmental action was Article 9, which specified that:

> ...The United States agrees to make an appraisement of the value of all Cherokee improvements and ferries...The Indians shall be furnished with sufficient funds for their removal, and the balance of their dues shall be paid them at the Cherokee Agency west of the Mississippi (Royce 1887:126).

In order to implement this provision, Federal Indian Agent and Superintendent of Cherokee Removal Benjamin F. Currey retained a number of qualified Anglo-Americans who were unattached to the Cherokee Nation or Federal government to appraise Cherokee properties (Currey 1836). Currey appointed William Welch and Nimrod Jarrett to value Cherokee improvements within the chartered limits of North Carolina. Both men lived near the study area and were familiar with the northeastern part of the Cherokee Nation through business dealings with Cherokee citizens (Inscoe 1989). Michael Gormley, a white who lived along the Unicoi Turnpike at the edge of the Cherokee Nation in Tennessee (Noland 1991:17), served as interpreter to the valuing agents. Gormley had formerly owned a stock stand on the Unicoi Turnpike at the mouth of Valley River and was well acquainted with the population of the study area (Taylor 1842).

The appraisers began their valuations in November 1836, starting on the north side of the Hiwassee River at the North Carolina–Tennessee state line and proceeding trail by trail throughout the study area in a large circuit that concluded in February 1837 (Welch and Jarrett 1837). They visited Cherokee farmsteads in sequential order along trails and stream valleys, and notes in their ledgers suggest the proxemics of Cherokee neighborhoods, and in some cases document the kin relationships among different households.

Welch and Jarrett's work was neither welcomed nor facilitated by the Cherokees, who correctly viewed the appraisals as furthering the execution of the bogus New Echota Treaty. Charles Lanman, who stayed with Nimrod Jarrett at Aquone in 1847, relates an anecdote from Jarrett that illustrates the passive resistance met by the appraisers:

> ...At one time...we arrived at a cabin w[h]ere we knew resided, 'solitary and alone' an old batchelor Indian. It was night and very cold and stormy. As we were tying our horses the Indian heard us, and knowing our business, immediately arose and fastened his door that we should not get in. We remonstrated from without, and told him we were almost frozen, and he must admit us, but never a word would he answer; and this was repeated several times. We finally got mad and knocked down the door and entered. The Indian was lying upon a bench before the fire, and by his side were four dogs. We asked him a number of questions, but still did he keep silent. We had by this time made up our minds to 'take care of number one,' and proceeded to cook our bacon. In doing this we had great difficulty on account of the dogs which were almost starved to death, and were constantly grabbing up our victuals from the coals. They were the ugliest animals that I ever saw, and did not care a pin for the heavy licks we gave them, And the only way we could get along was for the interpreter to cook the meat, while my assistant and myself seated ourselves at the two corners of the hearth, and as the dogs jumped over the body of the Indian, (who was yet lying on his bench,) we would grab them by the neck and tail and pitch them across the room. So this interesting business continued until the meat was cooked. I then took a slice, put it on a piece of bread, and giving it to the Indian, said to him" "Now don't be a fool, take this meat and be good friends, for we don't want to injure you." Whereupon he got over his resentment, took the meat, and began talking so that we could not stop him (Lanman 1849:70-71).

Although the agents encountered numerous instances of barred doors and mute owners, they accomplished detailed appraisals of over 700 Cherokee properties in southwestern North Carolina

in just three months (Table 4.1; Appendix II). War Department officials praised the thoroughness and accuracy of their appraisal as having "been done with more care and correctness than has perhaps been done in any other part of the Nation" (J.W. McMillen and James Hair in Welch and Jarrett 1837:290). The statistical detail and supporting evidence presented in Welch and Jarrett's valuation entries suggest that these appraisals were far more accurate and better informed that Smith's thumbnail estimates of property reported in the 1835 census.

Improvements to Cherokee properties valued by Welch and Jarrett included standing structures, cultivated land, cleared land, fenced land and fruit trees. Their appraisals of structures detail structure functions (i.e. cabin, house, crib, stable, etc.), dimensions, construction method (i.e. round log, hewn-log, frame, etc.), presence and type of chimney (i.e. stick and clay, stone, brick), presence and type of floor (i.e. puncheon, plank), and roof type (i.e. board, shingle) as well as qualitative notations on structure age, condition and general degree of finish. Cultivated fields are described in terms of size (acres), type of land (e.g. riverbottom, creekbottom, upland), productive potential (i.e. first quality, second quality, etc.), and quality of fencing. Cleared land and fenced land are described with respect to type and amount. Fruit trees are identified by type (i.e. peach, apple, cherry, pear) and size or age. Values assigned to these improvements appear to be strictly standardized according to attributes. For instance, buildings of hewn-log construction were consistently valued $5.00-$10.00 higher than identical structures of round logs, a reflection of the greater labor investment in hewn-log construction. Wooden chimneys with stone backs and jambs were considered more valuable than simple wooden chimneys; nailed board roofs were worth more than weighted board roofs. Welch and Jarrett's schedule of values also reflects some qualitative assessments; "well-finished" structures were assigned higher values, as were fences of "the highest quality". New constructions were considered more valuable than older buildings, a reflection of the rapid depreciation of impermanent wooden architecture. It is also important to note that the prices assigned to the various Cherokee improvements reflect an Anglo-American hierarchy of value consistent with the agrarian capitalist ideals held by the agents, both of whom were successful improving farmers and businessmen.

Welch and Jarrett encountered and documented substantial variation among Cherokee properties in the study area; housing conditions ranged from bark-covered sheds to large weatherboarded frame buildings, ancillary facilities varied from tiny corn cribs to elaborate water-driven mills, and agricultural lands ranged from quarter-acre garden plots to hundred-acre ditched fields. A few verbatim entries from Welch and Jarrett's appraisals in the Nottely River Valley illustrate the contrasts that the agents observed:

Table 4.1. Summary of the 1837-1838 valuations of Cherokee properties in North Carolina.

Location/Community	Farmsteads	Cabins/Houses	Hothouses	Kitchens	Smokehouses	Springhouses	Corn Cribs	Stables	Barns	Stillhouses	Blacksmith Shops	Shops	Mills	Stores	Misc. Buildings	Improved Land	Peach Trees	Apple Trees	Cherry Trees
Chicken's Town	8	15					2								1	54	118	41	
Beaverdam (Wacheesee's Town)	8	18						2							2	34.75	68	8	
Hanging Dog Creek	17	29	3				2	4								108.5	110	10	
Cootlohee	22	35	1	1	1		7	3							1	162.75	391	40	
Nottely River	30	56	1	2	2	2	21	9	2	2	1	1	2	2		383.75	589	75	21
Persimmon Creek	14	23					2	2								55.5	167	82	50
Hothouse Creek	4	10					1									20.5	48	6	
Bearpaw Creek/Micken Branch	4	13									1					54,5	199	44	
Shoal Creek	2	7														18	58	35	
Turtletown	9	16	1					3								51.5	44		
Peachtree Creek	7	22	2	2	5	1	5	5		1			1	1	1	166.5	160	42	13
Hiwassee Town	18	32	2				11	2							1	131.5	325	60	8
Brasstown Creek	17	23	2		2		7	4							2	160.5	395	137	
Aquohee (Brasstown Creek)	9	15	1		1		5	1								52.5	183	22	16
Aquohee (Little Brasstown Creek)	10	15					3	1								71.5	244	78	
Aquohee (Hiwassee River)	4	8					2									103	56	1	
Aquohee (Hunter's Mill Creek)	6	8														26	129	11	
Valley River Mouth	3	5			1		5	2		1						81.75	129	86	14
Lower Valley River Valley	13	18	1				8	1								130.5	274	76	
Valley River (Vengeance Creek)	4	4														7	110	3	
Valley River (Hyatt Mill Creek)	5	6	2				2									25.5	56	14	
Middle Valley River Valley	28	61	5	2	7	2	33	13				1	3	1	4	637	884	134	7
Upper Valley River Valley	47	61	11				15	4			1	2	2	2		352	783	222	
Valley River (Fodder Creek)	2	2														2			
Valley River (Tatham Creek)	6	7					2									32.5	91	38	
Cheoah	49	63	12	1	1		28	4					1	1	1	260	740	112	
Connichiloee	17	34	6				14								1	104	371	144	
Buffalo Town	25	28	4				16	4								114	225	201	
Stecoa	11	20	3				8	5								120	240	27	
Tuskeegee	2	3	2				3									21	20	22	
Yellow Town	6	10	2				1									48.5	105		
Alarka	9	8					1									32	117		
Nantahala River	21	31	13				13	2								126	460	75	1
Briartown	6	8	1				3									32	85	17	
Aquonee	15	20					3	4								104.5	62	71	
Shooting Creek (Licklog Creek)	6	8	1				3									40	140	30	
Shooting Creek	66	103	16		1		35	3		2		1			1	361.2	1427	414	
Tusquittee (Hiwassee River)	44	86	7		3	1	32	15	1	1	1		1		2	677.5	535	348	1
Tusquittee (Tusquittee Creek)	45	71	14				24	3							2	414.5	706	270	
Tusquittee (Downing Creek)	10	14					4	2								55.5	165	108	
Tusquittee (England's Mill Creek)	3	4														9.5			
Tusquittee (Blair Creek)	6	10	1				4	1								77.5	232	68	
Tusquittee (Spikebuck Town)	6	10					2									49	53	143	
Tusquittee (Sweetwater Creek)	7	11					1									34.5	203		
totals	651	1051	114	8	24	6	328	99	3	7	4	5	10	7	19	5550.2	11497	3315	131

Kaheetah (or Big Canoe) a. 60 yrs., living on the west side of Notley below Jack Christy

1 cabin 12-12 wood chimney	$14.00
1 do. 11-11 wood chimney	$12.00
1 hothouse 10 by 10	$6.00
51/2 acres bottom in cultivation $9	$49.50
24 peach trees .50 2 apple trees $1.50	$15.00
	$96.50

Jack Christy living on the west side Notley at the mouth of Rapers Mill Creek

One hewed log cabin, 16 ft, puncheon floor, stick and clay chimney stone backs and jams, joists & loft, board roof nailed on, shed in front	$60.00
One cabin 14 ft. punch. floor hewed joists, wood chimney stone back	$25.00
One small cabin 10 ft. sqr.	$10.00
1 corn house 10 ft. $7.00 1 cherry tree $.50	$7.50
1 old double stable 10 ft. $8.00 each	$16.00
26 acres bottom land in cultivation @ $10	$260.00
43 peach trees @ .75 10 small ditto @ .25	$34.00
1 cabin in the upper end of field, 12 by 14, puncheon floor, wood chimney, shed in front	$20.00
One stable 10 ft. sqr.	$7.00
1 cabin wall 12 by 14 ft	$10.00
	$449.50

Jesse Raper & Polly a white man having married a native living on the south side of Notley
opposite Thomas Raper

one hewed log house 2 stories high 19 by 25 shingle roof weatherboard two plank floors lower story ceiled one partition three doors cased & faced 2 plank shutters hung with butts & screws stone chimney with 2 fireplaces not finished all done in a workmanlike manner	$340.00
one kitchen 16 by 18 punch. floor stick & clay chy stone back hewed joists	$30.00
one cabin 15 ft sq. punch. floor 1/2 chy.	$16.00
one smoke house 12 by 14	$10.00
one new set stables 14 by 24 with an addition on one side 11 ft wide troughs & racks in all board roof nailed on all	$45.00
one old stable 12 ft troughs & racks	$12.00
one set double cribs 8 by 20 each 10 ft between all covered under one roof quite tall	$30.00
one log barn floored & covd. 16 ft sqe.	$14.00
One new house for a store 16 by 18 wall raised rafters coupled plank for one floor boards at the place	$25.00
One shop house 12 by 14 roof	$12.00
one spring house 8 by 10	$7.00
One cabin Thos. Ward lives in 12 by 14 plank floor wood chimney stone back	$15.00
One still house 20 by 26 1/2 floored large troughs	$30.00
One cabin where Butler lives on same premises 12 by 14 plank floor wood chy stone back	$22.00
one stable small 12 ft	$7.00
one corn crib 8 by 10 floor & roof	$7.00
One cabin the Standridges live in on the same premises 14 by 16 plank floor wood chy.	$25.00
one corn crib 6 by 16 floor & roof	$7.00
1 small Do. 6 by 10	$4.00
100 acres bottom in cultivation $10	$1000.00

37 peach trees .75 5 cherry trees .25	$29.00
2 apple trees 2.00 one peach nursery $4.00	$8.00
19 small peach trees .25	$4.75
	$1699.75
George Cherokee living on north side Notly River above Darky	
one cabin 15 ft sq puncheon floor wood chimney	$25.00
21/2 acres bottomland in cultivation $10.00	$25.00
	$50.00
George Owens (half blood) or *Cascawyouhee*, living on the north side of Notley above George Cherokee	
one cabin 12 ft sqr. puncheon floor wood chimney stone back & jambs	$20.00
one acre upland in cultivation	$10.00
	$30.00

(Welch and Jarrett 1837: 256-261)

The variation evident in the scale and content of such properties reveals wide latitudes in standards of housing and levels of agricultural involvement among Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina. Such disparities cannot be directly attributed to inequitable access to resources or political power; Cherokee national law (Cherokee Nation 1852) and traditional practice provided all citizens equal and unlimited access to agricultural land (for their own use) and timber necessary for housing and other construction. Cherokee citizens also maintained right of free movement, and could relocate anywhere within Cherokee national boundaries to better their economic standing. Some of the variation in real properties appears to relate to differences in household cycle or size; yet there are numerous instances of large, long established households that maintained the barest shelter and small garden plots while young families lived in capacious houses and farmed on expansive scales. Instead, an initial perusal of the valuations data suggests that larger scale variation in real properties is generally patterned relative to racial/ethnic affinity, with lesser degrees of assortment at subregional and local levels, and more specific patterning with respect to kin affiliations. Some variation also appears attributable to the particular roles that individuals played in town or church organizations. These broad patterns suggest that much of the variation in real property corresponded to membership of social groups or communities of association that maintained divergent cultural standards for housing and agricultural involvement. In other words, the extreme variation in real properties evident in the 1836–1837 valuations probably cannot be accommodated within the expected range of a single value system, but largely reflects the operation of two or more distinct modes and deviation between these standards.

The remainder of this chapter examines specific variation in each of the constituent categories of real property identified by Welch and Jarrett, with particular emphasis on geographic distributions and distributions among racial/ethnic subsets of the population. Patterns of variation and covariation among these categories are integrated through cluster analysis which seeks to define internally consistent types of farmsteads based upon their compositions. The

farmstead configurations defined by this analysis are interpreted with reference to American agrarian ideals and traditional native modes of housing and land use. This analysis serves to classify households as more or less Westernized or traditional in their construction and use of the "built" environment.

Cherokee Architecture in Southwestern North Carolina

The 1836–1837 property valuations document a total of 1747 buildings at 758 locations within the study area. Formal/functional building types identified by the valuing agents include presumed residential or domicilliary structures (i.e. cabins, houses, and hothouses) and ancillary domestic structures (i.e. kitchens, smokehouses, springhouses, and loomhouses), farm structures (i.e. corn cribs, stables, barns, potato houses, sheephouses, and chicken houses), and a variety of buildings devoted to specialized economic activities (i.e. stores, blacksmith shops, shophouses, stillhouses, and lumberhouses).

Residential structures

Federal agents Welch and Jarrett documented a minimum of 723 properties with residential structures in the study area; many (n=111) of these properties included multiple buildings suitable for domiciliary use. These properties include at least 641 primary dwellings of Cherokee households, as well as unoccupied buildings, seasonally occupied buildings, and buildings occupied by tenants and other non-owners. The agents designated four types of residential structures in the study area: camps [i.e. bark covered sheds] (n=3), houses (n=125), cabins (n=987), and hothouses (n=114). Only a portion of these buildings are clearly domiciles. For example, hothouses, or *asi*, were functionally specific winter sleeping quarters derived from traditional forms; the majority of these *asi* were subsidiary structures paired with cabins or houses. The agents used the terms house and cabin less specifically to designate domiciles as well as storage or work spaces of unspecified nature. They noted the presence of chimneys in 890 of these structures; this attribute presumably rendered the buildings suitable for habitation. However, chimneys do not figure in the descriptions of at least 51 primary dwellings, and omission of chimneys from building descriptions does not preclude residential use of such structures. Context specific information suggests that 548 cabins and 93 houses served as primary dwellings.

The appraisers' use of the terms 'house' and 'cabin' reflects both quantitative and qualitative differences in building form and finish, but does not establish a neat formal dichotomy useful for analytic purposes. Jordan (1985) and Jordan and Kaups (1989) suggest that cabins and houses represent different orders of frontier housing:

> ... "With the early settler a cabin comes first," wrote an observer in 1837, describing a small windowless house, built of round logs, crudely notched. The cabin floor was earthen, and the chimney was made of log or mud and poles. Weighted boards formed the roof. A visitor to the newly established town of Dallas, Texas, in 1844 described this

> early stage of Midland construction, observing "two log cabins, the logs just as nature formed them, the walls just high enough for door heads." The roof "covering was clapboard held in place by weight poles, chimneys made of sticks and mud, and old mother earth served as floors."
>
> ....The word house was linked to the second stage, implying a much more refined structure. Logs carefully flattened before placement in the walls, notching done with care and precision, plank floors, and chimneys of mortared stone or brick characterized the second generation of dwellings. The walls were made tight, and the roof shingled...
>
> It is possible to overstate the contrasts between the two stages, however, implying a dichotomy instead of a continuum (Jordan 1985:14-15).

With the exception of the bark-covered camps and a single framed and weatherboarded house, the residential buildings in the study area were cribbed log constructions built of horizontally lain, corner-notched timbers. Among all structures identified as cabins or houses, 75 percent (n=835) were built of unmodified round logs with bark left intact, 20 percent (n=218) were constructed of hewn-logs, and 4 percent (n=48) were made of split or riven half logs. Six cabins were made of "poles", one structure was made of "rails," and scutched (debarked) logs are documented in three instances. Among cabins and houses identified as primary residences (n=641), 68 percent (n=439) were constructed of undressed round logs, 26 percent (n=165) were built of hewn-logs and 5 percent (n=34) were made from split logs.

Hewn-log construction, based upon timbers squared on one or more faces by axe hewing, was the most formal of the horizontal log building techniques employed by Cherokee carpenters, and represents the greatest elective investment of labor placed in residential construction. The squared, hewn-logs produced more uniform, tightly fitted walls than round log counterparts, resulting in a more finished appearance and more permanent aspect. The chinks of hewn-log buildings could be easily sealed with batten boards, and the interior walls of such structures could be readily whitewashed to approximate the "civilized" houses of established Anglo-American communities. Use of the more formal, labor-intensive hewn-log construction technique appears to be somewhat patterned with respect to household ethnicity; 63 percent of Anglo-Cherokee households with white members lived in hewn-log dwellings, as compared to 24 percent of households with exclusively fullblood membership. Among *métis* families without resident Anglo-Americans, only 31 percent lived in hewn-log buildings. This distribution suggests that intermarried Anglo-Americans exercised a distinct preference for hewn-log construction, with its connotations of "neatness" and permanence, while the majority of fullbloods opted for the expediency of round log buildings.

In addition to cribbed log structures, Welch and Jarrett documented a framed and clapboarded house built by Atohee, a Christianized fullblood of Cheoah:

> ... one large frame house 19 by 29 ft 2 stories high weatherboarded with shaveboards puncheon floor stick and clay chimney board roof nailed on $200 (Welch and Jarrett 1837: 237).

Atohee's own representation of this unusual building deviates in terms of dimensions, but otherwise adds greater detail to Welch and Jarrett's description:

> 1 framed house weatherboarded and ceiled 36 feet by 27 covered with short boards nailed on, underpinned with rock all around 2 feet high, floored with planed puncheons ready for the upper floor and joists planed 3 doors & shutters planed and butt hinges 4 windows 2 ft wide & 3 long cased and faced 1 chimney well finished with sticks & dirt (Etahe Walking 1838)

The floor plans of Cherokee dwellings in the study area are not explicitly described by Welch and Jarrett, but most were single-pen log buildings without interior divisions. Thirteen Cherokee dwellings structures consisted of paired pens of dogtrot or saddlebag plan or were adjacent pens with connecting doors; 13 structures had additions, which were, presumably, adjacent pens with connected entries. Twenty-one houses were one and a half stories in height, 12 houses were two floors high; the remainder were single story. Overhead lofts are reported for 99 of the single floor structures. Most of these lofts consisted of loose puncheons, riven boards, or sawn planks laid on joists integral to the log crib; in several instances the lofts simply consisted of puncheons that spanned the cabin chinks without supporting joists. Hart (1893 in Mooney 1900) noted that such lofts were generally constructed "for the storage of extras" rather than as sleeping compartments. Fifty-two dwellings had attached, floorless sheds that sheltered open work and sleeping spaces. Seven residences had floored piazzas.

Dimensions reported for primary residential structures range from 8ft by 8ft up to 25ft by 19ft for single pens, with median values of 13ft by 13ft (Figure 4.1). Pens of double structures ranged in size from 10ft by 10ft up to 22ft by 18ft. Total floor areas of Cherokee residences, calculated as length times width times number of stories (i.e. 1, 1.5, 2), ranged from 64ft^2 up to 1188ft^2 with a mean value of 189ft^2 and a median value of 169ft^2 (Figure 4.2). A comparison of residential floor area with household size (derived from the 1835 census) reveals little or no relationship, an indication that variation in dwelling size was not a direct function number of family members under a single roof. Instead, house size appears to be more closely related to cultural/ethnic identity and attendent cultural preferences in housing. Among all fullblood households (n=569), dwelling size ranged between 64ft^2 up to 1102ft^2, with a median value of 169ft^2 and a mean value of 191ft^2 (sd=89.24). Anglo-Cherokee households with white members (n=19) maintained residences that ranged between 144ft^2 and 984ft^2 with a median value of 256ft^2 and a mean value of 387.47ft^2 (sd=281.79). Anglo-Cherokee families without white members (n=54) lived in structures that ranged from 100ft^2 up to 1188ft^2 with a mean value of 242ft^2 (sd=175.91) and a median of 196ft^2. Seventy-six percent of fullblood families resided in cabins smaller than 200ft^2, as compared to 64 percent of *métis* families, and 11 percent of families with intermarried whites. While these distributions are not discontinuous, they are sufficiently distinct to suggest that Anglo-Americans and more westernized Anglo-Cherokees

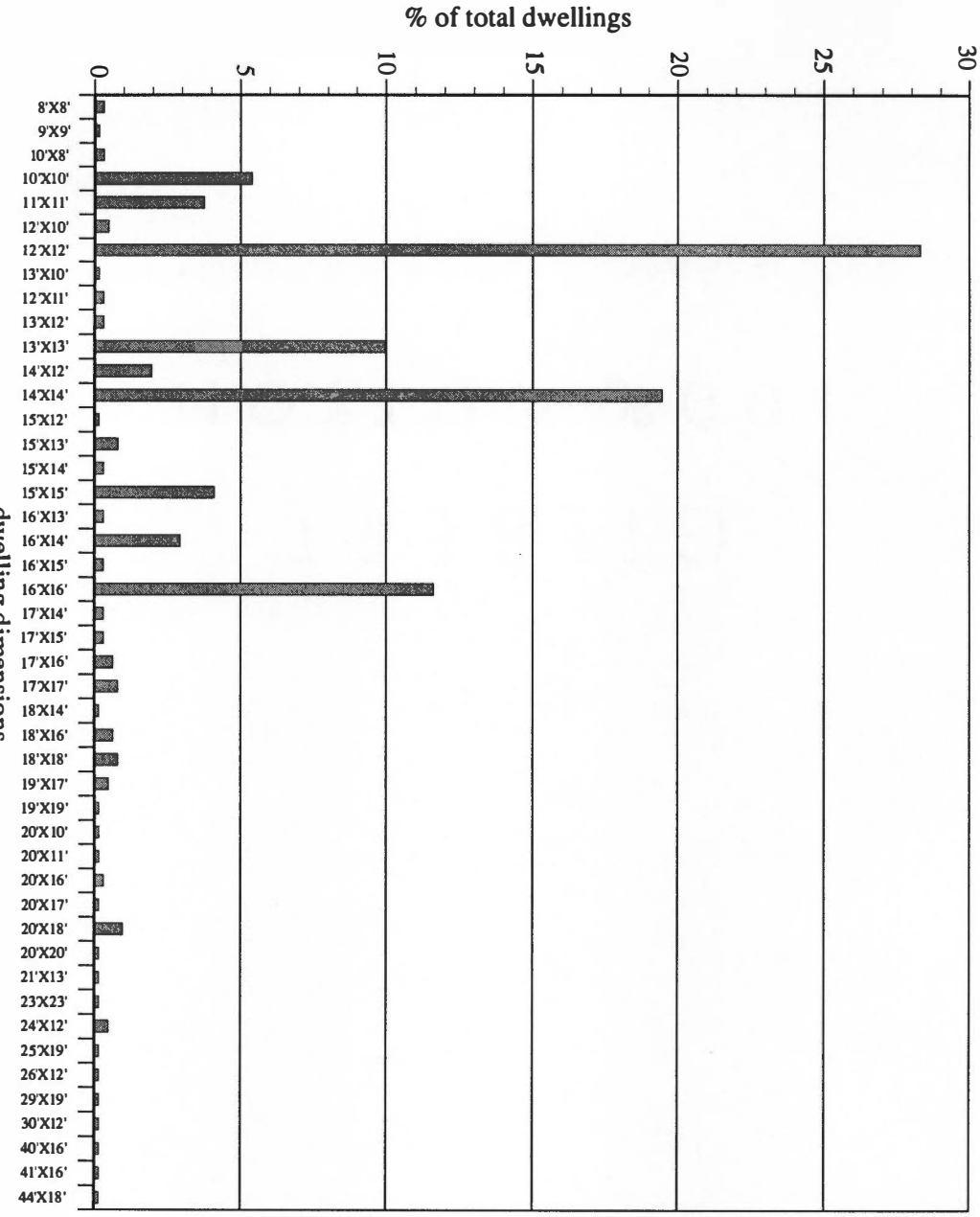


Figure 4.1. Dwelling dimensions documented by Welch and Jarrett.

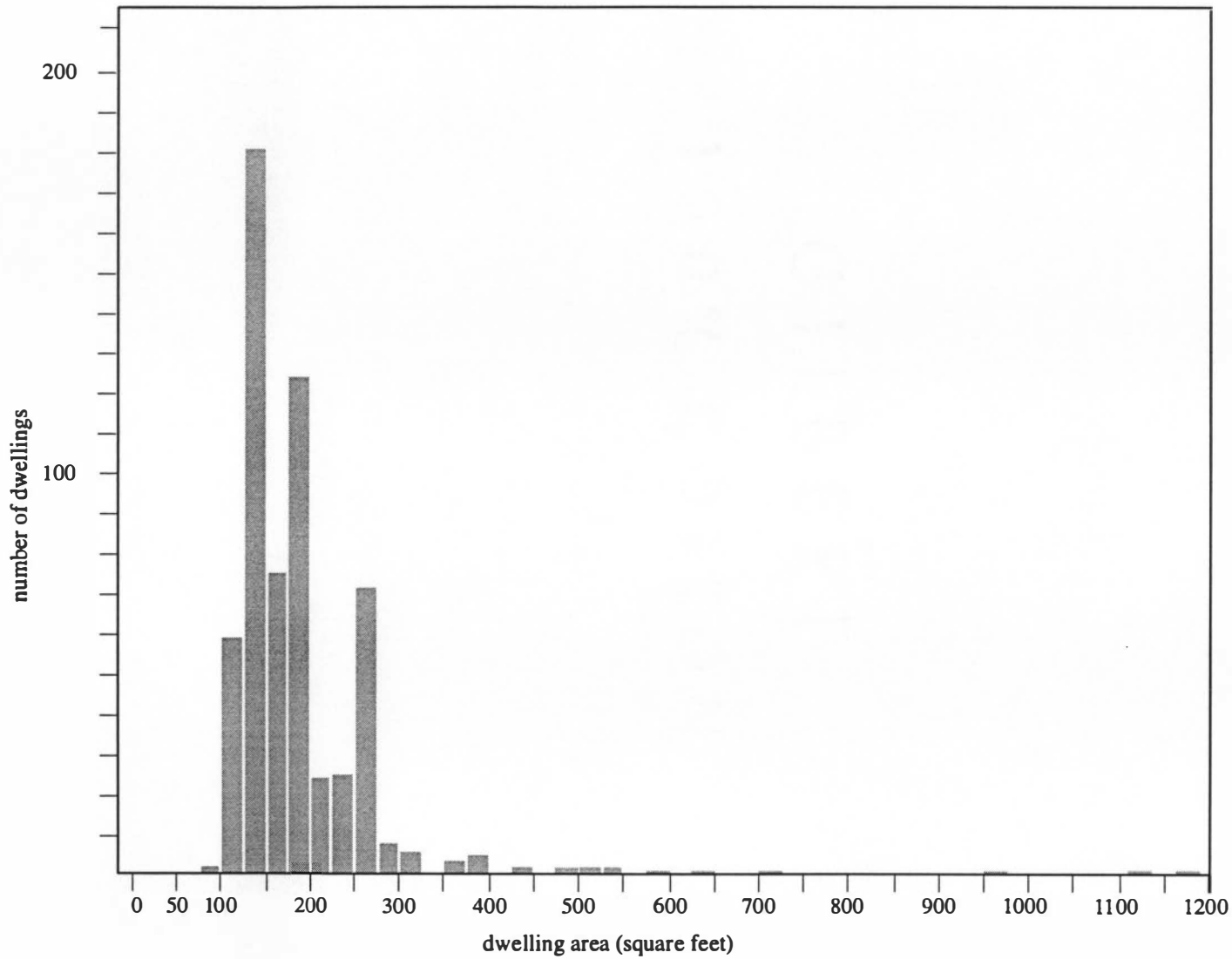


Figure 4.2. Dwelling sizes (floor areas) of Cherokee residences documented by Welch and Jarrett.

regarded residential space in different terms from their more traditionally oriented Cherokee counterparts.

Roofs described for Cherokee residential structures consisted of either boards (n=120) or shingles (n=6); it can be assumed that board roofs (also known as common, or cabin roofs) dominated among cases in which such detail was not recorded. Board coverings were typical of ridgepole and purlin roofed structures in which the end gables consisted of log cribwork (see Jordan 1985:22). The boards themselves were three to four feet long, lightly dressed riven wooden shakes that were supported by widely spaced purlins. Most board roofs were held in place by pegged weight poles; 55 board roofs were attached with nails. Nail-attached roofing was particularly prevalent in the dwellings of wealthier Anglo-Cherokee families, whose dwellings account for more than half the nailed roofs in the region. This may reflect a preference for more formal and permanent structures on the part of Anglo-Cherokees, as contrasted with the less expensive and more expedient building technologies employed by most fullblood families.

Shingled roofs were constructed of shorter, more thoroughly dressed and tapered shakes that were nailed to closely placed stringers attached to rafters on houses with framed gables. Such roofing was functionally superior to board roofs, and shingled roofs were the norm among more established Anglo-American settlements in the Southern highlands. The scarcity of such roofs in the study area is noteworthy. Among Anglo-Cherokee families, only the wealthy households of Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Welch and John Timson had shingled roofs on their dwellings. *Oonullah* and *Nangkaleeska*, both fullbloods from Connichiloe, also owned dwellings with shingles.

The majority of Cherokee dwellings in the study area had packed earth floors, indicating that most were built directly on ground sills without pier supports or foundations. Raised puncheon floors are documented in 275 residential structures; 23 dwellings had sawn plank floors. Puncheons are split logs, which are either hewn or planed to achieve flat, relatively smooth surfaces. Puncheons were either integrated directly into structure walls in the lower chinks or were supported by a minimum of floor joists. These floor puncheons frequently lay loose, but were sometimes secured to joists with pegs. Floors constructed of sawn planks are documented in only 23 residential structures, of which 14 belonged to Anglo-Cherokee households. The high incidence of plank flooring among Anglo-Cherokee households further indicates preference for more formal and permanent modes of construction typical of the Anglo-American yeomanry. Occurrences of plank flooring were clustered in the Nottely, middle Valley River Valley and Peachtree neighborhoods, where Anglo-Cherokee families operated small, water-powered sawmills.

Most residential structures in the study area were heated and lit by single fireplaces surmounted by cribbed split stick and clay chimneys. Many of these fireplaces were lined with "rock back and jams"; most were simply heavily daubed log constructions. These "cats and clay" chimneys were easily constructed and quite serviceable, but, as missionary Evan Jones noted in 1832, were prone to catch fire and required frequent refurbishing. Despite technical and safety drawbacks, such expedient "cats and clay" chimneys were well-suited to impermanent architecture and answered for flues in the general absence of skilled stonemasons or brickmasons. More formal and substantial chimneys were restricted to the homes of a few Anglo-Cherokees. The dwellings of the Jesse Raper, Gideon Morris, *Wakee* and John Timson households had stacked fieldstone chimneys; Thomas Raper's house had a brick and fieldstone chimney and David England's dogtrot house boasted two brick chimneys.

Most Cherokee residences had a single doorway per log pen and no windows. Multiple doors are documented for only three houses (Thomas and Jesse Raper, *Atohee*); windows are documented in only two instances (Jesse Raper, *Atohee*). The vast majority of doors were presumably constructed of riven boards and hung on wooden or leather hinges. Sawn plank doors are documented in only seven instances (John Wayne, *Wakee*, Thomas Raper; *Ollikee*, Sally Smith, John Welch, Edmund Fallen); two doors were hung with folding butt hinges (Jesse Raper, Arch) and five were hung iron pintle hinges (John Wayne, John Welch, *Chewacheckah*; *Wakee*; Thomas Raper). The singular doors and lack of windows in most Cherokee dwellings corresponds with Kingsbury's 1817 description of Cherokee residences:

> The houses... in this country... have generally wooden chimneys, are without glass, & the doors are obliged to be kept open in the daytime to admit light, so that one can hardly eat breakfast without a fit of the ague (Kingsbury 1817).

Eighty years later, Federal Agent Hart noted that the typical eastern Cherokee house had "no window, the open door furnishing what light is required" (Mooney 1900:179). This single portal arrangement was by no means peculiar to native builders; Olmstead noted that few Anglo-American cabins in the southern mountains had windows as late as 1859:

> These are rarely provided with glass windows, many are without a portal yet the winter is more severe than that of England. The interior of one frame house, in which I spent a night, forty by thirty feet in dimensions, and two stories in height, occupied by a family of much more than usual wealth, received light in the lower story only by the door and the occasional interstices of the boarding, and in the upper, by two loopholes, unfurnished with shutters (Olmsted 1860:230-231).

Limiting the numbers of windows and doors in small cabins preserved the structural integrity of the cribbed logwork and helped stem heat loss during winter months.

The Cherokee dwellings described by Welch and Jarrett represent several different modes of housing to which they assigned markedly different values (Figure 4.3). The vast majority (75 percent) of dwellings (n=505) were small cabins valued at less than $26.00 (range $4.00-$25.00).

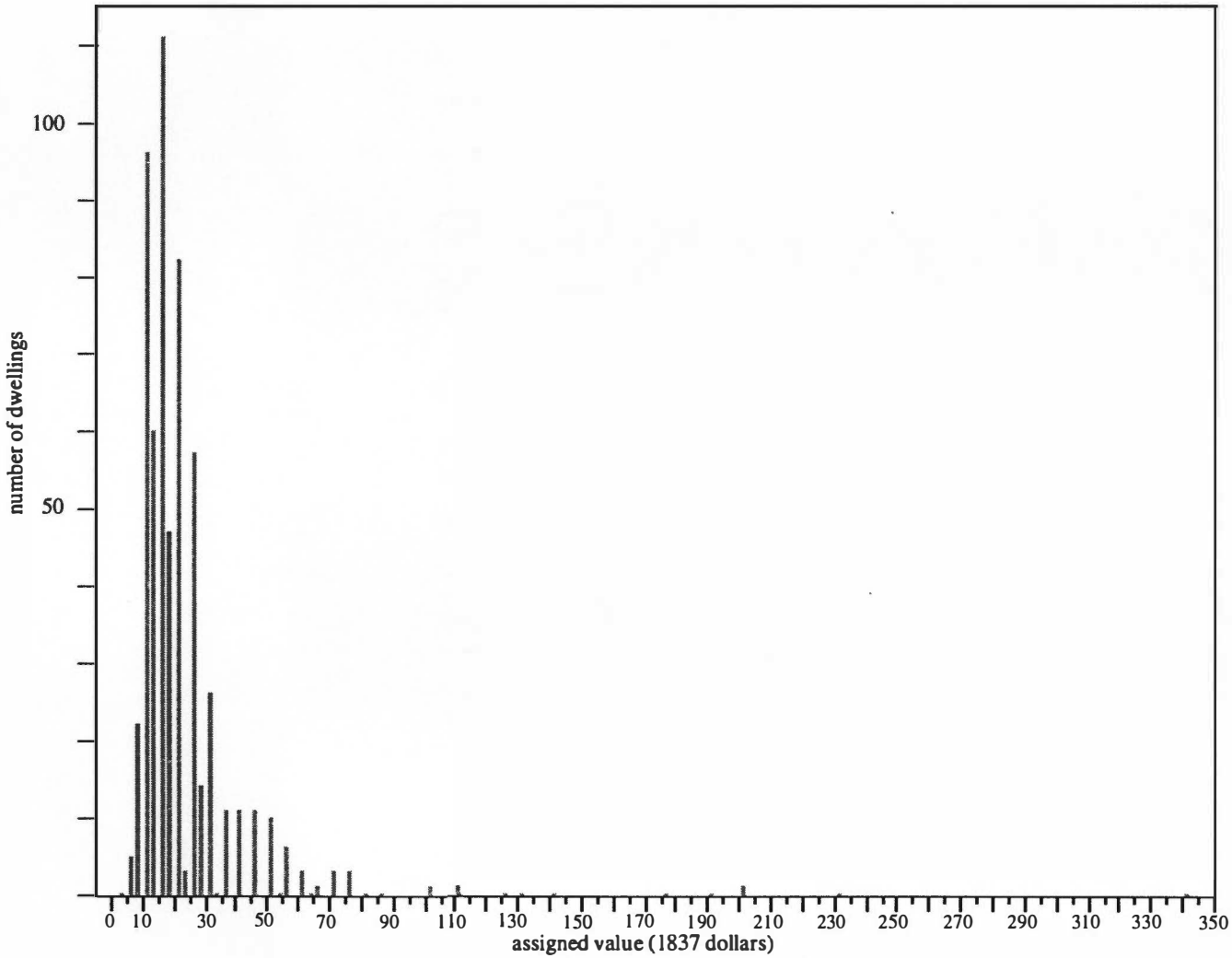


Figure 4.3. Distribution of values assigned to Cherokee dwellings.

These were primarily single-pen cabins constructed of unmodified round logs (82 percent), with packed earth (61 percent) or puncheon (34 percent) floors, stick and clay chimneys, and weighted board roofs. Fifty-two of these cabins had lofts; 29 had front sheds. Floor area of these buildings ranged from 64ft^2 up to 360ft^2, with a median value of 162ft^2 and a mean value of 169.6ft^2. These small, simple cabins were the "small log huts, too insignificant to need a description" that Evans (1979:12) characterized as the typical dwellings of North Carolina Cherokees in 1835; Featherstonhaugh (1847) described the Cherokee cabins as "little wigwams." Such structures also correspond to the "mean log cabins" that missionary Samuel Worchester observed in Cherokee Georgia in 1830 and the "miserable hovels of the indigent" that Josiah Gregg noted a decade later in the Cherokee Nation West. Similar structures remained the prevalent form of Cherokee housing for the next half century. Federal Agent Hart noted of the eastern Cherokees in 1897:

> ...The typical house is of logs, is about fourteen by sixteen feet, of one room, just high enough for the occupants to stand erect, with perhaps a small loft for the storage of extras. The roof is of split shingles or shakes. There is no window, the open door furnishing what light is required. At one end of the house is the fireplace, with the outside chimney of stones or sticks chinked with clay (Hart in Mooney 1900:179).

Such cabins had close counterparts in the Anglo-American settlements on the expanding southern backwoods frontier. Jordan and Kaups (1989) have characterized these dwellings as typical of a "first wave" of settlement:

> ... "the temporary buildings of the first settlers in the wilds are called Cabins," characterized by "unhewn-logs," a roof "covered with a sort of thin staves .... fastened on by heavy poles," and rail chinking "daubed with mud." ... In sum, pioneer cabins displayed crude carpentry, with round logs projecting at the corners, small size, low height, earth or puncheon floors, ridgepole-purlin-weightpole roofs, mud sealed chinking, exterior daubed wood chimneys, and minimal fenestration. Erected by amateur laborers, they had a limited lifespan (Jordan and Kaups 1989:175-176).

Jordan (1985) indicates that such dwellings provided minimally sufficient, expedient shelter for Anglo-American settlers who later constructed more substantial hewn-log or framed residences as their farms became more established. However, Jordan and Kaups (1989) note that the first wave of settlers frequently included a large proportion of "squatters," a class of Anglo-Americans who shifted constantly along the frontier without securing land titles. These squatter families, who herded livestock, hunted and gathered, and practiced small-scale slash-and-burn agriculture, continuously made and abandoned small improvements as they depleted local resources. George Caleb Bingham, who illustrated a squatter household outside their split log cabin with weighted board roof (Figure 4.4), observed,

> ... The Squatters as a class are not fond of the toil of agriculture, but erect their rude cabins upon the remote portions of the National domain, where abundant game supplies their physical wants... they usually sell out their slight improvement with their 'preemption title' to the land, and again follow the receding footsteps of the savage (Bingham 1850 in McDermott 1959: 75).

Figure 4.4. Detail of Caleb Bingham's "The Squatters," illustrating "rude cabin" with ridgepole and purlin weighted roof. From McDermott (1959); original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

These squatters repeatedly built "rude cabins," a dwelling form that Olmstead described as "small and comfortless log huts," because such buildings suited their need for expediency. The prevalence of such structures among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina reflects a similar need for expedient housing dictated by frequent residence relocation occasioned by swidden agricultural systems. Although Cherokee families were constrained by political boundaries and community affiliation to residence within particular areas, evidence suggests that indvidual households changed residences at regular intervals in response to local soil and firewood depletion. In addition, the rapid deterioration of log buildings with earthfast sill logs in the warm, humid environment of the study area undoubtedly contributed to high rates of structure abandonment and rebuilding or relocation. Frequent changes of residence (five to ten year cycles) would have rendered the repeated construction of more formal dwellings far too costly (in terms of labor and time) for most families. Many of the more traditionally oriented Cherokee families tended to "live outside" for much of the year, and the "small and comfortless log huts" provided adequate and expedient housing to a population that largely limited interior activities to sleeping, sheltering during inclement weather, and storage. Mooney notes:

> No rules are ever formulated as to fresh air or exercise, for the sufficient reason that the door of the Cherokee log cabin is always open, excepting at night and on the coldest days in winter, while the Indian is seldom in the house during his waking hours unless when necessity compels him. As most of their cabins are still built in the old Indian style, without windows, the open door furnishes the only means by which light is admitted to the interior, although when closed the fire on the hearth helps to make amends for the deficiency. On the other hand, no precautions are taken to guard against cold, dampness, or sudden drafts. During the greater part of the year whole families sleep outside upon the ground, rolled up in an old blanket (Mooney 1888:332).

The simplest log cabins were home to 82 percent of the fullblood Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina (n=468), 65 percent of the Anglo-Cherokee *métis* families (without white members) (n=34) and 16 percent of the Anglo-Cherokee families with white members (n=3). Chi-square tests of these values reveal statistically significant differences among these three groups at a .05 confidence level (Table 4.2). In other words, fullblood families were substantially more likely to inhabit such dwellings than were *métis*, and intermarried whites were far less likely to reside in very basic cabins than were *métis* families. This pattern suggests that Cherokee fullbloods and intermarried whites exercised markedly different preferences in standards of housing, with *métis* families occupying a somewhat intermediate stance. The expedient and minimalist dwellings favored by the majority of fullblood families not only met the housing requirements of the semi-mobile population, but also reflect a more or less universally attainable standard in housing that fit well with the traditional Cherokee ethos concerning wealth, display and status (or the lack thereof). These "mean log cabins" advertised the equivalency of

Table 4.2. Differential ownership of dwelling types among bioracial groups.

		fullblood	intermarried whites	totals
Type	cabin	503	5	508
Count		491.5009	16.499145	
Expected		11.49915	-11.49915	
Deviation	house	63	14	77
		74.49915	2.5008547	
		-11.4992	11.499145	
	totals	566	19	585

Test	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
Likelihood Ratio	38.43	<.0001
Pearson	62.932	<.0001

		fullblood	*métis*	totals
Count	cabin	503	34	537
Expected		494.2146	42.785366	
Deviation		8.785366	-8.785366	
Count	house	63	15	78
Expected		71.78537	6.2146341	
Deviation		-8.78537	8.7853659	
	totals	566	49	615

Test	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
Likelihood Ratio	12.083	0.0005
Pearson	15.455	<.0001

		métis	intermarried whites	totals
Count	cabin	34	5	39
Expected		28.10294	10.897059	
Deviation		5.897059	-5.897059	
Count	house	15	14	29
Expected		20.89706	8.1029412	
Deviation		-5.89706	5.8970588	
	totals	49	19	68

Test	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
Likelihood Ratio	10.527	0.0012
Pearson	10.384	0.0013

the occupant household with their peers as "real" Indians who eschewed the Anglo-American quest for "improvement" as defined by expanding farms and larger and more elaborate dwellings.

Another 74 dwellings (15 percent of the area total) examined by Welch and Jarrett presented a slightly more finished aspect and slightly larger dimensions than the most basic cabins; the agents assigned values between $26.00 and $42.00 to such dwellings. Over half of these were hewn-log buildings (n=47) ; floor areas of these residences ranged from $100ft^2$ to $400ft^2$, with a median value of $224ft^2$ and a mean value of $227ft^2$. Twenty percent of these residences had nail attached roofs; 72 percent had puncheon floors and 7 percent had sawn plank floors. Eleven of these buildings had front sheds; thirteen had lofts. At the lower end of this range was *Tesonahee*'s 14ft by 14ft round log cabin with a puncheon floor and wooden chimney with stone back and jambs. *Chewtoni*'s $42.00 hewn-log house measured 14ft by 14ft, had a weighted board roof, puncheon floor, stick and clay chimney, and front shed. These are the sorts of structures that James Mooney documented in his late nineteenth century photograph of Swimmer's cabin on the Qualla Boundary (Figure 4.5); the general appearance and setting of this dwelling would likely have been familiar to Welch and Jarrett.

These slightly more elaborate and substantial log structures housed approximately 11 percent of fullblood families in the region (n=63), 13 percent of *métis* families (n=7), and 21 percent of Cherokee families with white members (n=4). Chi-square tests indicate that these values do not differ significantly at a .05 confidence interval, and it may be inferred that Cherokee fullbloods, *métis*, and intermarried whites were equally likely to reside in dwellings of this order.

Although some of the dwellings valued between $26.00 and $42.00 were similar in form, dimensions, or finish to less valuable structures, these dwellings generally reflect increased efforts to lengthen building lifespans and enhance the comfort of residences in accord with more western ideas of utility and permanence. These structures were probably not sufficiently distinctive to symbolically distinguish their occupants from those of the majority of Cherokee families. Among fullblood householders who built such dwellings were traditional civic and political leaders such as *Wacheesee*, *Ollikee*, and *Sutawakee*, the Aquohee district judge, and the Baptist lay ministers *Chewtoni*, *Enolee*, and Beaver Carrier. Richard Walker, the late justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court and a slaveholder, owned a home valued at $35.00. *Métis* households resident in dwellings valued between $26.00 and $42.00 include those of *Kulkeene*, *Toniah*, *Chuganuskey*, Hogshooter, James Spears, Isaac Tucker and James D. Wafford. Spears, Tucker, and Wafford were all recent emigrants to the study area, and their cabins (all valued at $28.00) may represent temporary housing; all three had been forced to abandon more elaborate and expensive dwellings. Intermarried whites residing in this grade of structures include David Taylor, Robert Hanks, Rachael Riley and the wife of Mulberry Christie. Taylor and Hanks were

Figure 4.5. View of Cherokee farmstead, ca. 1888 (National Anthropological Archives, Neg. 1000-a).

both slaveholders from Tennessee who married into *métis* families; Riley and her fullblood husband *Walletah* were older, childless householders in the conservative community of Cootlohee, and the Mulberry Christie household was newly established. The residence of Anglo-Cherokee families in this grade of housing appears to be situational, and does not necessarily reflect the ideal preferences of more westernized Cherokee households.

The Federal agents assigned values between $45.00 and $75.00 to 48 dwellings (7.5 percent of the area total). These included six two-story houses and ten one and one-half story buildings. Ninety-six percent of these houses were constructed of hewn-logs (one round log building, one scutched log building); 55 percent had nail-attached roofs. Eighty-six percent had puncheon floors and 14 percent had plank floors. Thirteen of these dwellings had either sheds or piazzas; 17 had lofts. Living space within these buildings ranged between $144ft^2$ and $793ft^2$, with a median size of $272ft^2$ and a mean value of $338.23ft^2$. These larger, more formally constructed log houses resembled the typical dwellings of established Anglo-American yeoman farmers on the southern frontier, and may reflect the adoption of the material standards and values of this socioeconomic class by a minority of Cherokee households. These buildings were far more substantial than the "mean log cabins" constructed by the majority of Cherokees and Anglo-American squatters, and reflect both the intent of greater permanence on improved properties and the aspiration to greater material comfort. By constructing such dwellings, Cherokee families established more formal land tenure and signaled their intent at permanent residence and landholding, thereby distinguishing themselves from the majority of their neighbors and peers.

Among families residing in these houses were 6.5 percent of area fullbloods (n=36), 11 percent of *métis* households (n=6), and 31 percent of Cherokee households with white members (n=6), proportions which suggest that adoption and expression of western standards of housing by Cherokees was markedly patterned with respect to ethnicity. Significantly, the fullblood families resident in such substantial log houses included many prominent civic and religious leaders, whose roles and responsibilities may have required larger and more substantial dwellings. *Culsatahee*, the old priest-chief of Konahete and one of the primary leaders of the Valley Towns political organzation, lived in a substantial two-story hewn-log house worth $70.00. John Wayne, Sr., a member of the Cherokee National Council from Cootlohee, owned a two story hewn-log house valued at $75.00. These civic/political leaders may have maintained such dwellings in connection with their chiefly responsibilities for hosting travellers and other guests. A number of Christian converts and preachers, including Peter *Oganayah*, John Wickliff, Arch, Sweetwater, *Connausuteeskee*, Slow Water, *Oonullah* and Thomas *Askaquah*, also resided in houses worth $45.00-$75.00. The concentration of more elaborate dwellings among fullblood converts may reflect the penetration of western beliefs and values among the Cherokees of southwestern North

Carolina as a result of missionary efforts. Protestant missionaries, particularly Calvinists such as the Baptists and Presbyterians, linked spiritual well-being with material improvement; material improvements were undertaken by believers "to the greater glory of God", and enlarged properties served as evidence of the blessings bestowed upon God's chosen. Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary at Peachtree, observed the linkage between conversion and the improvement of property at a Cherokee farmstead in Tusquittee:

> ...Called of Galesdayee. I was grateful to see the improvement which religion has effected even in temporal things. The house was repaired, a new floor commenced & marks of industry presented themselves. The man had commenced a ditch to dry up rich swamp lying near the house. A girl who used to be loitering about was neatly dressed and engaged at her needle...(Jones 1829).

It is not clear whether such property improvements were the result of Christianization, or were parallel expressions of acculturation to western models. Nonetheless, the more elaborate dwellings of these Christianized households likely served two unique functions. Like town chiefs, native preachers assumed hosting responsibilities for visitors and their own congregations, and held convocations and other meetings in their own homes. Such functions demanded increased space and likely promoted more formal and permanent construction. In addition, the homes of Christian Cherokees symbolized and advertised their worldly success and the advantages of conversion to both Christian and nonChristian observers. In an ideological climate in which native priests and traditional practitioners were "everywhere violently opposed to the Gospel (Jones 1830c)," the improved properties of Cherokee converts served at once to taunt "pagans" (who lived within material limits prescibed by traditional values) and to entice prospective recruits.

Other fullbloods resident in dwellings valued between $45.00 and $75.00 include Robert Muskrat, *Wachacha*, Bear's Paw, *Cheslequillaneh*, and *Cullasahgeesee*, all of whom appear to have been improving farmers who adopted Anglo-American agrarian standards for their homes and farmsteads. Muskrat was a slaveholder and an associate of westernized families such as the Blairs and Walkers. Bear's Paw and *Wachacha* were blacksmiths who farmed extensive properties and who had close ties to the Anglo-Cherokee community; Bear's Paw daughter Anna married William Boling, while *Wachacha*'s sister Naka (Rebecca) married Gideon F. Morris. *Cullasahgeesee* lived in a predominantly Anglo-Cherokee neighborhood of Nottely, and *Cheslequillaneh* lived on an isolated farmstead in western Cherokee County, removed from nearest fullblood communities by several miles. The physical isolation of *Cheslequillaneh* and Bear's Paw (who lived about three miles apart) may reflect their withdrawal from more conservative communities to pursue agrarian lifestyles without social censure.

Métis families living in houses valued between $45.00 and $75.00 include those of Charlie Buffington, Little Betty (Downing), Ned Christie, Sweetwater, George Owens, Sr., Jack Christie,

Jack Downing, and Sarah Smith. The western orientation of these households is evident from various parallel records, and their residence within more elaborate dwellings is consistent with an agrarian lifestyle. Buffington and Little Betty Downing had taken life estate reservations and attempted to live in Anglo-American communities until they were dispossessed and re-entered the Cherokee Nation. Census records reveal that Buffington and Ned Christie were slaveholders, and Christie's enterprises included large scale farming and stockraising as well as distilling. Sweetwater, a member of the Baptist Church, sponsored and hosted a western subscription school at his home; the *métis* component of his household may have been students. George Owens, Sr. had been recently dispossessed of an extensive property on the Taccoa River in Georgia, and had rebuilt on Hothouse Creek to begin recouping his fortunes.

Six Anglo-Cherokee households with intermarried whites (Dick Christie, Edmund Fallen, James Raper, John Smith, Gideon Morris, Andrew Colvard) lived in dwellings appraised between $45.00 and $75.00. Dick Christie (brother to Ned Christie) and Edmund Fallen were both *métis* who married Anglo-American women. Like James Raper (and *métis* wife Susan McDaniel), Christie and Fallen lived in a predominantly Anglo-Cherokee community along the Nottely River. John Smith and Gideon Morris, both Anglo-Americans, were former reservees married to Cherokee wives. Morris, a slaveholder, farmed extensive holdings in the middle Valley River Valley (≈150 acres) and invested substantial captial in business ventures in other parts of the Cherokee Nation. His older hewn-log house, which boasted plank floors and a masonry chimney, was valued at $71.00. Smith maintained a large farm (54 acres) and gristmill in the Peachtree community. Smith's $70.00 hewn-log house measured 16ft by 16ft, was covered with nail-attached boards and floored with puncheons. Colvard, a neighbor of Morris', farmed 60 acres by right of his *métis* wife, Nancy Hawkins. Their 16ft by 16ft hewn-log house, closely resembled Smith's, and was also valued at $70.00.

Welch and Jarrett assigned values between $80.00 and $340.00 to the fifteen most elaborate dwellings (2.5 percent of the area total) in southwestern North Carolina. These include one framed house, one house built of scutched logs, and 13 hewn-log buildings. Six of these were two story structures; another six were one and one-half stories high. All had nail-attached roofs; eight had plank floors and seven had puncheon floors. Floor areas of these houses ranged from 196ft^2 up to 1188ft^2 (median= 560ft^2; mean=639.4ft^2). Owners of these most formal residential structures included four fullbloods (*Jekah*, *Wakee*, *Atohee*, *Chewwacheckah*), five *métis* (John Timson, Richard Downing, Henry Smith, George Blair, John Christie), and six whites (William Boling, David England, Jonathan England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Welch).

It is not clear whether residence in large, substantial houses by fullbloods *Jekah*, *Wakee*, *Atohee*, and *Chewwacheckah* denotes particular orientation to western lifestyles. *Jekah*'s $100.00

dwelling was situated on a 13-acre farm in the upper Valley River Valley near Chief *Culsuttahee*. This two-story house measured 18ft by 12ft, and had a nailed-board roof, puncheon floors, and a framed piazza. *Wakee*'s 14ft by 14ft hewn-log home in Hiwassee Town had a plank floor, nailed-board roof, chinks lined with boards, a stone chimney and a door fitted with a knob lock. This $125.00 structure was clearly patterned after Anglo-American models, but the sources of this influence are undocumented, and the motivations for *Wakee* and her husband, Jug, to occupy such a dwelling are unknown. They do not appear to have been improving farmers (they tended only 14 acres for a family of nine), but, like many of their Hiwassee Town cohorts, may have been affiliated with the Baptist mission.

Christian affiliations are more clearly documented for *Atohee* and*Chewwacheckah* who resided in Cheoah near their brother, Thomas *Askaquah*. All three were converts of the Baptist church (Bynum 1838b), and *Chewwacheckah* served as a lay preacher to the Cheoah community (Welch and Jarrett 1837:107). It is likely that these brothers' unusually large and elaborate houses were directly related to their roles and responsibilities as leaders of the local Christian community. In the absence of dedicated church houses, these dwellings probably served as meetinghouses and guest houses for visiting church brethren and missionaries. *Atohee*'s $200.00 framed house was unique in the region; this two-story 29ft by 19ft structure had three doors and two windows with shutters hung on butt hinges. The large downstairs of this building (which *Atohee* claimed was 36ft by 27ft) would have provided spacious accomodations for assemblies. *Chewwacheckah*'s two-story hewn-log house measured 17ft by 15ft, and had puncheon floors, cased doorways, board chink linings, and a front piazza; the valuing agents thought the house was worth $175.00. *Chewwacheckah*'s 1842 claim for spoliation of property as a result of removal included a number of benches, which presumably represent seating for Christian convocations (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842).

Métis families resident in the most highly valued houses were headed by Henry Smith, John Timson, Dick Downing, George Blair, and John Christie. The western orientation of these households is indicated by a number of parallel sources, and the residence of these families in substantial log dwellings appears consistent with their agrarian aspirations. Smith's $110.00 dogtrot house was located in Peachtree near his parents, John and Sally Smith, and his brother, William Smith. Henry Smith's house consisted of two 22ft by 18ft pens, each of which was one and a half stories, floored with sawn plank and roofed with nail-attached boards. Like his Anglo-American father, the 25-year-old Smith farmed on an expansive scale (46 acres) comparable to southern yeomen or small planters. Smith's western affinity is further indicated by his decision to remain in Cherokee County after removal as a citizen of North Carolina and a member of the Anglo-American community (Mullay 1848; Thomas 1840). During the 1880s, Henry Smith's

son, Nimrod Jarrett Smith (named after the Federal appraiser) became the first elected Principal Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Finger 1984).

Timson, Smith's neighbor in Peachtree, lived in a hewn-log house valued at $100.00. Timson's 16ft by 16ft dwelling was roofed with shingles, floored with plank, and had a stone chimney. Timson's other properties, including 27 acres of farmland, a store, and a number of other dwellings with tenants, are suggestive of a westernized lifestyle based upon petty capitalism. The factors contributing to Timson's western affinity are well documented. Timson, the halfblood son of an Anglo-American reservee, emigrated to the study area after 1820. He attended the mission school at Peachtree, where he learned to read both English and Cherokee. Timson and his wife, Lucy, were baptised as the mission's first converts, and Timson served as interpreter and exhorter to the mission (Gardner 1989; McLoughlin 1990). His involvement in Cherokee political affairs is indicated by his service as Aquohee District representative to the National Council and his role as monitor of the 1835 enumeration. Like Henry Smith, Timson elected to remain in North Carolina as a citizen after Removal (Finger 1984; Mullay 1848; Thomas 1840).

Dick Downing and George Blair resided in Tuquittee, where they settled after they were displaced from reservations in Georgia. Downing, an elderly *métis* whose father was a British trader at Old Estatoe, was a slaveholder who maintained a farm of 64 acres. His two-story hewn-log house measured 20ft by 18ft, had puncheon floors, a nail-attached board roof and a front piazza. Federal agents appraised the structure at $110.00. George Blair, an English literate slaveholder related to the Downings by marriage, lived across the Hiwassee River beside the Unicoi Turnpike, where he farmed 33.25 acres. His $130.00 hewn-log house measured 20ft by 18ft with an addition of undocumented dimensions

John Christie also lived along the turnpike, approximately 20 miles west of Blair, in the community of Cootlohee. Christie, the *métis* who threatened census agent Nathaniel Smith, maintained 21 acres in cultivation and another 15 acres in fallow fields. His home, which the agents valued at $85.00, was a two-story hewn-log house (17ft by 16ft) with a nailed-board roof and puncheon floors.

Six Anglo-Cherokee families with intermarried whites (William Boling, John Welch, David England, Jonathan England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper) lived in houses valued between $80.00 and $340.00. William Boling and his wife, Anna Bearpaw, lived in a scutched-log, dogtrot house with plank floors and a front piazza worth $80.00. Boling, a former member of the National Council and a signer of the 1827 Cherokee constitution, had emigrated to Arkansas in 1834 and returned to North Carolina to build this house immediately before the valuations.

Métis John Welch, and his Anglo-American wife, Elizabeth Blythe, were wealthy slaveholders who maintained extensive farms and a mill along the Valley River near Gideon Morris and Andrew Colvard. Their home was a 40ft by 16ft hewn-log house (one and one-half stories high) with a shingle roof and plank floors, valued at $191.00. Like many of the wealthier Cherokees in the study area, the Welches were reservees who came to the Valley River Valley to recoup their losses after being dispossessed of their 1819 allotment. The Welches avoided removal by military permit, and the family was active in Cherokee resistance against removal. After removal, Welch's farm became a focal point for Cherokees remaining in the Valley River region.

David and Jonathan England were Anglo-American brothers who married *métis* sisters of the Ward family. The Wards and Englands were reservees displaced from Georgia who came to the Tusquittee community, where they acquired extensive holdings prior to removal. Jonathan's $140.00 dwelling was a one and one-half story hewn-log house that measured 20ft by 18ft, with an addition of undocumented dimensions. David England's hewn-log dogtrot house with brick end chimneys was valued at $230. The one and a half story pens totalled 984ft^2 floor area and were separated by a nine-foot entry. The house was covered with a nailed-board roof; one pen was floored with planks, the other with puncheons.

The Rapers were Anglo-American brothers who married the *métis* McDaniel sisters and moved into the study area in 1818. Both brothers claimed reservations under terms of the 1819 treaty, and maintained their large farms (169 acres total) within the bounds of those reserves at Nottely. They retained these properties after removal, and Raper descendants still occupy these tracts. Jesse Raper was a slaveholder and landlord who managed his 100-acre farm with the aid of a number of Anglo-American tenants. In addition to his farm, Thomas Raper operated a gristmill, a sawmill and a store.

The Raper brothers were clearly members of the class of small planters and rural entrepreneurs who dominated the economy of the southern frontier, and their dwellings are commensurate with the material lifestyles of this class. Thomas Raper's one and one-half story hewn-log house measured 19ft by 17ft, and had a shingle roof, plank floors, an interior staircase, a stone and brick chimney and a framed front shed. Welch and Jarrett estimated its value at $200. Jesse Raper's two story hewn-log house measured 25ft by 19ft, and had a shingled roof, coupled plank floors, three cased doors, a room partition and a stone chimney with two fireplaces. The Federal agents assigned this house a value of $340.00, more than 10 times the regional average.

The most formal and substantial Cherokee dwellings in the study area conformed to the housing standards of improving farmers and small planters on the southern frontier, and compared favorably with most rural dwellings in nearby white settlements. The incidence of such

dwellings among Anglo-Cherokee households connotes a material lifestyle consistent with that of the rural Anglo-American middle class. This suggests, by extension, that the Anglo-Cherokee families resident in these houses shared many of the values and material standards of their Anglo-American counterparts. This is hardly surprising, inasmuch as the boundaries between frontier Anglo-American and Anglo-Cherokee societies appear to have been quite permeable. It is no coincidence that many of the owners of the most valuable Cherokee residences in North Carolina elected to remain after removal and cast their lot among Anglo-American settlers. By contrast, the occurrence of large and formal dwellings among fullblood families in southwestern North Carolina may reflect a convergence in material culture that was occasioned by markedly different values and needs. These fullblood households did not seek to identify with, or gain the approval of, Anglo-American society at large. Instead, their dwellings express their specific needs, both physical and symbolic, as Christian Cherokees.

In addition to the cabins and houses that served as primary residences for Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina, Welch and Jarrett documented 114 secondary or subsidiary domiciles, which they termed hothouses. These *asi*, or winter houses, were small, tightly built, earth-insulated structures that functioned as winter sleeping quarters. Evans provides a contemporary (ca. 1835) eyewitness description of Cherokee hothouses in the study area:

> ... But their 'hot houses' are more remarkable, though more trifling in appearance. They are small, low huts, constructed of small logs, mud & clapboards. In forming the roof, generally , a layer of thick puncheons is first laid on,- then a thick coat of mud,- and lastly, clapboards, to prevent the mud being washed off by the rain. A small opening is made in the end, capable of admitting a man; to this a shutter is made. Thus all visible avenues through which air can find admittance, are carefully closed. Burning coals & embers are kept in the centre, or such fuel as produces little or no smoke kept burning....during the winter months many old men spend the greater part of their time in 'hot houses' and employ themselves in roasting potatoes and parching corn. Many young people, destitute of bed clothing, find a good substitute at night in the heated air of a 'hot house' (Evans 1979:12-13).

Norton's 1809 account of an *asi* at Hiwassee Old Town adds details of the smokehole and sleeping bench arrangements:

> ... He was lodged in his winter house, which is called Oshigh: it is built of logs well plaistered [sic] within and without; -- the roof is covered with slabs, and over them earth. No crack or aperture for the air is left, except one of, about eight inches diameter, on the side of the house, and the door, which is very small, and shut when the weather is cold. The births [sic] to sleep on, are on each side of the house, and are made by forked sticks being stuck in the ground to support others on which canes are laid: in the middle is the fire, composed of live embers only, covered with ashes, and stirred when necessary, to increase the heat ... These dwellings are, however, getting much out of use among the Cherokees; and perhaps, now, there is not one half of the families of the Nation, who have them (Klink and Talman 1970:140).

Cherokee improvement claims recorded in the internment camps in 1838 document a number of hothouses with potato cellars, including George Beamer's claim for "1 Potatoe [house] or hothouse 14 feet square well finished," and Parched Corn Flour's claim for "1 Hothouse with

potatoe sellar [sic] well finished and 15 feet square" (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842). *Asi* dimensions reported by Welch and Jarrett range from 8ft by 8ft ($64ft^2$) up to 14ft by 14ft ($196ft^2$). Although these hothouses superficially resembled cribbed log cabins, they were functionally and conceptually derived from traditional Cherokee winter houses of the eighteenth century (Schroedl 1986b) and may have had specific antecedents in aboriginal culture for a millenium or more (Faulkner 1978). Although nineteenth century *asi* dispensed with the traditional octagonal form of the wattle and daub winter house (to better accommodate horizontal log construction), they retained the central hearth, foursquare cardinality, smokehole and restricted entryway of their antecedents. The use of corner-notched, cribbed timber wall construction, puncheon roof timbering, and board roofing in this traditional structure form illustrates the Cherokees' adaptation of introduced technologies to accomplish expressly native goals and preserve nonwestern contexts of use and meaning.

Hothouses were most prevalent in the northern half of the study area in the Little Tennessee River drainage, where 40 of 181 (22 percent) improved properties included hothouses. The highest incidence of hothouses was reported from the lower Nantahala River Valley, where half of the households maintained such buildings. By contrast, only 69 out of 511 improvements in the southern half of the study area had hothouses, and more than forty of these occurrences are concentrated in the Tusquittee and Shooting Creek communities. The incidence of hothouses decreased significantly to the south of the study area, and Wilms (1973) identified only 15 hothouses among 1647 property improvements recorded for Cherokee Georgia. Pillsbury (1983) notes that only four hothouses were documented within his two-county study area of north Georgia, and concludes "that this form was obsolete by the 1830s" (Pillsbury 1983:65). It is likely, however, that many of the "potato houses" documented in Pillsbury's sample were, in fact, hothouses with potato cellars.

The distribution of *asi* also appears to be patterned with respect to ethnicity and cultural affinitiy. Among 109 properties with hothouses, 102 (95 percent) belonged to fullblood households, six (four percent) belonged to *métis* families, and only one (one percent) belonged to a household with intermarried whites. Stated another way, 18 percent of fullblood households owned hothouses, as compared to 11 percent of *métis* families and only five percent of households with Anglo-Americans. The concentration of hothouses among fullblood families is consistent with the traditional connotations of this native architectural form. James Mooney, who worked among the Cherokees between 1884 and 1904 and interviewed several individuals from the present study population, imputes particularly traditional and nativistic associations to the *asi*. Mooney notes that hothouses were primary venues for transmission of ritual knowledge and other oral traditions:

> ...When John Ax and other old men were boys, now some eighty years ago, the myth-keepers and priests were accustomed to meet together at night in the *asi*, or low built log sleeping houses, to recite the traditions and discuss their secret knowledge. At times those who desired instruction from an adept in the sacred lore of the tribe met him by appointment in the *asi*, where they sat up all night talking, with only the light of a small fire burning in the middle of the floor...the fire intended to heat the room...was built upon the ground in the center of the small house, which was not high enough to permit a standing position, while the occupants sat in a circle around it. In front of the fire was placed a large flat rock, and near it a pile of pine knots or splinters (Mooney 1900: 230).

The survival of the *asi* (albeit in modified form) as a distinctive aboriginal structure type without Anglo-American analogs, and the association of this building type with the transfer of tribal oral traditions, points to the hothouse's complex role as a marker of Cherokee cultural identity. Yet the incidence of hothouses in the properties of Anglo-Cherokees and Christianized fullbloods also suggests a broader societal role. The affiliated households of George Blair, Richard Walker, and Robert Muskrat all maintained *asi*, even though these families were English-literate slaveholders who lived in western styled houses and farmed on substantial scales. David England, a wealthy Anglo-American slaveholder who lived immediately north of Muskrat and Blair, also owned an *asi*, although this structure may relate to a previous occupation of his property. While these westernized households almost certainly availed themselves of the hothouse's wintertime comforts, *asi* may have served primarily as guest houses; the Blair, Muskrat, Walker, and England families were situated along major wagon roads, and wealthier Cherokee families were frequently called upon to host travelers. Such hostelry functions may also be represented by *asi* on the properties of traditional town leaders such as *Culsatahee*, Balltown George, *Ollikee*, and Tom Spikebuck.

It is also noteworthy that several native Baptist preachers (i.e. John Wickliff, Peter *Oganaya*, and *Chewwacheckah*) maintained *asi* on their properties. This appears somewhat paradoxical inasmuch as *asi* were associated with traditional religious practices, which Cherokee Christians were admonished to abandon. The use of hothouses by Christian preachers may, however, connote the adaptation of this form to Christian instruction, or the dual maintenance of both Christian and native bodies of information by preacher/conjurors (John Wickliff was trained as a traditional priest prior to conversion). In addition, native preachers may have assumed roles parallel to those of town chiefs, and their maintainence of hothouses may reflect the hosting obligations of community leaders.

Dwellings, such as the Cherokee houses, cabins, and hothouses described by Welch and Jarrett, are highly expressive of the culturally defined needs, values, and aspirations of a society; variation in housing can reflect either differences in value systems, or the differential ability of the members of a society to achieve their aspirations. Rapoport contends that residential houses are "the *direct* expression of changing values, images, perceptions, and ways of life" (Rapoport

1969:12 [emphasis original]) and that the house is "a physical mechanism which reflects and helps create the world view, [the] ethos" (Rapoport 1969:48) of a society. In this same sense, Rapoport perceives the primitive or vernacular house form as the "physical embodiment of an ideal environment" (Rapoport 1969:48) as defined by cultural values, and that intersocietal or subsocietal differences in residential housing are "expressions of ideal environments reflecting different world views and ways of life" (Rapoport 1969:49). In later writings, Rapoport (1982) elaborates on the communicative capacity of housing as structuring enculturation and conveying messages of personal and social identity. In relation to vernacular dwellings, Deetz (1977) observes:

> ...The form of a house can be a strong reflection of the needs and minds of those who built it; in addition, it shapes and directs their behavior...Vernacular structures are the immediate product of their users and therefore a sensitive indicator of these persons' inner feelings, their ideas of what is or is not suitable to them. Consequently, changes in attitudes, values, and world view are very likely to be reflected in changes in vernacular architectural forms (Deetz 1977:92-93).

Blanton (1994:8) notes that:

> ..it is widely accepted that houses are part of society's system of nonverbal communication" and focuses on dwellings' ability to communicate canonical, indexical and social boundary messages. Canonical meaning refers to "enduring symbols reflecting concepts held in common by people participating in a common cultural system" while indexical information conveys "social identity... the current status of a household (Blanton 1994:10).

Social boundary messages are sent by "members of strongly integrated social entities...[to] demarcate boundaries between themselves and other social entities using material communication" (Blanton 1994:117). Smith contends that residential architecture "is probably the strongest and most consistent expression of wealth levels in agrarian states....Such societies exhibit a great range of variation in the size and quality of housing, and these factors relate directly to the level of a household's access to goods and services" (Michael Smith 1987:301). All of these statements indicate the communicative capacity of dwellings as complex elements of material culture, and suggest a strong linkage between dwelling form and the ethos of a society. These statements also intimate that residential architecture can serve to delineate and demarcate in-group from out-group, and to perpetuate such differentiation.

In light of these perspectives, it is argued here that the formal variation among Cherokee residential structures documented by Welch and Jarrett reflects the operation of "different world views and ways of life" (Rapoport 1969:49), and that the multiple standards of Cherokee housing represent nascent cultural and ethnic differentiation expressed in material terms. Gross-scale variation in Cherokee housing almost certainly conveyed both indexical and social boundary meaning to Cherokee audiences, and served to delineate the ever widening social and cultural gulf between westernized and more traditionally oriented sectors of Cherokee society. Canonical

communication was more restricted in Cherokee domestic architecture, and is most clearly represented in the internal configurations of the traditional *asi*, which maintained the sacred fire in a central, focal position surrounded by walls that defined cardinality.

The broad trends of variation in nineteenth century Cherokee housing were clearly recognized by contemporary Anglo-American and Cherokee *métis* observers, who framed their references to such variation in terms of "civilization" and "backwardness," wealth and poverty. A sample of primary accounts of Cherokee housing in the period between 1825 and 1845 illustrates two points: 1) the universal adoption of Anglo-American domestic structure form among the Cherokeees and 2) the assumption of diversity in scale and formality inherent to western housing:

> I will tell you how the Cherokee live. They generally live in log houses and cabbins [sic], though some have framed ones. Some of our neighbors go to the seat of government and to the neighboring states and see how civilized people build houses and begin to live a little as they do. ...But a great many Cherokees are poor and ignorant and live so poorly that they have scarcely any houses... (McPherson n.d.).
>
> Our cabins as I told you are built of logs and the open places are filled up with mud. When they prepare the mud they pull up the turfs of the ground then hoe up the gravel and put water among it and put their children it it to mix it with their feet. Some have framed houses; some, but very few, have brick (Reece n.d.).
>
> The houses of the Cherokees are of all sorts; from an elegant painted or brick mansion, down to a very mean log cabin. If we speak, however of the mass of the people, they live in comfortable log houses, generally one story high, but frequently two; sometimes of hewn logs, and sometimes unhewn; commonly with a wooden chimney, and a floor of puncheons... (Samuel Worchester , Mar. 15,1830 in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1968:79-80).
>
> The dwellings of the mass of the Cherokees are comfortable log cabins. The meanest are not meaner than those of some of the neighboring whites. Formerly their huts had neither floors nor chimneys. Twenty years [1811] since nearly all had chimneys, but few had floors. Now most of the cabins are floored, besides being much improved in other respects. Many of the houses in the nation are decent two story buildings, and some are elegant (Cherokee Phoenix, Jan. 1, 1831, in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1968:86)
>
> The traveler, passing through the Cherokee Nation, is struck by the contrast between the occasional stately dwelling, with an extensive farm attached, and the miserable hovels of the indigent, sometimes not ten feet square, with a little patch of corn, scarce large enough for a family garden... (Gregg 1844:317).

What is obvious from these accounts is that Cherokee architecture as a whole no longer displayed the unity of form and scale that signalled the shared values of a traditional corporate society. While most Cherokees built vernacular structures that might be variously characterized as miserable hovels, mean log cabins, or comfortable cabins, a minority (mainly Anglo-Cherokees) constructed expensive and elaborate "pattern book" houses as conspicuous displays of their Western orientation. These displays of wealth and worldiness were directed at a number of audiences. For the viewership (or readership) of whites, such houses provided tangible evidence of economic equality or even one-upsmanship on the part of Cherokees. As directed toward other Cherokees, these elaborate houses may have served to exhort the "backward" and "ignorant" to the capitalistic strivings of "civilized" life. Neither of these audiences were necessarily receptive.

Many southern whites dismissed these Cherokees as rich savages whose material improvements simply constituted greater impediments to their removal. More traditionally oriented Cherokees may have viewed the elaborate mansions as proof positive that these rich Cherokees were no longer Indians, but had become whites in both belief and practice.

Conversely, the "miserable hovels of the indigent" were not dwellings of an unfortunate few who wished for, but could not attain, the greater comforts of "civilized" life. Instead, these roughly built, impermanent structures functioned as visible rejections of Western ideals, and signaled that their inhabitants shared a value system that emphasized equality in mutual poverty. The builders of such structures thumbed their collective noses at the whites and their Anglo-Cherokee sychophants, whose houses expressed the competitive economic strivings of western life.

Outbuildings

In addition to residential buildings, Welch and Jarrett appraised a variety of ancillary farm and domestic activity structures as part of Cherokee properties in southwestern North Carolina. The Federal agents described nonresidential domestic dependencies such as kitchens (n=9), smokehouses (n=23), loomhouses (n=1) and springhouses (n=6), as well as a number of building types associated with agricultural activities and crop storage, including corn cribs and granaries (n=266), stables (n=103), barns (n=3), chicken houses (n=4), sheephouses (n=1), potato houses (n=1), stockpens (n=2) and a wagonshed. Other special activity structures described by Welch and Jarrett include blacksmith shops, stillhouses, lumberhouses, workshops, gristmills, stores and a single schoolhouse. It is likely that many of the cabins identified by the appraisers were also functionally specific dependencies, but were not differentiated by their form or obvious content.

Welch and Jarrett identified nine freestanding kitchens or cookhouses, eight of which were located in the Hiwassee River basin. All of these were cribbed log structures; four were constructed of hewn-logs. Three kitchens had nail-attached roofs; the remainder had weighted board coverings. Six kitchens were floored with puncheon floors and two were floored in sawn planks. These structures ranged in size from $100ft^2$ up to $360ft^2$; kitchens were appraised between $5.00 and $50.00 (median=$27.50). Eight kitchens belonged to Anglo-Cherokee households (John Christie, Andrew Colvard, David England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, William Smith, John Timson, John Welch), all of which maintained large properties with dwellings valued in excess of $50.00. One fullblood household (*Solelah*) from Cheoah owned a freestanding kitchen valued at $5.00.

The strong association of kitchens with Anglo-Cherokee households (especially those with intermarried whites) suggests that the spatial (and by extension, conceptual) differentiation of domestic workspace was a characteristic of western farmsteads that was not incorporated into the

core Cherokee repertoire. Williams (1991) defines the typical, or idealized, nineteenth century yeoman farmstead in southwestern North Carolina as a "big house" (i.e. domestic living quarters) accompanied by a separate, freestanding kitchen and a variety of other functionally specific dependencies. In many instances, kitchens were older cabins that households had occupied as primary residences prior to construction of their "big houses." The physical differentiation of food preparation tended to segregate other gender specific work, and kitchens became *de facto* "women's houses." Such segregation of domestic workspace (and the personnel involved) was particularly prevalent among Anglo-American households with servants, and it is noteworthy that four of the nine households with kitchens were slaveholders. Incorporation of food preparation activities within the primary dwelling structures of most Cherokee households indicates greater generalization and lesser complexity of domestic activities in traditional contexts, and suggests less social and economic differentiation of household personnel (esp. with respect to gender) than existed in southern Anglo-American yeoman contexts (Cecil-Fronsman 1992; Kulikoff 1992).

The most common functionally specific domestic dependencies documented by Welch and Jarrett were smokehouses (n=23), which were found on 21 Cherokee properties in the southern half of the study area. These small ($100ft^2$ to $200ft^2$), floorless, cribbed log buildings were devoted to the preparation and preservation of meat (primarily pork) by salt and smoke curing. The Federal agent assigned values from $6.00 to $18.00 to smokehouses. Eighteen of the smokehouses were owned by 15 Anglo-Cherokee households (John Welch, John Timson, Andrew Colvard, David England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Smith, William Smith, Henry Smith, George Blair, Gideon Morris, Margaret Hanks, Charlie Buffington, Ned Christie, *Walletah* Riley); five belonged to fullblood families (Caty Walker, *Ollikee*, Muskrat, *Chunehunt*, *Keenaneetee*). The strong association of smokehouses with Anglo-Cherokee households, especially households with intermarried whites, indicates that most Cherokees in the study area did not readily adopt western modes of meat preservation, or at least did not devote discrete structures to meat processing and storage. Like kitchens, smokehouses denote the increasing segregation of workspace from living spaces in western agrarian contexts. Such spatial segregation was viewed as especially desirable for activities that generated large amounts or objectionable types of refuse and residues. Separate meathouses may also have helped prevent incursions of predators (e.g. cougars, bears) on domestic quarters.

Springhouses (n=6) were small buildings constructed over springheads to protect water sources from contamination by animals, vegetation and runoff. Springhouses also functioned as coolers for the short-term summer storage of milk, vegetables, and meat. These structures were constructed of cribbed logs with low roofs and no floors; it is likely that the springheads themselves were shored up with unmortared rockwork. Springhouses ranged in size from $24ft^2$ up

to 120ft^2, and Welch and Jarrett assigned values from $1.00 to $10.00 to these buildings. Springhouses were associated only with Anglo-Cherokee households (Jesse Raper, John Welch, John Timson, Margaret Hanks, Edmund Fallen) located in the southern half of the study area, a pattern of distribution that suggests a uniquely western focus on the privatization and improvement of natural resources.

Many Cherokee farmsteads included one or more buildings used for agricultural activities or crop storage. The most common of these were facilities devoted to grain storage, including corn cribs (n=266), corn houses (n=53) and a single granary. Corn cribs and corn houses were generally small (64ft^2 to 144ft^2), cribbed log structures with elevated floors and board roofs. These structures were generally used to house unshelled (on the ear), dry corn to protect the crop from moisture and rodent infestation. The granary, which belonged to David England, stored small grains such as wheat, rye or oats. Values assigned to corn cribs and corn houses range between $1.00 and $30.00, with a median value of $4.00.

Although the Cherokee corn crib of the nineteenth century derived from Anglo-American models in form and construction, it was the functional and conceptual equivalent of the traditional Cherokee corn house (Cherokee:*unwadali*), a continuity which probably accounts for the prevalence of cribs among Cherokee properties. Given the overwhelming focus on maize production on Cherokee farms, it is somewhat surprising that such facilities are not omnipresent, but it is likely that many families stored their corn within their homes or in ancillary cabins that the agents did not discriminate as cribs. A number (n=40) of Cherokee properties had multiple cribs; some of these extra cribs provided increased storage capacity on larger holdings, while others probably represent replacements of decaying structures. It is noteworthy that the largest (>80ft^2) and most highly valued corn cribs belonged to Anglo-Cherokee families who farmed the largest tracts of cropland (i.e. David England, Jonathan England, Gideon Morris, John Welch, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, Dick Downing, William Boling).

Welch and Jarrett documented 96 stables as part of 75 Cherokee properties in the study area. These buildings housed draft animals and riding horses, the most highly valued property of most Cherokee households. All of these structures were cribbed log buildings; two were double stables of paired pens and two were paired corn cribs and stables under single roofs. The agents noted integral wooden feed troughs and fodder racks in 20 stables. Stable sizes range from 140ft^2 to 336ft^2, with a median value of 140ft^2; monetary values of stables range from $1.00 to $45.00, with a median value of $8.00.

The distribution of stables is strongly skewed with respect to ethnicity/cultural affiliation. Households with stables include 53 percent of the families with intermarried Anglo-Americans, 33 percent of the *métis* families, and only 8 percent of fullblood families in the study area. In

addition, seven households with resident Anglo-Americans owned multiple stables, as compared to four *métis* households, and two fullblood households. The disproportionate use of stables by Anglo-Cherokees, particularly intermarried whites, reflects both the greater numbers of horses maintained by this sector of the population, and the greater propensity of these households to practice improved animal management and modernized agrarian techniques. Contemporary agricultural journals (e.g. *The Southern Agriculturalist*; *Southern Planter*) frequently admonished their readers to provide shelter for their livestock, an indication that such sheltering was considered both innovative and scientifically sound. However, Olmstead (1860) observed that Anglo-American farmers in the study area were particularly lax in their care of livestock and seldom protected farm animals from the elements.

Welch and Jarrett reported only three barns in the study area, all of which were owned by intermarried Anglo-Americans (David England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper). These single-pen, cribbed log buildings were relatively small (20ft by 18ft, 16ft by 16ft, and 14ft by14ft) facilities intended for the storage of fodder and hay, tack and agricultural equipment as well as the sheltering of livestock. Pillsbury (1981) notes a similar paucity of barns among Cherokee properties in northern Georgia, and attributes this pattern to incomplete acculturation of the Anglo-American farmstead configuration by Cherokee families. However, nineteenth century Anglo-American farmsteads in the southern mountains frequently lacked barns, preferring instead to use numerous smaller buildings devoted to specialized functions (Gray 1941; Vlach 1993; Williams 1991).

In addition to dwellings, domestic dependencies, and agricultural facilities, a small minority of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina maintained buildings used for specialized production or commercial activities. These specialized activity structures include blacksmith shops (n=4), shophouses (n=6), store buildings (n=4), stillhouses (n=7), mills (n=7) and a schoolhouse. With the exception of a single workshop, these specialized activity structures were located in the southern half of the study area. Blacksmith shops housed small home forges owned by William Boling, Bear's Paw (Boling's father-in-law), *Wachacha*, and David England. Spoliation claims filed after the Removal indicate that Gideon Morris (*Wachacha*'s brother-in-law), Isaac Tucker, Jackson, *Teesataskee*, *Toonahnalah*, and *Ohnullah* also operated forges. Welch and Jarrett did not record the dimensions of these small, cribbed log blacksmith shops, but placed the values of these shops between $8.00 and $10.00.

The presence of these forges indicates the assimilation (albeit limited) of rather complex western technologies by Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina. Although the Cherokees avidly adopted iron based technologies as early as the late seventeenth century, they lacked the skills, tools and materials necessary to manufacture or repair iron goods until the nineteenth

century. The Cherokees' inability to produce or maintain the ironwares they adopted as core technologies rendered them acutely dependent upon British and American traders, who were seldom present when needed and frequently unscrupulous when present. In an effort to reduce such dependence, and the abuses and unrest it occasioned, the Federal government sponsored the training of Cherokee males in the "mechanic arts" (e.g. ironworking) as part of its early nineteenth century "civilization" program. This program trained small numbers of Cherokee smiths in limited apprenticeships, and by 1816, Cherokee Agent R.J. Meigs (1816) noted that there were at least 15 native blacksmiths working in the nation. *Métis* Charles Hicks [ca. 1818] observed:

> ... there are six or seven others [Cherokees] who work at the blacksmith's trade, though not to any extent, but only in repairing the plough, the axe, the gun, and shoeing of horses, some of whom even make the plough ... Some sets of tools for blacksmiths have already been furnished to some of the Cherokees (Morse 1822).

In 1825, five smiths operated in the Aquohee District and one in the Taquohee District (Boudinot 1828), and these numbers appear to have increased steadily until removal. Perhaps because of its general utility to all Cherokees, ironworking does not appear to have been restricted to either westernized or conservative sectors of the study area population, and whites, *métis*, and fullbloods alike engaged in the craft. However, the incidence of ironworking facilities on some of the largest farms in the study area (i.e. David England, *Wachacha*, Bear's Paw) suggests that adoption of ironworking may correspond to the agrarian orientations of these households. This parallels the prevalence of home forges on yeoman farmsteads in nearby Anglo-American settlements in McMinn County, Tennessee (Works Progress Administration 1937) where probate records indicate that nearly one-quarter of the farms maintained ironworking facilities. These home forges enhanced the technological self-sufficiency of agrarian households; such heightened self-sufficiency is one of the hallmarks of the yeoman lifestyle (Cecil-Fronsman 1992; Kulikoff 1992).

Welch and Jarrett also documented seven stillhouses within the Hiwassee River basin of southwestern North Carolina. These rather large ($224ft^2$–$1248ft^2$), floorless cribbed log or shed buildings housed distilleries for the production of grain whiskeys and fruit brandies. Such stillhouses contained mash vats, troughs or barrels for the fermentation of grains or fruits, and sheet metal stills for the refinement of alcohol from fermented mash. The agents estimated the values of stillhouses between $12.00 and $40.00. These facilities were owned by Ned Christie, John Smith, David England, Jesse Raper, *Satagah*, Jack Rabbit, and *Toonahnalah*; spoliation claims indicate that *Nakee* also operated a small distillery in Tusquittee.

As is the case with blacksmithing, contemporary (ca. 1836-1840) probate inventories from nearby McMinn County, Tennessee, indicate that distilling was a common activity among

yeoman and middling farmers. By distilling spirits from corn, rye, peaches and apples, farmers transformed their produce into transportable, nonperishable, highly valuable, and readily salable commodities. This "value added" processing increased the marketability and profit of crops severalfold; such transformation embodied the spirit of agrarian entrepreneurship. Despite the commercial advantages of such "value added" processing, relatively few Cherokees undertook liquor production. This is, in part, attributable to the prohibitive expense of the distilling equipment, but it is also likely that profit motivation behind distilling was not consonant with traditional Cherokee values. In addition, Christianized Cherokees, particularly Baptists, opposed production, importation, sales, and consumption of liquor, and Baptist missionaries formed temperance associations among Cherokees in the study area to combat the disruptive effects of whiskey on spiritual and temporal order. Thus, distillers may have risked sanction by both the traditionalist and Christian Cherokee communities. The threat of ostracism from traditionalist society was probably of little consquence to wealthy, profit-motivated individuals like *métis* Ned Christie and intermarried whites Jesse Raper, David England and John Smith (who may have associated with the more whiskey-tolerant Methodist Church). The motives and consequences of distilling are less clear for *Toonanailah*, Jack Rabbit, and *Satagah*. *Toonanailah*, in particular, appears to have pursued an agrarian lifestyle. Like his close neighbor, Jesse Raper, *Toonanailah* farmed on an extensive scale, and *Toonanailah*'s post-removal spoliation claim indicates that he engaged in a variety of other economic activities typical of Anglo-American yeoman households (i.e. blacksmithing, coopering, distilling, freight hauling).

Shop houses were generally small ($144ft^2$–$168ft^2$), cribbed log workshops devoted to woodworking activities such as chair building, cabinetry, and coopering, repair of agricultural equipment, and production and repair of harness. These buildings probably housed the specialized toolkits and materials of such artisan activities, and provided shelter to workers during inclement weather (when such work was undertaken instead of agricultural labor). Welch and Jarrett determined that these simple buildings, which lacked both floors and chimneys, were worth from $4.00 to $12.00 each.

Shop houses were owned by Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Welch, *Satagah*, George, and *Culsowee*. The incidence of such differentiated workspace in the holdings of three of the wealthiest Anglo-Cherokee families reflects the economic diversification and intensification of these households and is consistent with property configurations of small planters in the upland South (Vlach 1993). For *Satagah*, who also owned a stillhouse and lived in a house valued at $50.00, the shop house may reflect increased economic activity and segregation of workspace, characteristics of a more westernized lifestyle

Mercantile activity in the study area is indicated by store buildings belonging to Margaret (Mrs. Robert) Hanks (*nee* Morgan), Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, and John Timson. These stores were all well finished, hewn-log structures with nail attached roofs; three had sawn plank floors. These store buildings were relatively large ($224ft^2$–$288ft^2$) and the agents assigned values between $25.00 and $50.00 to these structures.

All of these stores were located within Anglo-Cherokee communities, and were primarily intended to serve Anglo-American and Anglo-Cherokee customers who had ready cash or sufficient assets for dependable credit. The Hanks store operated at Marble prior to 1836, when Robert Hanks moved his family to Tennessee to prepare their move to Oklahoma. Timson's store on Peachtree Creek formerly belonged to David Thompson, an intermarried white who emigrated to the Cherokee Nation West in 1834. Whether Timson actually operated the store is unclear. Thomas Raper's store house, which included shelves and a clerk's counter, was situated near the Blairsville wagon road's ford of the Nottely River, a good location to take advantage of commercial traffic. The volume of Raper's trade is questionable, however, since the Raper family purchased household goods at Hunter's store (Hunter 1836–1838). Jesse Raper's store, which was located across the river from his brother's, was unfinished at the time of the valuations; Raper may have been in the process of constructing the building in anticipation of Anglo-American settlement in the area after Removal.

The ownership of stores by these four Anglo-Cherokee households provides evidence of their aspiriations to wealth and desire to accumulate property. In the case of the Raper brothers, these stores situated on large, diversified farms paralleled the small commercial establishments found on plantations throughout the upland South. Such stores, in combination with facilities such as workshops and mills, lent plantations the character of small villages or manors (Vlach 1993). Well-to-do planters could maintain lines of credit for customers, and could barter manufactured goods for livestock and produce that could be later transported and sold at profit. Stores also served as centers for the exchange of information, and planters and merchants controlling these facilities could monitor and regulate information flow to maximize their profits.

A number of water driven gristmills and associated sawmills operated in the study area during the Removal Period. Welch and Jarrett appraised seven of these mills that belonged to Anglo-Cherokee households. The majority of these were small tub mills that probably resembled one belonging to *métis* John Love:

> ...1 Tub Mill, on a very small scale, one set of stones about 2 ft 7 inches cover house 16 by 14, very low, board roof, Dam 6 ft high. Water conveyed to the wheel 145 feet in trough, on Prichets Creek- worth $100.00 (Starrett and Smith 1837).

Values assigned to gristmills by Welch and Jarrett range from $50 for John Welch's mill, which was "old and nearly rotten down," to $355.00 for a new mill built by Gideon Morris.

Thomas Raper owned a sawmill "in bad repair" worth $150.00; this sawmill was driven off the same gearing as his gristmill on Raper's Mill Creek near the Georgia state line. John Smith's $145.00 mill was located in the Peachtree community, and Andrew Colvard's mill timbers were located in the middle Valley River Valley along Colvard's Mill Creek. David England's $300.00 gristmill had hewn framing for the machinery within a round log structure; the wooden dam spanned Hyatt's Mill Creek.

Construction and operation of water powered mills illustrates the expanded economic activities of these six Anglo-Cherokee households, all of which included intermarried whites. Gristmills and associated sawmills provided these families with flour, meal, cracked grain for feed and distilling, and lumber for home use, but also generated profits through local sale or exchange of services (milling) and processed commodities (flour, meal, sawn lumber). Millers typically charged customers a toll of grain for milling, and millers could dispose of this grain at profit by sale to stock drovers at local stands. This type of embedded economic activity, with profits emerging from long sequences of local exchange, was typical of agrarian enterprise in the upland South throughout the nineteenth century, and illustrates the diverse strategies for accumulation of property employed by the wealthiest Cherokees in the study area.

For Anglo-American and *métis* observers, the establishment of mills among the Cherokees was proof positive of the natives' advancement toward "civilization." Charles Hicks, the assistant chief and de facto leader of the Cherokee government, observed in 1818:

> The convenience of mills is begun to be felt, and much wanted in different parts of the nation; as a considerable number of families that live ten or fifteen miles from any mill go to have their corn made into meal; .... There are six grist and two sawmills owned by natives, and fourteen or fifteen grist and two saw mills owned by white men who are married into native families (Morse 1822).

The 1809 and 1825 censuses, both of which were designed to convey Cherokee "progress," enumerated gristmills and sawmills as primary evidence. More traditionally oriented Cherokees regarded mills in a somewhat different light. Although they perceived gristmills as evidence of Westernization, this association was not positive. To them, mills profaned maize, a sacred foodstuff, in the rumbling, gnashing maw of a white man's machine. The dry, well sorted corn meal that issued from gristmills did not approximate traditional lye processed corn in either appearance or flavor; and most Cherokees eschewed stone-ground meal in favor of corn pounded in wooden hominy mortars. So powerful were the opinions of conservative Cherokees concerning cornmeal processing that gristmills assumed a central role in the rhetoric of the 1811–1813 nativistic movement that swept the Cherokee nation. Mooney relates, on authority of James Wafford (who lived on Nottely River at the time of Removal) that a native prophet of this movement preached:

> ... The Cherokee had broken the road which had been given to their fathers at the beginning of the world. They had taken the white man's clothes and trinkets, they had beds and tables and *mills*... All this was bad, and because of it their gods were angry... If they would live and be happy as before they must put off the white man's dress, throw away his *mills* and looms... and be Indians again (Mooney 1900:88, emphasis added).

Parallel to this was the message of the Rocky Mountain vision, delivered to three Cherokee travelers by apparitions of a Cherokee drummer and a host of mounted spirits (probably *Nunnehi*):

> ...plant Indian corn and pound it in the manner of your forefathers; do away with mills. The Mother of the Nation has forsaken you because all her bones are being broken through the grinding...(Mauleshagen 1964).

For traditionalists, the "Mother of the Nation" was *Selu*, the First Woman, who was synonymous with maize. The gristmills operated by a few Anglo-Cherokees threatened to destabilize the traditional world order and plunge the Cherokees into the chaos and darkness that was the antithesis of the Harmony Way. On a more earthly plane, conservative Cherokees found mills objectionable because they obviated women's responsibility for maize processing, a task which was definitive of traditional female identity.

In only one instance did Welch and Jarrett identify a cabin associated with a Cherokee property as a schoolhouse. David England's dependencies included a 324 ft^2 schoolhouse built of round logs, with a puncheon floor, a stick and clay chimney, and a shed covering the entrance. England's cabin housed a short term subscription school taught by Leonard Butterfield (Jones1834), a teacher who abandoned the Baptist school at Peachtree in 1833. Butterfield also taught school on Sweetwater's property at Hiwassee (Jones 1833) and at Valley Town (Jones 1835) near Fort Delaney (U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers 1837–1838). Records of the Baptist mission at Peachtree indicate former schools at Nottely and Tusquittee, but no characteristics distinguished these buildings from residential cabins described by Welch and Jarrett

Agricultural Improvements

The most valuable elements of Cherokee properties appraised by Welch and Jarrett were agricultural improvements, comprising cultivated land, uncultivated cleared land, uncleared land enclosed by fencing, and fruit trees. Because these agricultural improvements represent the primary basis of Cherokee subsistence and one of the principal bases of market production, the sizes and values assigned to such properties provide appropriate measures of the productive capacity and economic well being of Cherokee households, and serve to gauge the potential involvement of different households in an agrarian market economy. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, these properties exhibit considerable household level variation with distinct patterning relative to the ethnic/cultural affinity of particular families. Although the data recorded by Welch

and Jarrett do not substantially modify conclusions drawn from the census data regarding agricultural properties, they are both more precise in their estimates of acreage and more detailed in their descriptions of the use, ownership, and distributions of acreage. The greater precision and detail of the 1836–1837 valuations serve to refine and amplify the trends observed in the 1835 census.

Farmland

Welch and Jarrett indicate that Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina cultivated approximately 5300 acres distributed among 861 discrete agricultural plots; this is contrasted with the 1835 census estimate of 6666 acres for the same area. These plots were generally small, ranging in size between .125 acres and 100 acres, with a mean size of 6.5 acres and a median size of 4 acres (Figure 4.6). Welch and Jarrett defined farmland in lower lying alluvial soils as riverbottom or creekbottom, and designated cultivated colluvial soils on valley sideslopes and in cove settings as uplands. The agents assigned values to agricultural plots between seven dollars per acre for "second rate upland" to twelve dollars per acre for "first rate riverbottom," with an median value of nine dollars per acre Total values assigned to the agricultural plots belonging to individual households range from a low of $1.00 to a maximum of $1863.50, with an average value of $72.00 and a median value of $40.00.

Over 90 percent of the agricultural plots appraised by Welch and Jarrett were enclosed with split rail worm fences to prevent crop damage from free ranging livestock; the value of this fencing was included in the per acre appraisals. Such fencing was mandated by Cherokee national law in an effort to prevent conflicts over crop loss due to livestock encroachment, and various heights of rail tiers were prescribed as "hogproof," "horseproof," etc. (Cherokee Nation 1852). Welch and Jarrett also noted a number of fenced enclosures of fallow land, cleared (but uncultivated) land, and woodland. These tracts presumably represent grazing or forage enclosures for livestock; such pastures served to exclude free ranging stock and reserve the grass or mast within for the owner's use. In addtion, enclosure under a rail fence constituted the simplest and most labor effective means for Cherokee property holders to establish an "improvement" and thereby lay claim to a tract for future use. Anglo-Cherokee farmsteaders employed this strategy frequently, particularly in the Valley River Valley.

Other improvements to cultivated properties include ditching for drainage of low lying bottomlands by Gideon Morris, Thomas Raper, and Jesse Raper. Ditching enabled these large landholders to cultivate rich, highly organic alluvial soils that Cherokee farmers had previously avoided. Such intensification of land use was current among "improving" Anglo-American farmers, but most Cherokees did not invest the considerable labor required to bring additional land under cultivation through drainage, especially when they anticipated periodic relocation.

Figure 4.6. Distribution of the sizes of agricultural holdings.

Thomas (1958) notes that the Qualla Cherokees did not employ ditching until the 1890s, and even then it was primarily a tool of Anglo-Cherokee farmers:

> ...Most of the older Cherokees say the large bottoms were too swampy to farm and were not utilized until the 1890s when the white Indians and more acculturated Indians drained these areas (Thomas 1958:15).

Cherokee spoliation claims indicate that families from the study area produced a wide array of crops on cultivated plots, including maize, beans, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, wheat, rye, oats, cowpeas, English peas, bunch beans, tobacco, cotton, cabbage, turnips, mustard, peanuts, onions, lettuce, cucumbers, muskmelons and watermelons (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842). Most of these cultigens were produced at garden scale; over 90 percent of the cultivated acreage was devoted to maize production, a reflection of the importance of maize in traditional Cherokee subsistence and the preeminence of maize as a commercial crop. Mixed plantings of corn, beans, and squash were common and Featherstonhaugh described Cherokee farms along the Valley River as: "...each of them having its patch of Indian corn with indigenous beans climbing to the top of each plant, with squashes and pumpkins growing on the ground" (Featherstonhaugh 1847:284).

Agricultural technologies were simple. Cherokee farmers and gardeners in the study area prepared plots with shallow draft shovel plows drawn by single horses, then tended their crops with hoes. Some of the more westernized Anglo-Cherokee households tilled larger tracts with heavier, deep draft plows drawn by oxen. Neither manuring of fields nor addition of soil amendments was practiced even by Anglo-Cherokee farmers attuned to more "progressive" agrarian methods, although some families appear to have practiced two crop rotation and short-term fallowing. Plowing began in April, and planting commenced by the beginning of May, after the danger of frost had passed (Jones 1826-1836). Crops of corn were typically cultivated by hand, and were cleared of weeds four times before the corn tassels appeared in July. Maize crops matured in late summer, and corn harvest and fodder gathering took place over the month of October. Labor for these agricultural tasks was primarily household based, although it is likely that clan or town based *gadugi* workgroups (see Fogelson and Kutsche 1961) operated cooperatively to accomplish major, labor intensive tasks such as weeding. A number of Anglo-Cherokee families cultivated large acreages with the aid of black slaves, white tenants, and Cherokee wage laborers. While more westernized households probably treated maize production in a workaday fashion that was strictly economic in outlook, more conservative Cherokees observed of a wide range of ritual prescriptions and prohibitions in the planting, cultivation, and harvest of corn (Mooney 1900:423).

Productivity under such simple agricultural regimes vared considerably, with yields of maize ranging from a high of 25 bushels per acre in rich new ground to a low of 8 bushels per acre in

exhausted soils (Baden 1987). Soil fertility was rapidly depleted due to programs of continuous corn production without soil amendments, and agricultural plots were rarely maintained for more than ten years. As a consequence, most Cherokee households in the study area practiced a form of swidden horticulture that required frequent initiation of new garden plots. Because arable soils are limited in most locales and are patchily distributed within the study area, it was often necessary for households to relocate in order to remain within working distance of agricultural plots. This swidden system was probably the most important factor determining the duration of farmstead occupations; it probably also limited the scale of farming for most households. Ard Hoyt observed in 1818:

> The Natives already understand the art of raising corn... but they have never experienced the advantages of pasture, field and meadow [short fallowing]. When they have exhausted a field by planting it with corn, they know nothing of recruiting it by sowing other grains and laying it down to grass, and for lack of this knowledge, they are either working their fields to very little profit or forsaking them to open new ones (Hoyt 1818).

J.C. Hart depicts the same pattern of land use by eastern Cherokees on Qualla Boundary at the end of the nineteenth century:

> While they are industrious, these people are not progressive farmers and have learned nothing of modern methods. The same crops are raised continuously until the soil will yield no more or is washed away, when new ground is cleared or broken. The value of rotation and fertilizing has not yet been discovered or taught... (Hart 1897 in Mooney 1900:179).

This pattern appears to have been transplanted to Oklahoma, where Josiah Gregg observed evidence of cyclical land use and abandonment in the Cherokee Nation a few years after initial settlement:

> ...Scattered through the county, one continually encounters dilapidated huts with trifling improvements, which have been abandoned by the owners for some fancy they may have taken to some other location at a distance, better adapted, as they think, to the promotion of their comfort, and upon which they may live with less labor (Gregg 1844:317).

Welch and Jarrett's estimates of the cultivated acreage controlled by Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina reveal substantial variation in the scale of agriculture undertaken by different sectors of Cherokee society. As indicated by the 1835 census data, this variation is primarily, but not exclusively, patterned with respect to ethnicity or cultural affinity. Because the 1836–1837 valuations data appear to be more precise than the earlier census estimate, it is useful to review these distributions.

Welch and Jarrett determined that 618 households and 48 other individuals cultivated agricultural plots totaling approximately 5320 acres. These properties ranged in size from quarter acre garden plots associated with houses up to farms of 203.25 acres, with a median value of five acres per household, a mean value of 8.2 acres and a standard deviation of 12.95. Ninety percent of these households controlled less than 14 acres of farmland; 75 percent of Cherokee households in the study area farmed less than nine acres. This distribution appears quite different from the

figures recorded in the 1835 census, which documents a similar range of 1-120 acres per household, but a median value of eight acres per household, a mean value of 11.34 acres per household and a standard deviation of 11.64. The cenus indicates that 90 percent of Cherokee households farmed less than 20 acres, and 75 percent cultivated fewer than 14 acres. Because the mean and median values of both distributions are so low, the differences between the two appear small, yet reflect discrepancies of nearly 30 percent. The 1836–1837 appraisals not only indicate a wider range of acreage values, but also present a distribution more heavily skewed toward significantly lower values than are evident in the 1835 census.

As is the case with the farmland figures from the 1835 census, Welch and Jarrett's estimates of Cherokee cropland exhibit considerable variation with respect to the ethnicity or cultural affinity of households, and comparison of the distributions of cropland among fullbood households, *métis* households, and households with intermarried whites is informative. Among all fullblood households cropland acreage ranged between .1 acres and 50 acres per household, with a mean value of 6.42 and a median value of five acres (sd=5.96). The distribution of acreage values among *métis* families (without whites) differs slightly, with household values ranging from .3 to 65 acres, a median value of 8 acres and a mean of 12.75 (sd=14.1). Acreages for households with intermarried whites differ markedly, with values ranging from 2-203.25 acres, a mean value of 49.35 acres, and a median value of 29.75 (sd=48.84). F statistics reveal that all three distributions differ significantly at a .005 level of probability (Table 4.3), an indication that scales of agrarian activity in the study area varied, in part, with respect to household ethnicity. These distributions generally resemble those documented by the 1835 census, and similar conclusions can be drawn concerning the relationship between household ethnicity and economic orientation. The markedly higher acreages cultivated by a number of Anglo-Cherokee households (especially those with intermarried whites) indicate a greater focus upon surplus production for market use than is evident among the majority of fullblood households, who appear to have limited their agriculture to subsistence needs. Yet the acreage distributions for these ethnic subsets of the study population indicate that all three groups encompassed market agriculturalists as well as subsistence horticulturalists. There was certainly a minority of Cherokee fullbloods who acculturated to (or enculturated to) western agrarian models. Conversely, those intermarried Anglo-Americans who maintained minimal agricultural plots may have assimilated the subsistence orientation of traditional Cherokee society (i.e. "gone native") or simply maintained the subsistence perspective that characterized the lowest socioeconomic rungs of rural Anglo-American society.

These patterns are more clearly manifest upon consideration of the rank order of cropland amounts per household. The largest 2.5 percent of Cherokee properties belonged to 15 households

Table 4.3. ANOVA comparisons of agricultural landholding by ethnic subsets of the study population.

Analysis of Variance (fullbloods vs. *métis*)

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Ratio
Model	1	3026.842	3026.84	50.756
Error	591	35244.345	59.64	Prob>F
C Total	592	38271.187	64.65	<.0001

acreage means for oneway ANOVA

Level	Number	Mean	Std Error
fullbloods	547	6.6247	0.3302
métis	46	15.0707	1.1386

Analysis of Variance (fullbloods vs. intermarried whites)

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Ratio
Model	1	56096.45	56096.5	257.3713
Error	563	122711.04	218	Prob>F
C Total	564	178807.49	317	<.0001

acreage means for oneway ANOVA

Level	Number	Mean	Std Error
fullbloods	547	6.6247	0.6312
intermarried whites	18	63.3611	3.4798

Analysis of Variance (*métis* vs. intermarried whites)

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Ratio
Model	1	30169.84	30169.8	17.0199
Error	62	109902.36	1772.6	Prob>F
C Total	63	140072.2	2223.4	0.0001

acreage means for oneway ANOVA

Level	Number	Mean	Std Error
métis	46	15.0707	6.2077
intermarried whites	18	63.3611	9.9236

that cultivated 40 or more acres. These include eight Anglo-Cherokee families with white members (Gideon Morris, John Welch, David England, Jonathan England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, Andrew Colvard, John Smith), four *métis* households (Ned Christie, Richard Downing, John Timson, and Henry Smith), and four fullblood households (*Wachacha*, *Situwakee*, Bear's Paw, Sulsa). This group comprises 44 percent of the households with intermarried whites, 8 percent of the *métis* households, and less than one percent of the fullblood families in the study area. These 15 families controlled approximately 1228 acres of farmland, over 23 percent of the regional total. These families also owned many of the most highly valued dwellings in the region, and controlled the majority of specialized economic facilities (e.g. mills, stillhouses, blacksmith shops) in the study area. Seven of these families (Morris, Welch, J. Raper, Christie, Downing, Timson, D. England) controlled 40 percent of the black slaves held by Cherokee households in the study area; Paige's 1838 roster indicates that Bear's Paw acquired a black slave after the 1835 census. The high incidence of slaveholding, the substantial dwellings, diverse economic facilities, and large acreages held within this group suggest economic strategies and material lifestyles comparable to small-scale Anglo-American planters throughout the upland South.

It is noteworthy that many of these largest properties each consisted of a number of distinct farms, a trend which may reflect a strategy for domination of large tracts developed in response to a national law that proscribed encroachment upon existing improvements. Josiah Gregg noted this strategy in the Cherokee Nation West in 1844:

> ...Among the Cherokees, no one can build within a quarter of a mile of the house or field of another; so, to extend their possessions, the more wealthy sometimes make several isolated improvements, scattered in different directions, within half a mile of each other (Gregg 1844:316).

Many of the Anglo-Cherokee families maintained their claims to these separate farms through occupancy by white tenants. For instance, Gideon Morris' holdings consisted of 191 acres under fence, of which approximately 150 were cultivated. Morris' primary improvement contained 87.5 cultivated acres; other holdings included 5.5 acres farmed by a white named McMillan, three and a half acres farmed by a white named Hare, and an improvement of 55 acres made by a tenant named Lovingood. John Welch's farms comprised approximately 166.5 cultivated acres, of which 90 acres formed the primary improvement at his home. White tenants resident on Welch's holdings included Jonathan Blythe (Welch's father-in-law), Jonathan Parker, Jesse Smith, Shedrick Bailey, William Crawford, and Leonard Painter. In addition, Welch's white brother-in-law, James Blythe, maintained a farm of 13 acres adjacent to Welch's holdings. Post-removal property claims suggest that Welch controlled approximately 100 additional acres of cropland that he held for his minor children. Andrew Colvard farmed approximately 43.75 acres with the assistance of his father, John, and white tenants named Hester and Moran. John Smith

maintained acreage near his mill under occupancy of the African-Catawba family of Hosea Morgan. David England's properties totaled 203.3 acres, including 97 acres at his home and farms maintained by tenants Charles Shelton, Benjamin Carrol, Dick Edmondston, and Eli Ledford. John Timson's 58 acres were distributed among six farms occupied by tenants Leonard Butterfield, William Henson, Jesse Ruddle, and John Love.

In some cases, these largest properties appear to have been inflated through a land speculation scheme in which Anglo-Cherokee landholders purchased use rights to farmland developed by other Cherokees in order to speculate on the government valuations and profit from compensations due under terms of the treaty cession. Evan Jones, the Baptist missionary at Peachtree, denounced such speculation as the:

> ... unprincipaled conduct of a number of white men married into the nation, and a few half breeds, who have enrolled a great number of improvements, and had them valued to them, to which they have no claim nor right whatsoever... and of introducing a set of ruffians to hold it for them... (Jones 1834).

Land speculation by some of the wealthier Anglo-Cherokees betrays a level of profit motivation remarkable for its callousness and audacity. Their speculation on improvements and introduction of white tenants to hold these tracts indicated tacit approval and support for the terms of the cession treaty and the Federal government's plans for removal, a truly dangerous position given the prior assasination of removal advocate Jack Walker (King and Evans 1976) and the later assasinations of signers and supporters of the New Echota treaty (McLoughlin 1993).

Three *métis* farmers, Ned Christie, Dick Downing, and Henry Smith, maintained properties larger than 40 acres under the sole occupancy of their own families. Christie, who occupied the strategic river crossing at the Valley River–Hiwassee River confluence, farmed 65 acres with the aid of three black slaves. His sons, Wilson, Jesse, and Allen, held adjacent tracts totaling 31.5 acres. The scale of Christie's agricultural endeavors clearly indicates a strong profit motivation, as does his ownership of specialized production facilities (i.e. a distillery), his control of chattel labor, and his location at the most important crossroads in the region, where stores and stock stands provided ready outlets for his produce. Downing, an elderly *métis* slaveholder of Tusquittee, cultivated 64 acres adjacent to his brother Jack's 30-acre farm and the 25-acre farmstead of his son-in-law, James Blythe. Dick Downing's extensive farm and substantial dwelling (valued at $110.00) indicate an affinity for western culture and agrarian values; this is supported by Downing's continued residence in the study area as part of the Anglo-American community after removal.

Henry Smith cultivated 46 acres in Peachtree; his enclosure laid claim to an additional 100 acres. His Anglo-American father, John, and *métis* brother, William, controlled adjacent properties totaling 64 acres of cropland. This family's control over 200 acres of prime cropland

denotes an agrarian orientation consistent with the substantial dwellings and diverse economic facilities (i.e. distillery, gristmill) owned by these three households.

Four fullbloods, *Situwakee*, *Wachacha*, Bear's Paw, and *Sulsa*, controlled agricultural properties of more than 40 acres. *Situwakee*, the Aquohee District judge and political leader of the region, cultivated 50 acres, 12 of which were located at his home and another 38 of which were situated across the Hiwassee River near the Baptist Mission. Although this acreage is substantial, it is considerably less than the 80 acres reported as *Situwakee*'s holdings in the 1835 census, which may have included the adjacent properties of his children and grandchildren. As previously suggested, *Situwakee*'s maintainence of these large holdings may relate to his chiefly duties for production and redistribution. The fact that the largest portion of his acreage was rather inaccessible from his residence may reflect some segregation of private and public properties.

Wachacha's farm in the Valley River Valley enclosed 80 acres, of which he cultivated approximately 40 acres. Bear's Paw farmed 46 acres in five separate improvements, one of which was located in Tusquittee, 25 miles from his home in western Cherokee County. Unlike *Situwakee*'s farms, these properties appear to have been cultivated to produce surplus for household income, and other components of *Wachacha*'s and Bear's Paw's properties (i.e. blacksmith shops) suggest the westernized, agrarian orientation of these households. *Sulsa*'s farms in Tusquittee comprised 43 acres, of which 28 acres were under his temporary control as executor of the estate of *Oonenakatah*.

Forty-eight households farmed holdings that ranged in size from 14 acres up to 38 acres, sufficient cropland to provide both subsistence and small marketable surpluses. These include three households with intermarried whites (James Blythe, William Boling, Robert Hanks, David Taylor), 11 *métis* families (George Blair, Andrew Kell, Jack Downing, James Hawkins, Nancy Hawkins, John Christie, Wilson Christie, Jack Christie, Charlie Buffington, Kulkeene, and Sweetwater) and 35 fullblood households (Caty Walker, Jane Walker, Robin Muskrat, Jesse Muskrat, *Toonanailah*, *Iuka*, *Culsatahee*, Jesse Grass, *Watcheesee*, John Wayne, Sr., John Wayne, Jr., *Setugah*, *Esuttee*, George, John Wickliff, *Culsawee*, Tom Spikebuck, *Caahneetah, Cheslequillanah, Cowsehela, Caheswee, Chewkeeaskee, Antowee, Cullasahgeesee,* Peter, *Annatah,* Catey Bird, *Aqullah*, *Wakee*, Arch, *Ooostanakoo, Ahtoowee*, *Iuquah,* Lucy, *Scohah*). These comprise 11 percent of the Anglo-Cherokee households with intermarried whties, 23 percent of the *métis* households, and 6 percent of the all fullblood households in the study area. Most of these families farmed sufficient acreage to provide incomes comparable to southern Anglo-American yeoman families, and it can be inferred that many of these households sought to attain comparable material lifestyles. This group includes a number of English literate slaveholders (Caty Walker [widow of Richard Walker], Robert Hanks, Robert Muskrat, Charlie

Buffington, David Taylor, and George Blair), as well as households closely related to families in the uppermost bracket of landholders (i.e. Dick Downing–Jack Downing/George Blair/James Blythe; Ned Christie–JWilson Christie/Jack Christie/John Christie; *Situwakee–Caahneetah*; Andrew Colvard/Nancy Hawkins, Sr.–JJames Hawkins/Nancy). This economic tier also included a number of traditional civic/religious leaders (*Culsateehee*, Tom Spikebuck, *Wacheesee*) as well as several native Baptist preachers or laypersons (John Wickliff, Arch, Peter, Sweetwater), who may have farmed on this scale in order to produce surpluses for redistribution to civic and religious constituencies.

Ninety percent (n=552) of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina farmed fewer than 14 acres, a scale of agriculture that can be characterized as subsistence level. These households include 93 percent of the fullblood families in the study area, 73 percent of the *métis* families, and 38 percent of the families with intermarried whites. It is apparent from these relatively high proportions that the vast majority of Cherokees in the study area maintained subsistence levels of agriculture, a characteristic of the traditional Cherokee economy. This suggests that few Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina adopted either agrarian modes of production or the value systems that drove the expansion of household economies. It is particularly noteworthy that the majority of *métis* households, together with a significant minority of Anglo-Cherokee households with white members, also farmed at subsistence levels. This illustrates that neither intermarriage with Anglo-Americans nor Anglo-American biological heritage automatically conferred capitalistic, agrarian, or even western orientations upon Cherokee households. It is equally true that many Anglo-American farmers on the southern frontier, such as squatters and other poor whites, cultivated the bare minimum necessary for their subsistence. Thus, small farms cannot be interpreted as definitive evidence that Cherokee households clung to traditional values, but do indicate that these households did not implement their primary means (land for agricultural production) to attain material prosperity.

Welch and Jarrett's appraisals of farmland illustrate the broadly disparate patterns of landholding among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina; this is the most securely documented evidence of a nascent socioeconomic class system in the study area. Although all Cherokees ostensibly maintained equal rights of access and development to farmland, it appears that a rather small group of intermarried Anglo-Americans and *métis* dominated a large proportion of the best farmlands in the region. As suggested by Jones (1834), several of these families acted strategically to expropriate and consolidate farmland from the tribal commonage. Because arable land is conspicuously limited within the study area, the expropriation of large tracts to the use and profit of a few families had immediate and detrimental effects upon the majority of the population, who found themselves increasingly constrained by the demands of

shifting agriculture within a tightly delimited territory. Through such expansion, these Anglo-Cherokee families created a *de facto* class of exclusive property within the Cherokee system of corporate tenure. Their expansionistic behavior was consistent with the profit-motivated enterprises of the small planter class of the southern uplands, but ran contrary to traditional Cherokee customs and usages. Although not well documented, it is likely that such expansionism caused considerable friction among the inhabitants of the study area and tended to polarize social relations between wealthier, more westernized Anglo-Cherokees and the poorer, more traditionally oriented Cherokee majority.

Fruit trees

The other main class of agricultural improvements documented by Welch and Jarrett was domestic fruit trees, including 11,638 peach trees, 3,306 apple trees, and 134 cherry trees distributed among 464 properties. The valuing agents found peach trees as part of 435 discrete properties, with plantings ranging from single trees to orchards of 260 trees (mean=26 trees/farmstead, median=19 trees/farmstead). There appears to be little or no difference in the distribution of peach trees among the properties of fullbloods, *métis*, and intermarried whites. Values assigned to peach trees ranged between $1.50 for mature, bearing trees to $.06 for nursery seedlings, with a median value of $.50 each.

Peaches (*Prunus persica*), which were first introduced among the Cherokees during the seventeenth century, were an important element of the traditional Cherokee diet. Accounts suggest that the Cherokees cultivated a small, early maturing, red clingstone variety that was easily propagated from seed. These "Indian Blood" type peaches grew and matured rapidly, and often bore fruit within three years of planting. The 5-8cm fruit could be consumed fresh in midsummer, or split and sundried for winter use, when they provided an important source of ascorbic acid. Surplus fresh fruit supplied early forage for livestock, and peachstones yielded almond-like seeds for human consumption. Surplus dried fruit was easily saleable, and Cherokees occasionally bartered fresh or dried peaches at local stores (Hunter 1836-1838). Several of the largest peach orchards in the study area belonged to indivuals who operated distilleries, suggesting that a portion of the peach crop was converted into peach brandy for commercial sale and domestic consumption.

Although less common than peach trees, apple trees (*Pyrus malus*) were widespread throughout the study area. A total of 309 farmsteads maintained between one and 78 apple trees each, and values assigned to apple trees ranged from $.25 for young trees to $7.00 for mature trees. Seventy-four percent of households with intermarried whites maintained apple trees, as compared with 46 percent of *métis* families and 48 percent of fullblood families; t-tests also reveal that households with whites maintained substantially more apple trees per household than

their fullblood and *métis* counterparts. The significance of these differences is unclear, but may reflect the relatively greater formality and permanence of improvements made by intermarried whites. Apple trees require considerably longer to mature than peach trees, and planting apple trees presumably implied an intent to see them mature and bear fruit.

Apple tree culture was probably introduced among the Valley Towns Cherokees during the early eighteenth century by resident British traders such as Cornelius Daughtery. Accounts of Rutherford's 1776 raid on the Valley settlements indicate that the American forces destroyed "great apple trees" along with "curious buildings" and "white-man-like improvements" at Hiwassee (Mooney 1900:52). Cherokee producers used apples in much the same way as peaches, consuming them fresh apples and sun-drying them for storage and winter consumption. It is also likely that Cherokee distillers such as Ned Christie, John Smith, and Jesse Raper transformed a portion of their large apple crops into brandy for commercial sale.

Appraisers encountered domestic cherry trees (*Prunus avium*) (n=134) at 17 locations in the southern half of the study area and two locations in the northern half of the study area. Fifty of these trees were seedlings owned by *Tootahsoalleh*; the remaining properties included between one and 16 cherry trees. Anglo-Cherokee families owned 60 percent of the mature trees, and distillers Ned Christie, John Smith, and Jesse Raper owned 23 cherry trees. Cherry trees were also particularly concentrated among members of the Baptist Church resident near the Peachtree Mission (i.e. Peter Oganaya, *Kaneesa*, John Timson, *Chatowwee*, Beaver Toter).

In addition to the domestic fruit trees documented by Welch and Jarrett, improvement claims filed at the time of Removal identify cultivated mulberry trees, honey locust trees, walnut trees, and sugar maple trees as part of Cherokee farmsteads (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). These probably represent wild (possibly transplanted) trees situated on farmstead improvements and habitually exploited by a single household. Welch and Jarrett's failure to recognize these trees as elements of Cherokee holdings reveals the agents' bias toward conventional Anglo-American concepts of property.

Analysis of Farmstead Compositions

Many of the individual elements of Cherokee properties described by Welch and Jarrett exhibit considerable household-level variation in terms of presence/absence, form, size, or appraised values. Much of this variation reflects differences in household wealth and economic orientation; such variation serves as a direct gauge of adherence to traditional standards of material life or assimilation of western agrarian lifestyles. These patterns are compounded upon consideration of the multivariate composition of Cherokee farmsteads as discrete units of analysis. The following discussion examines patterns of numerical correlation and covariation among the values of various elements of Cherokee properties and uses these patterns to effect a

heuristic classification of Cherokee farmsteads. Pearson product-moment correlation analysis is used to define the nature and strength of association between different property elements. A hierachical agglomerative cluster analysis technique (Ward's Method) is applied to the farmstead data in order to define discrete multidimensional "types" of farmstead composition and to identify groups of farmsteads that are substantially similar in multivariate space.

For the purposes of these analyses, only those properties that include both residential dwellings and cultivated acreage (n=634) are considered as farmsteads; these criteria exclude 11 residential properties without farmland, but include a number of properties with insufficient farmland to provide adequate subsistence to their resident households. Because different dimensions of the categories of property improvements documented by Welch and Jarrett are important to this study, they present a mixed array of nominal, ordinal and continuous values for consideration. For instance, numerical frequencies of cultivated acreage (rather than variation in the quality of farmland) appear most important to understanding household differences in economic production, whereas the presence or absence of hothouses (rather than their size or value) monitors adherence to native traditions. The size and construction of dwellings reflect approaches to western or native ideals of housing, while most domestic dependencies connote western orientations by their simple presence. Farm buildings vary in size and number relative to cultivated acreage, and reflect the scale of household production. Likewise, specialized commercial facilities (e.g. mills, distilleries, stores, forges) represent the assimilation of western technologies for the generation of surplus value (profit), and the simple presence of such facilities indicates the westernized economic orientation of Cherokee households. This mixture of variable types presents classic "apples and oranges" problems to quantitative analysis. In order to circumvent these problems, the following analyses consider the monetary values assigned to particular property elements by Welch and Jarrett. This arbitrarily reduces the dimensionality of the property improvements data to arrays of continuous values suitable for comparison and contrast. Thus, the size and construction attributes of dwellings are expressed as single monetary values, as are the sizes and qualities of cultivated acreageand the presence or absence of various domestic and farm buildings, hothouses, and commercial facilities. This transformation also lends itself to the combination of related data categories for analytical comparisions.

In the preceding discussions, I have alluded to correlation or covariation between data categories as indicative or suggestive of consistent patterns or configurations of farmstead properties. The quantitative relationships between these categories of property improvements can be specifically expressed in terms of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients, presented in matix form in Table 4.4. The data categories considered here are values of primary dwellings, combined values of all other cabins and houses, values of hothouses, combined values of

Table 4.4. Contingency table of Pearson product moment correlations for values of real property components.

	Dwelling	Acreage	Other Cabins	Domestic Dependency	Corn Crib	Stable	Other Farm Blg.	Hothouse	Specialized Nonfarm Facility
Dwelling	1	0.663	0.639	0.639	0.488	0.62	0.562	0.062	0.471
Acreage	0.663	1	0.733	0.661	0.676	0.755	0.63	0.057	0.752
Other Cabins	0.639	0.733	1	0.677	0.411	0.601	0.533	0.079	0.512
Domestic Dependency	0.639	0.661	0.677	1	0.347	0.578	0.753	0.038	0.566
Corn Crib	0.488	0.676	0.411	0.347	1	0.624	0.308	0.166	0.474
Stable	0.62	0.755	0.601	0.578	0.624	1	0.442	0.04	0.512
Other Farm Blg.	0.562	0.63	0.533	0.753	0.308	0.442	1	0.013	0.55
Hothouse	0.062	0.057	0.079	0.038	0.166	0.04	0.013	1	0.01
Specialized Nonfarm Facility	0.471	0.752	0.512	0.566	0.474	0.512	0.55	0.01	1

domestic dependencies (i.e. kitchens, smokehouses, springhouses, loomhouses), values of corncribs and granaries, values of stables, combined values of other agricultural buildings (e.g. barns, chicken houses, sheephouses), combined values of buildings used for specialized economic activities (i.e. blacksmith shops, shophouses, mills, stores, stillhouses), values of agricultural acreage, and values of fruit trees.

The correlation matrix reveals strong positive relationships (r coefficients greater than .60) among the values of dwellings, and those of other cabins and houses (r=.64), domestic dependencies (r=.64), stables (r=.62), and agricultural acreage (r=.66). This reflects the tendency for more highly valued dwellings to co-occur with a variety of ancilliary buildings on larger acreages, or to occur as part of holdings of multiple properties. This pattern resembles the property configurations of southern Anglo-American yeomen and small planters, and the correlation of these categories in the Cherokee data can be interpreted as evidence for a multidimensional pattern of property holding that resembled contemporary agrarian models of the southern highlands. Conversely, these coefficients also reflect the tendency for lower valued dwellings to occur as the sole constructions on small agricultural plots, a pattern shared by poorer Cherokees and Anglo-Americans alike.

Commercial facilities are especially correlated with agricultural acreage (r=.75); farm acreages exhibit particularly strong relationships with values of corn cribs (r=.68), stables (r=.76) and other farm buildings (r=.63). The strong covariation of commercial facilities with farm acreage is particularly conditioned by the generally large agricultural holdings of the 18

properties that include shops, mills, stills, stores or forges. The coincidence of commercial facilities with large agricultural acreages reflects a pattern of expanded and diversified economic activity on the part of a minority of Cherokee (primarily Anglo-Cherokee) households. Similarly, the association among the values of agricultural acreage, corn cribs, stables, and other farm buildngs reflects the contribution of a few particularly large farms with complexes of multiple farm buildings; these appear to represent properties devoted to large-scale market production. Two data categories, hothouse values and values of fruit trees, do not appear to be strongly correlated with any other variable. Inasmuch as hothouses are interpreted as evidence of native affinities, the near independence of hothouse values from measures of real property wealth suggests a contrastive situation between more conservative "aboriginal" farmstead with hothouses and more highly developed "western" properties. However, as previously discussed, these two conditions are not exclusive. Fruit trees were omnipresent and abundant on the Cherokee landscape. Because fruit trees (particularly peaches) were easily propagated and minimally maintained, they typically did not represent substantial investment of labor or capital, nor were they expected to yield returns for profit (except in properties with distilleries). Variation in the values of orchards among properties reflect neither western profit motivations nor traditional standards, but instead appear idiosyncratic and stochastic.

It must be noted that the majority of the categorical variation that structures these correlation patterns is contributed by relatively few cases with extreme values in several dimensions, a reflection of the highly skewed distributions of property values. These outlying cases can be identified by Mahlanobis distances that are extremely divergent from the multivariate mean (Figure 4.7). Fourteen of the cases distinguished as extreme outliers in Figure 4.7 exhibit more than one variable with values greater than two standard deviations above the population mean values. These extreme outliers are: Gideon Morris, Thomas Raper, Jesse Raper, David England, Jonathan England, John Smith, Henry Smith, John Timson, Andrew Colvard, John Welch, Ned Christie, Dick Downing, George Blair, and Bear's Paw. These households maintained the 14 most highly valued properties in the study area, and controlled more than 21 percent of the cultivated acreage in the region. Most of these properties consist of multiple farms with cabins and outbuildings; these combined holdings account for the strong associations among the values of cabins, domestic dependencies, farm buildings and agricultural acreage. In addition, these 14 households also controlled the majority of specialized commercial facilities in the study area, a distribution that explains the strong association between such facilities and large agricultural holdings. It is noteworthy that 13 of these properties were controlled by Anglo-Cherokee families; these examples define one pole of a presumptive ethnic group–wealth continuum (or dichotomy). Such extreme outliers frequently are excluded *a priori* from the quantitative analysis

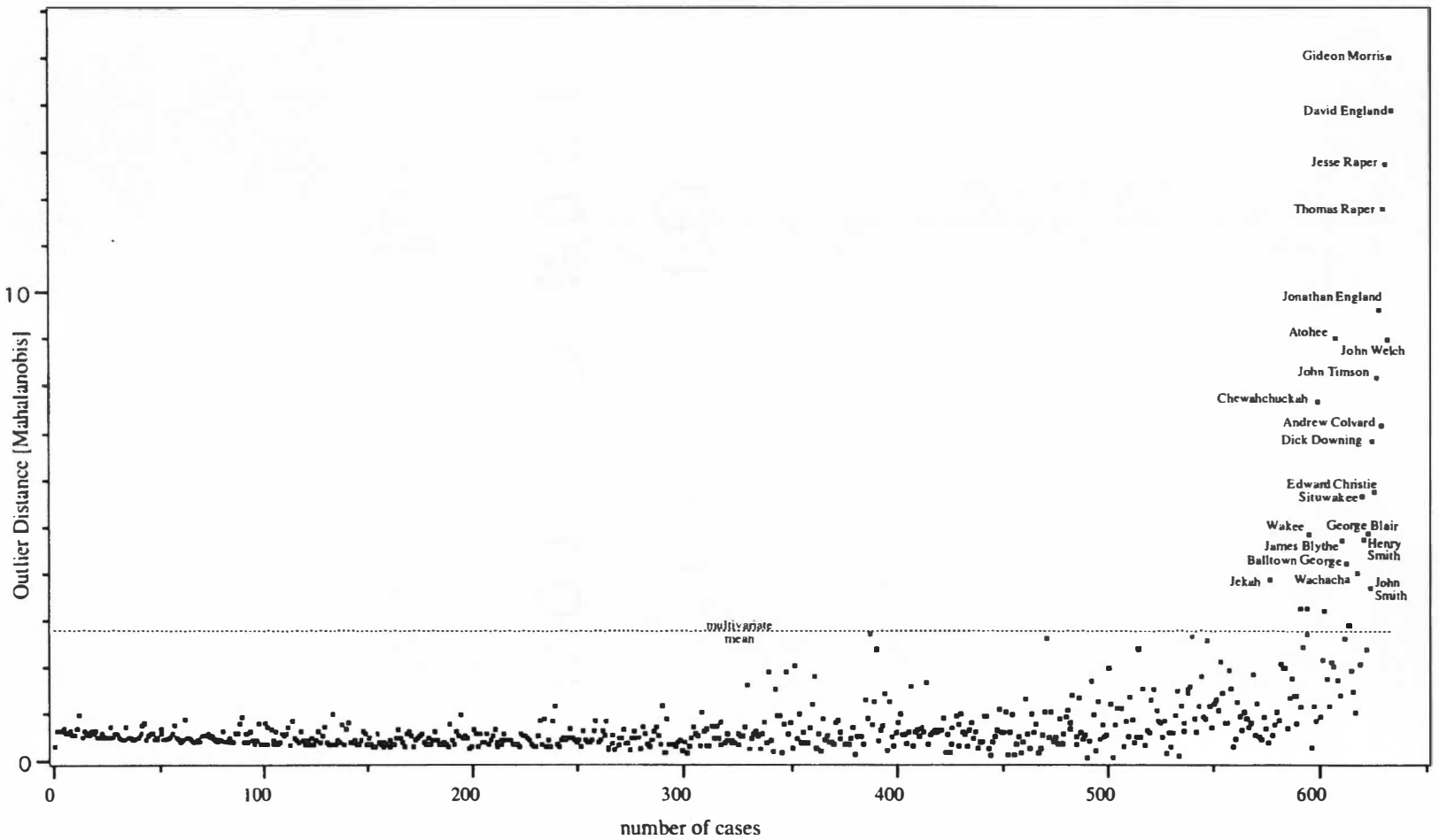


Figure 4.7. Plot of outliers from the multivariate mean for real property values.

of large datasets to achieve more normalized distributions, yet the continued inclusion of these cases appears highly pertinent to defining patterns of differential wealthholding and property development among cultural/ethnic subsets of the Cherokee population.

The contribution of these outlying cases to the total variation in the study population is illustrated by recalculation of the correlation coefficients exclusive of the outliers. The resultant matrix of correlation coefficients (Table 4.5) is quite different, with much weaker intercategorical patterning. The strongest relationships are between dwelling values and farmland values (.39), dwelling values and values of other cabins and houses (.51), and between farmbuilding values and acreage values (.48). These relationships express the tendency for more highly valued dwellings to occur on the largest farms with numerous ancillary buildings, a pattern of farmstead composition indicative of the assimilation of western agrarian models. Conversely, lower valued dwellings tend to co-occur with much smaller tracts of farmland and few ancilliary buildings, a configuration which appears characteristic of the majority of Cherokee farmsteads and comparable to the farmsteads of Anglo-American squatters.

Table 4.5. Contingency table of Pearson product moment correlations for values of real property components (excluding outliers).

	Dwelling	Acreage	Other Cabins	Domestic Dependency	Corn Crib	Stable	Other Farm Blg.	Hothouse	Specialized Nonfarm Facility
Dwelling	1	0.387	0.512	0.191	0.28	0.257	0.028	0.099	0.109
Acreage	0.387	1	0.453	0.14	0.391	0.29	0.129	0.165	0.252
Other Cabins	0.512	0.453	1	0.071	0.223	0.309	0.02	0.144	0.103
Domestic Dependency	0.191	0.14	0.071	1	0.052	0.297	0.014	0.071	0.347
Corn Crib	0.28	0.391	0.223	0.052	1	0.15	-0.017	0.259	0.25
Stable	0.257	0.29	0.309	0.297	0.15	1	0.015	0.09	0.154
Other Farm Blg.	0.028	0.129	0.02	0.014	-0.017	0.015	1	-0.017	-0.01
Hothouse	0.099	0.165	0.144	0.071	0.259	0.09	-0.017	1	0.013
Specialized Nonfarm Facilit	0.109	0.252	0.103	0.347	0.25	0.154	-0.01	0.013	1

Principal components analysis, a multivariate ordination method commonly used to reduce dimensionality in complex datasets by reducing the redundancy of highly correlated variables to render composite linear variables (components) (Sneath and Sokal 1973), can be applied to transform the property valuations data to more easily comprehensible form. When the method is applied to the correlation matrix presented in Table 4.4, the resultant principal components matrix (Table 4.6) represents a tranformation in which the first two components (selected using an

Table 4.6. Principal components matrix for the Cherokee real properties data.

Principal Components	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
EigenValue:	5.0852	1.0674	0.8536	0.598	0.4301	0.3417	0.3	0.2156	0.1085
Percent:	56.5017	11.8601	9.4848	6.6441	4.7788	3.7965	3.3329	2.3957	1.2053
CumPercent:	56.5017	68.3618	77.8466	84.4907	89.2695	93.066	96.3989	98.7947	100
Eigenvectors:									
dwelling	0.35504	-0.0105	0.06308	-0.46344	0.25961	0.72312	0.2538	-0.01623	-0.01015
acreage	0.41054	0.04132	-0.1685	0.14914	-0.15474	-0.0213	-0.09101	-0.30027	-0.8101
other cabins	0.35886	-0.03749	0.14345	-0.33074	-0.65663	-0.00062	-0.46299	-0.08028	0.29643
domestic dependency	0.36574	-0.20839	0.36754	-0.05589	0.09431	-0.29267	0.06282	0.73817	-0.203
corn crib	0.298	0.3944	-0.51567	0.07925	0.37834	-0.00107	-0.48744	0.26765	0.1763
stable	0.35835	0.10827	-0.31631	-0.27901	-0.00767	-0.52176	0.56296	-0.20165	0.22823
other farm blg.	0.33295	-0.26356	0.41965	0.22771	0.48804	-0.16376	-0.21948	-0.47837	0.22297
hothouse	0.03892	0.84328	0.5109	0.0909	-0.04418	-0.01938	0.11644	-0.04462	-0.01439
specialized nonfarm facility	0.33655	-0.07416	-0.09422	0.7115	-0.292	0.3026	0.30452	0.12295	0.2854

arbitrary truncation of eigenvalues at 1.0) account for 64.4 percent of the total variation in the data set. Varimax orthogonal rotation, applied to achieve independence of these two components, yields a factor pattern matrix (Table 4.7) in which the values of dwellings, improved acreage, ancilliary cabins, domestic structures, stables, specialized farm structures, and structures for specialized nonfarm production are heavily loaded on the first component, which accounts for 52.08 percent of the variability in the data set. The values of corn cribs and granaries are more modestly represented by the first component, the values of fruit trees are relatively low in the first component, and the values of hothouses are reflected by a low negative loading. This component appears to reflect much of the variation contributed by outlier cases. The second component, which accounts for 12.33 percent of the total variation, exhibits strong positive loadings on fruit tree values and hothouse values, a moderate positive loading for corn crib values, low positive loadings for dwellings, acreage, ancillary cabins, and stables, and low negative loadings for domestic structures and buildings for specialized nonfarm production. A biplot (Figure 4.8) of these two component scores for the 634 cases is remarkably similar in basic structure to the plot of Mahalanobis distances (Figure 4.7) and reveals the extent to which the principal components solution is conditioned by a small set of outlying cases.

Table 4.7. Rotated factor pattern for the Cherokee real properties data.

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Communalities	
dwelling	0.7914597	0.1213237	dwelling	0.64113
acreage	0.9060656	0.1947698	acreage	0.85889
other cabins	0.8045424	0.0952409	other cabins	0.65636
domestic dependency	0.8489743	-0.07635	domestic dependency	0.72659
corn crib	0.5955959	0.5127076	corn crib	0.6176
stable	0.7785784	0.2435862	stable	0.66552
other farm blg.	0.7854462	-0.144757	other farm blg.	0.63788
hothouse	-0.057108	0.8737817	hothouse	0.76676
specialized nonfarm facility	0.761173	0.0495812	specialized nonfarm facility	0.58184

Although the values distributions of individual property elements and combinations of elements appear significantly skewed by the properties of a few Anglo-Cherokee planters and entrepreneurs, Cherokee property configurations in southwestern North Carolina were by no means bipolar in nature, and there appears to have been appreciable continuity in the distributions of a number of categories of property. For descriptive purposes, it is convenient to segment these property distributions into more discrete farmstead types that can be evaluated in terms of traditional or native models versus configurations that more closely resemble Western agrarian modes of organization. The distribution of these farmstead types among ethnic subsets of the study population provides a basis for assessing differential assimilation or rejection of Western

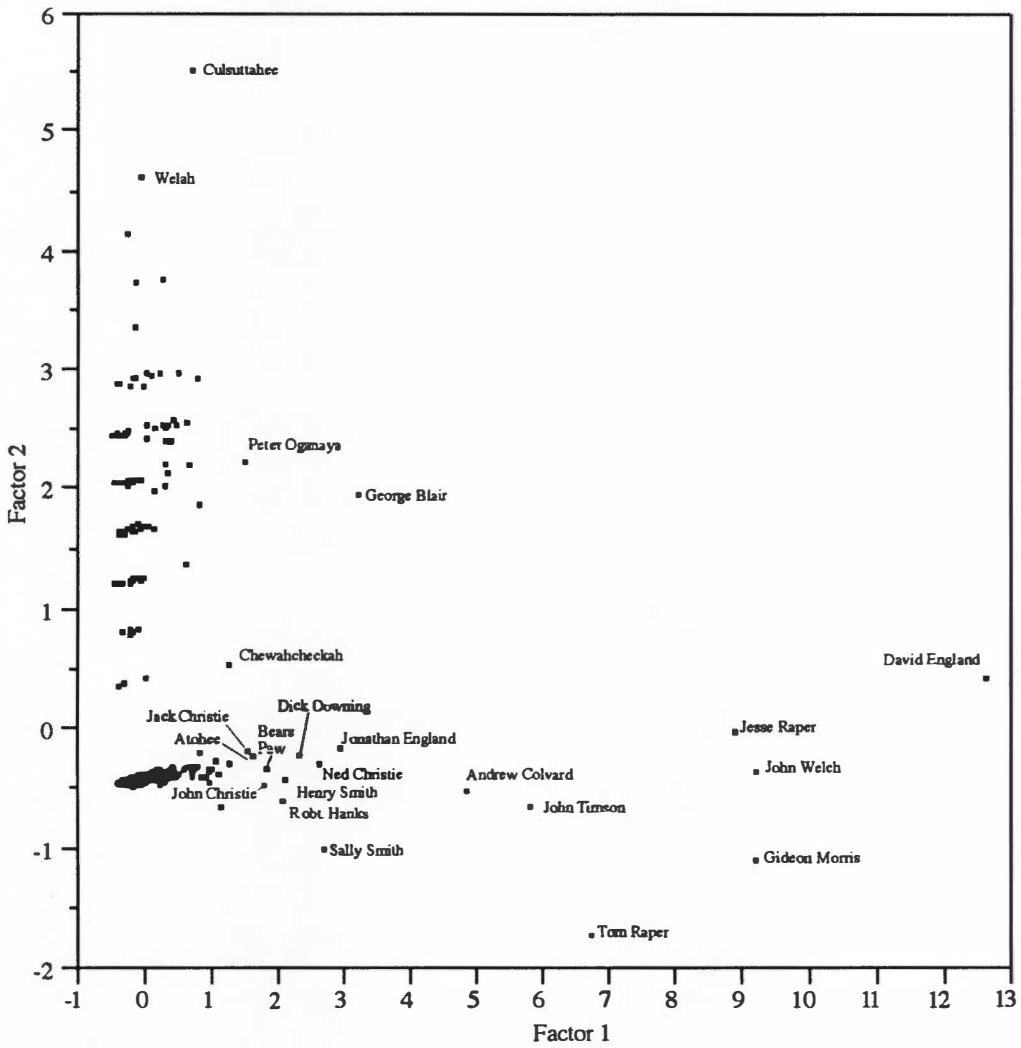


Figure 4.8. Plot of rotated factor scores for property valuations data.

lifestyles and economic strategies. Hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis (Ward's method) is used to numerically define "types" of properties based upon similarities in the values assigned to dwellings, nonresidential structures, and agricultural improvements by the Federal appraisers. This technique, which creates groups from individual cases based on a similarity matrix of Euclidean distances, seeks to minimize within group distance, thereby constructing homogeneous clusters. It should be noted that hierarchical cluster analysis, which has come under fire as theoretically suspect in statistical circles, is applied here as a purely heuristic tool and should not be regarded as statistically rigorous. Rather, this is an expedient and replicable technique to segment and summarize the both continuous and discontinuous components of variation in the dataset for the sake of discussion.

Multiple attempts to cluster analyze the property valuations data were conducted using various configurations of raw data or transformed data in order to achieve partitioning of the property valuations dataset that is most understandable in terms of western versus nonwestern models. Analysis of a full complement of raw data values (i.e. values of primary dwellings, other cabins and houses, hothouses, kitchens, smokehouses, springhouses, corn cribs, stables, other farm buildings, specialized nonfarm production facilities, acreage, and fruit trees) produces solutions that describe the major axes of variation (i.e. large, diverse, high-value properties and small, low-value properties) but that isolate too many idiosyncratic features, and produce many monotypic clusters that reflect the contribution of rare variable states. Linear transformation of the raw data through principal components analysis (discussed above) produces a two factor solution that loads the major clustering criteria on a single factor and therefore places inordinate emphasis on the second (hothouse; fruit trees) factor in the cluster solutions. Use of these two component scores as clustering criteria produces solutions that are more clearly referable to the continuum of property values, yet tend to isolate cases on the basis of hothouse and fruit trees data.

This problem of overspecificity and unique cluster formation is circumvented by use of a low dimensional variable set that consists of the values of primary dwellings (expressing size, construction, and elaboration of homes) and the values of agricultural lands (expressing extent and quality of farmland) and the combined values of all buildings other than primary dwellings. This final category collapses a wide range of building types into a combined expression of architectural diversification; it obscures differentiation of specifically native forms (i.e. hothouses) from specifically western forms (e.g. gristmills, kitchens, smokehouses), but replaces individual matrix categories having large arrays of zeros with a single, well filled category. This trivariate dataset selected for cluster analysis is presented in Appendix II, as are the individual case classifications for two cluster solution levels. For analytic purposes, the value ranges of each

of these three categories are standardized to a mean of zero and standard deviation of one to equalize their contributions to the cluster soluation.

The results of Ward's method hierachical cluster analysis of the property valuations data are represented by the dendrogram depicted in Figure 4.9 (see Appendix II for cluster membership). A plot of intercluster distances (Figure 4.10) indicate particularly discrete cluster solutions at the twelve and six group levels. Trivariate plots of these classifications illustrate the different degrees of specificity represented in these two solutions (Figures 4.11, 4.12; Tables 4.8, 4.9). As a more specific description of the population structure, the twelve cluster solution is accorded primary discussion.

While the twelve cluster solution does not accomplish a perfect fit, it provides a parsimonious delineation of multivariate structure in real properties and presents a basis for the discussion of farmstead types and their distribution among ethnic subsets of the population. Despite the tendency for Ward's method to produce like sized clusters, the 634 individual cases are very unevenly spread among these twelve clusters, a result consistent with the skewed distributions observed in the raw data. Two groups defined in the twelve cluster solution, Clusters 1 and 7, account for 85 percent (n=539) of the study population; these are combined in the six cluster solution. Both describe very small farmsteads that consisted of small cabins, few outbuildings, and less than ten acres of farmland. These small subsistence farms with minimal housing facilities were the dominant property configurations in southwestern North Carolina, and may be regarded as the most characteristic form of Cherokee real properties.

Cluster 7 is the largest group (n=353) defined in the twelve cluster solution. These properties are characterized by simple dwellings valued between $4.00 and $30.00 (median=$15.00; mean=$15.31), relatively few outbuildings (range $0- $20.00; median=$0.00; mean=$3.21), and small patches of farmland worth from $1.00 to $96.00 (median=$24.50; mean=$28.64). The majority (n=318) of Cluster 7 dwellings were small round-log cabins with weighted board roofs, stick-and-clay chimneys, and dirt or puncheon floors. Agricultural plots associated with Cluster 7 farmsteads ranged from small lots of less than one acre up to 12 acres (median 3.5 acres); the larger holdings were typically divided in two or more small plots. Fewer than half of Cluster 7 farmsteads had buildings other than primary dwellings; only 83 (24 percent) of these farmsteads included corn cribs, 33 (9.3 percent) had hothouses and seven (2.5 percent) had stables. One Cluster 7 member, *Solelah*, maintained a small kitchen, the only specialized domestic dependency represented in the group.

Cluster 7 comprises 63 percent of the Cherokee properties in the Little Tennessee River Basin, as compared to 54 percent of the Hiwassee River Basin properties, an indication that the Cherokee households in the northern part of the study area were slightly more likely to maintain

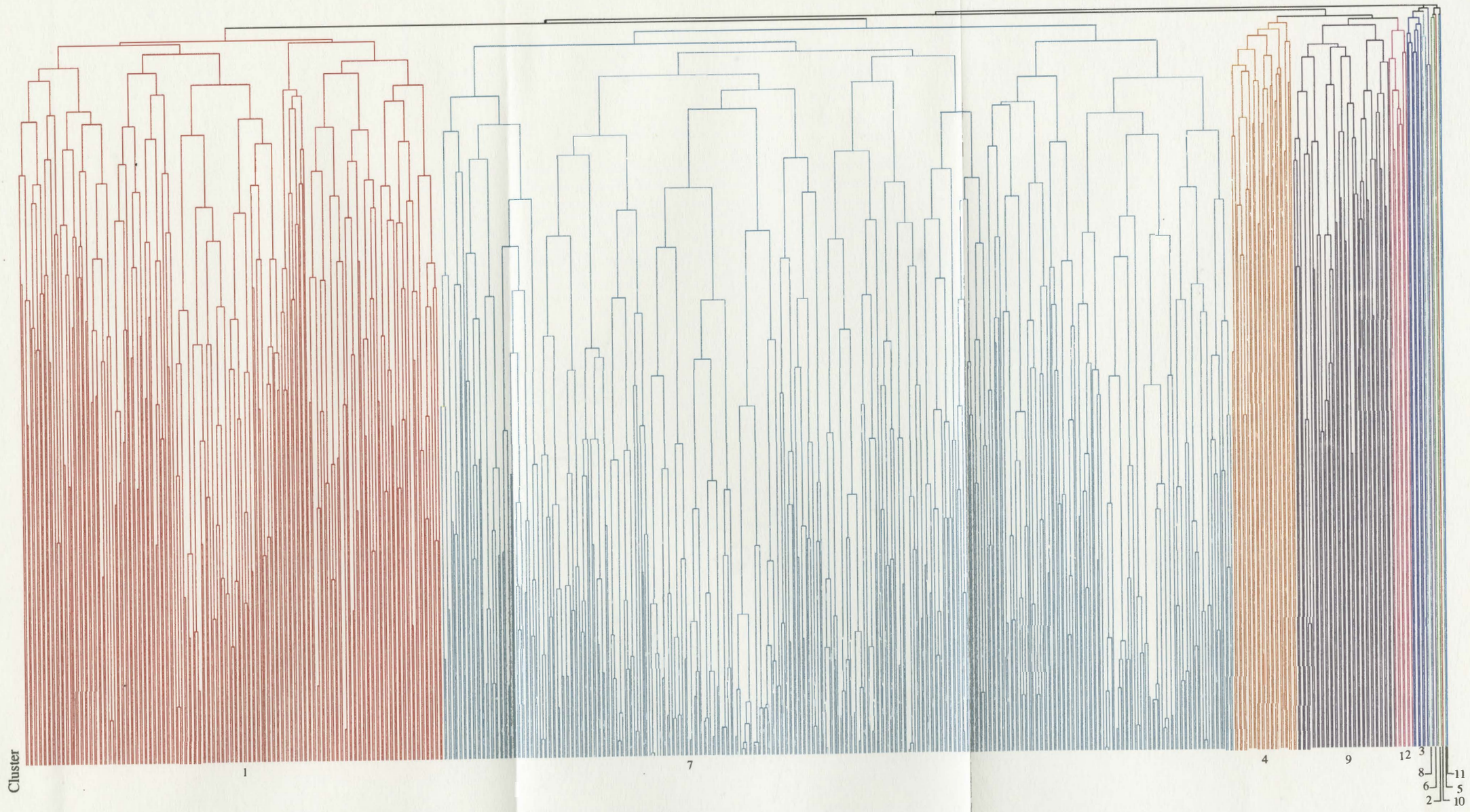


Figure 4.9. Cluster dendrogram illustrating 12 cluster Ward's method solution for Cherokee real property data.

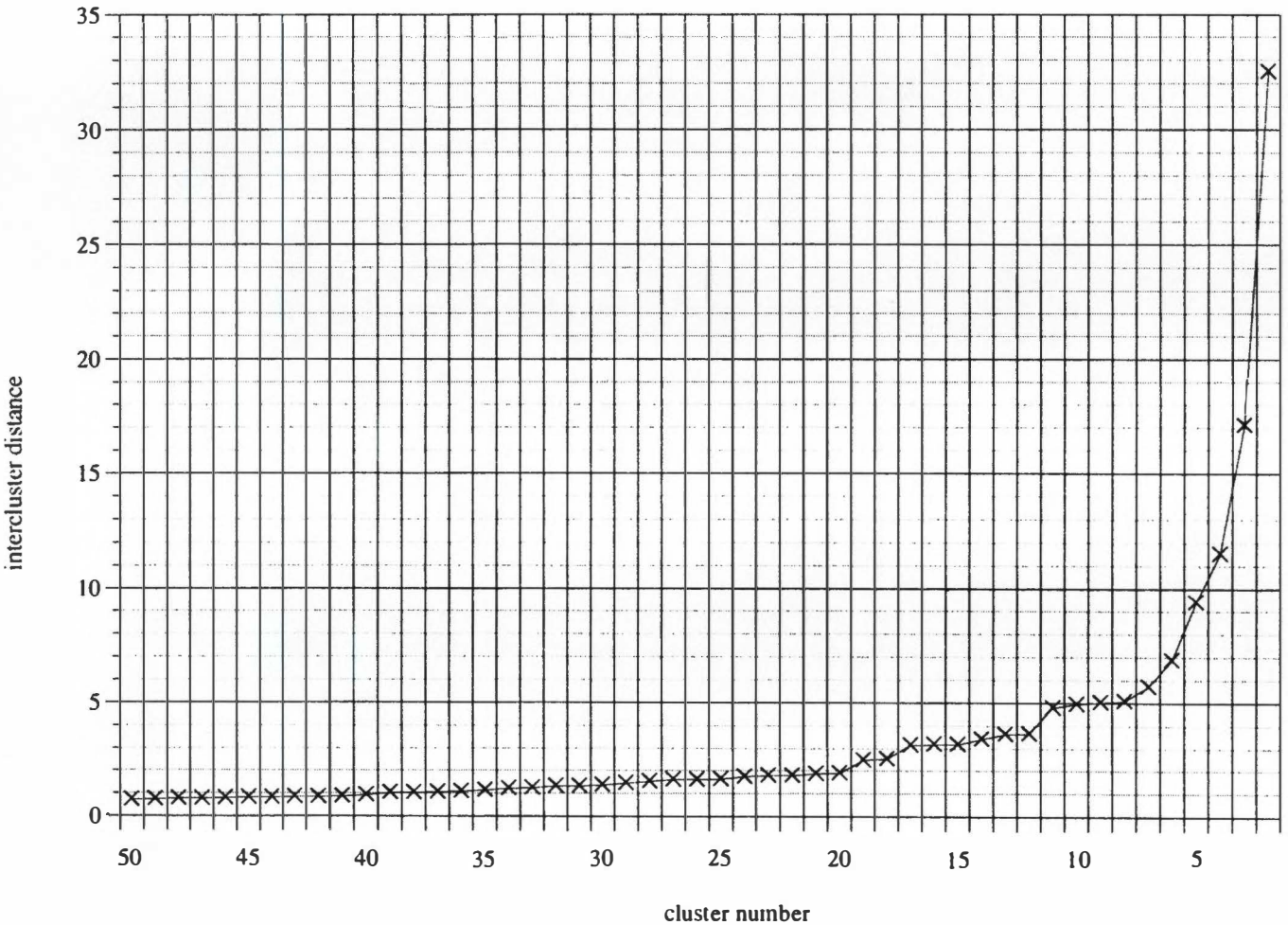


Figure 4.10. Plot of intercluster distances defined by Ward's method cluster analysis of Cherokee real property data.

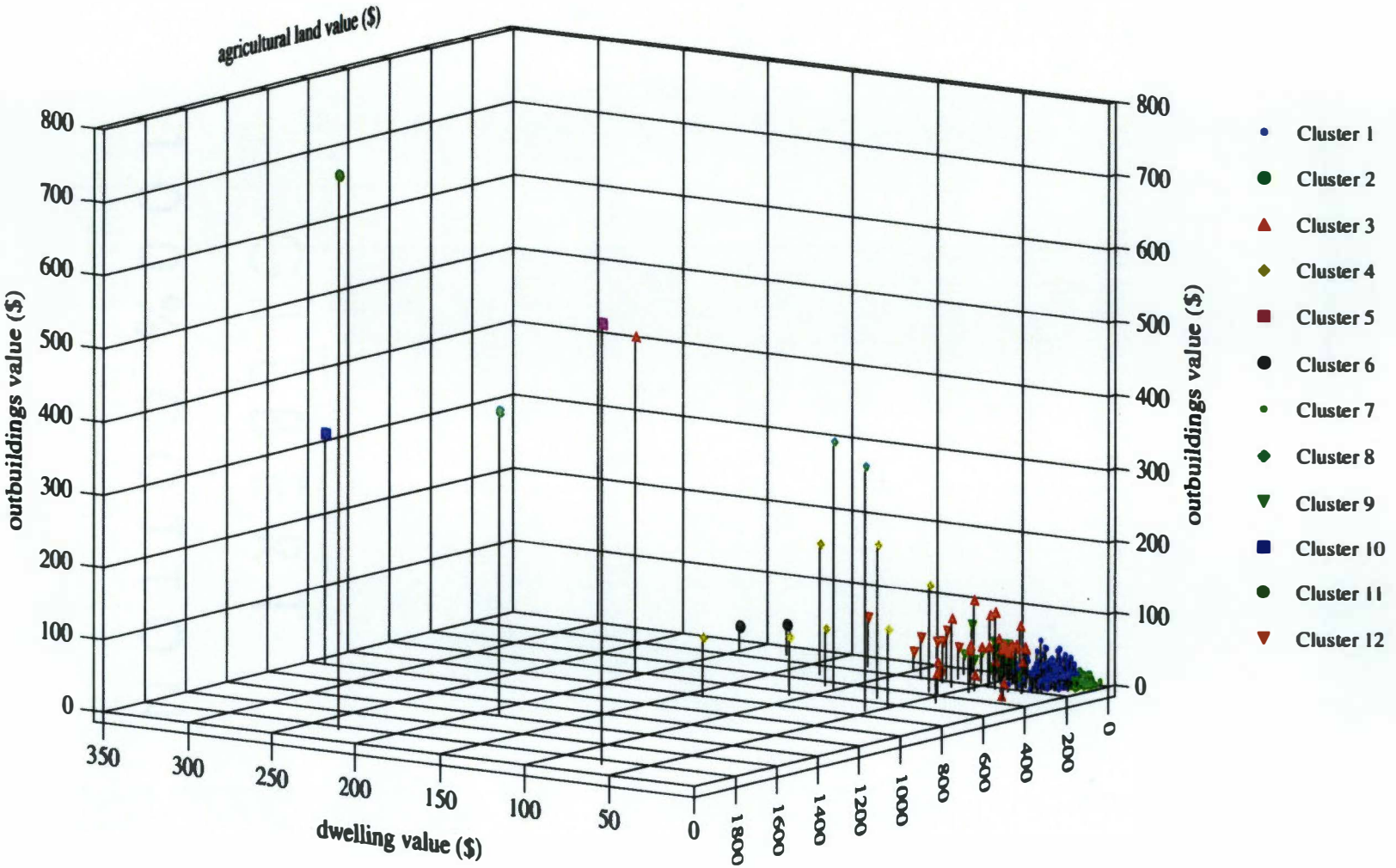


Figure 4.11. Trivarate plot of the 12 cluster solution for Cherokee real properties data.

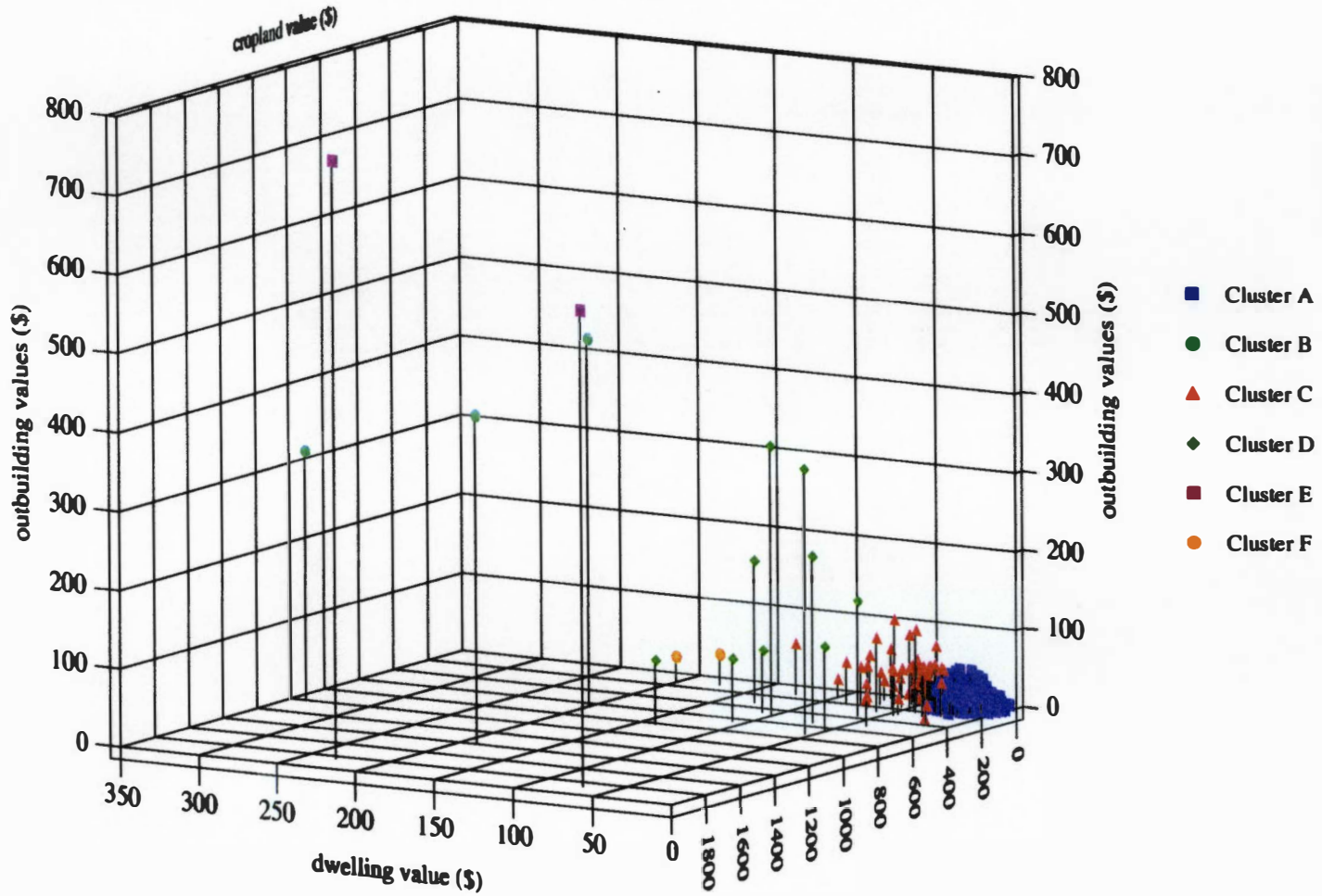


Figure 4.12. Trivariate plot of the six cluster solution for Cherokee real properties data.

Table 4.8. Descriptive statistics for the twelve cluster solution of Cherokee real properties.

Cluster	Cases	Statistics	Dwelling Value	Agricultural Acreage Value	Outbuildings Value
total sample	634	range	$4.00-$325.00	$1.00-$1863.50	$0.00-$759.00
		median	$18.00	$42.00	$6.00
		mean	$24.36	$73.63	$17.61
		standard deviation	$25.91	$146.12	$53.81
1	203	range	$9.00-$45.00	$10.00-$236.00	$0.00-$48.00
		median	$20.00	$72.00	$16.00
		mean	$22.39	$78.82	$16.42
		standard deviation	$6.98	$38.40	$10.87
2	2	range	$191.00-$200.00	$643.00-$1376.00	$417.00-$467.00
3	27	range	$18.00-$63.00	$54.00-$500.00	$6.00-$110.00
		median	$40.00	$176.00	$54.50
		mean	$41.87	$215.78	$57.13
		standard deviation	$11.38	$109.00	$25.72
4	7	range	$50.00-$140.00	$323.00-$810.00	$79.00-$212.00
		median	$110.00	$536.00	$108.00
		mean	$95.71	$540.00	$126.71
		standard deviation	$35.52	$172.07	$54.20
5	1	value	$71.00	$1,863.50	$605.00
6	2	range	$175.00-$200.00	$114.00-$137.50	$33.00-$40.00
7	353	range	$4.00-$30.00	$1.00-$96.00	$0.00-$20.00
		median	$15.00	$24.50	$0.00
		mean	$15.32	$28.64	$3.21
		standard deviation	$5.20	$17.95	$4.32
8	2	range	$55.00-$100.00	$501.50-$718.00	$337.00-$343.00
9	28	range	$40.00-$75.00	$4.00-$110.00	$0.00-$64.00
		median	$60.00	$63.00	$19.00
		mean	$54.22	$58.06	$21.93
		standard deviation	$9.97	$29.06	$16.69
10	1	value	$340.00	$1,000.00	$318.00
11	1	value	$230.00	$1,836.50	$756.00
12	8	range	$70.00-$125.00	$115.00-$220.00	$8.00-$66.00
		median	$77.50	$163.50	$51.50
		mean	$85.00	$166.13	$45.38
		standard deviation	$18.90	$36.07	$19.96

Table 4.9. Descriptive statistics for the six cluster solution of Cherokee real properties.

Cluster	Cases	statistics	Dwelling Value	Agricultural Acreage Value	Outbuildings Value
	634	range	$4.00-$325.00	$1.00-$1863.50	$0.00-$759.00
		median	$18.00	$42.00	$6.00
		mean	$24.36	$73.63	$17.61
		standard deviation	$25.91	$146.12	$53.81
1	556	range	$4.00-$45.00	$1.00-$236.00	$0.00-$48.00
		median	$16.00	$40.00	$5.00
		mean	$17.90	$46.96	$8.04
		standard deviation	$6.82	$36.41	$9.77
2	3	range	$191.00-$340.00	$643.00-$1376.00	$318.00-$467.00
		median	$200.00	$1,000.00	$417.00
		mean	$243.67	$1,006.33	$400.67
		standard deviation	$83.55	$366.54	$75.83
3	9	range	$50.00-$140.00	$323.00-$810.00	$79.00-$343.00
		median	$100.00	$536.00	$147.00
		mean	$91.67	$555.72	$174.11
		standard deviation	$33.73	$161.47	$105.12
4	62	range	$18.00-$125.00	$4.00-$500.00	$0.00-$110.00
		median	$50.00	$124.75	$43.00
		mean	$52.60	$138.69	$39.92
		standard deviation	$17.58	$101.28	$25.93
5	2	range	$71.00-$230.00	$1836.50-$1863.50	$605.00-$759.00
6	2	range	$175.00-$200.00	$114.00-$137.50	$33.00-$40.00

very small improvements. Cluster 7 properties also comprise 59 percent of the farmsteads owned by fullbloods in the study area, 40 percent of the properties held by *métis* families, and only five percent of the farms owned by families with white members. These proportions indicate that fullbloods were substantially more likely to own Cluster 7 type properties than were their Anglo-Cherokee counterparts. Nevertheless, the relatively high proportion of *métis* families who owned such small and poorly developed properties is somewhat unexpected given the proposition that *métis* households were more likely to assimilate western lifestyles and economic modes than their fullblood counterparts. This is partially explained by the recent dispossession and eviction of many these *métis* families (i.e. Johnson Christie, David Christie, Charles Downing, Isaac Tucker, Jerry Tucker, Caty Tucker, Betsy Tucker, John Tucker, Punk, Cherokee George, James Wafford, and Arch Scott) from properties Georgia. Several of these families had been forced to abandon extensive properties in Georgia, and their small farmsteads at the time of the 1836–1837 appraisals may reflect their inability unwillingness to reestablish on a large scale before the inevitable removal. The only Anglo-American represented in Cluster 7 is Polly Murphy, a white woman married to a fullblood named *Cowstaneesta* (a.k.a. Whiplash). This union probably did not denote any particular affinity for Anglo-Americans or their values on the part of *Cowstaneesta*, and the Murphy/*Cowstaneesta* farmstead was closely comparable to those of fullblood households in their community of Cootlohee. Murphy may have married into the nation to gain property rights for her numerous Anglo-American, African-American, and Anglo-Cherokee children from previous liaisons. *Cowstaneesta* separated from Murphy before the removal, and later wed a succession of fullblood spouses.

Cluster 7 properties represent the most prevalent configuration on the Cherokee landscape, small farmsteads that barely addressed minimal needs for housing and human subsistence. Although Welch and Jarrett's descriptions of these properties do not document specifically "native" property components (other than hothouses), the homogeneity and minimalistic scale of these farmsteads is reminiscent of household units in eighteenth century Cherokee villages, and Cluster 7 properties may represent continuity of traditional corporate standards that prescribed that everyone should be "the same size."

By Anglo-American standards, the dominance of this pattern is puzzling, and elicited frequent statements of disdain from contemporary Anglo-American observers. Control over land and agricultural production were the main avenues to wealth in the rural South of the early nineteenth century, and elaboration of housing was a primary medium for the expression of wealth and status. Given unfettered access to the corporate natural resources of the Cherokee Nation, the majority of Cherokees remained "poor, miserably so." The pervasive scale of material poverty among Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina, despite abundant opportunity for

economic "advancement," communicated both corporate and individual rejection of dominant Western values and aspirations.

Slightly larger and more valuable properties are grouped as Cluster 1 (203 cases). These properties are characterized by dwellings worth from $9.00 up to $45.00 (median=$20.00; mean=$22.39), other buildings worth up to $48.00 (median=$16.00; mean=$16.42); and farmland worth between $10.00 and $236.00 (median=$72.00; mean=$78.82). Cluster 1 dwellings tend to be slightly larger and more elaborate than those included in Cluster 7 properties; 65 (32 percent) of these buildings were constructed of hewn-logs, and most had puncheon floors. In addition, Cluster 1 agricultural plots ranged from two to twenty-four acres (median=9 acres) in extent, substantially larger than those associated with Cluster 7. Ninety-five (51 percent) of the Cluster 1 properties included corn cribs, 28 (15 percent) had stables and 53 (25 percent) had hothouses. Jack Rabbit had a stillhouse; *Walletah* Riley, *Chunehunt*, *Keenaneetah*, and Muskrat all maintained smokehouses.

Households in the northern and southern parts of the study area held Cluster 1 type properties in nearly equal proportions (26 percent and 28 percent, respectively). In addition, Cluster 1 properties appear more evenly distributed among ethnic subsets of the population than are Cluster 2 properties. Thirty-three percent (n=185) of the fullblood households in the study area owned Cluster 1 farmsteads, as compared to 35 percent (n=14) of the *métis* households, and 21 percent (n=4) of the Anglo-Cherokee households with white members. The property of David Taylor, a white slave owner married to a Cherokee quarterblood, occupies the upper limit of Cluster 1, with a hewn-log residence worth $30.00, a cowpen worth $10.00 and a 21.5 acre farm worth $236.00. The Taylor household's strongly western affinities are demonstrated by their high rate of English literacy, their continuance in the white community of Valleytown after removal, and the lobbying activities of David and his son James in Washington for decades (Finger 1984). The Taylor property, although considerably larger than the Cherokee norm, was much smaller and less developed than those of other white, English literate slaveholders in the study area, and illustrates the degree of variation among the most westernized Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina. Other Cluster 1 households with Anglo-American members were those of *Walletah* Riley, Hiram McCrary, and Mulberry Christie. *Walletah* was a fullblood married to a white, Rachael Riley, who may have been Polly Murphy's sister. The Rileys lived next door to the Murphys, and their material lifestyles appear generally similar. McCrary, who was married to a *métis* named Hildebrand, may have come from Tennessee to the Valley River region to assist Robert Hanks in his mercantile operation. By the time of the appraisals, both McCrary and Hanks had moved back to Tennessee. A number of the Anglo-Cherokee households with small Cluster 1 properties were newly established, and the size of their properties reflect their early stage in the

household cycle. These include Mulberry Christie (a.k.a. *Cowatageesky*), brothers Allen and Wilson Christie, Nancy Hawkins, Jr., Rose Hawkins and her brother, James Peak, and Susan Little Deer. Anglo-Cherokees John Love and Jim Spears (a.k.a *Tesonahee*) were recently displaced from holdings in Georgia and Tennessee; their small properties may reflect setbacks from reestablishment.

By comparison to Cluster 7 properties, Cluster 1 farmsteads appear to represent more economically self contained units that approximated the frontier farmsteads of white "dirt farmers." The larger agricultural plots evident among Cluster 1 farmsteads probably generated adequate subsistence for their owners on a more dependable basis; the largest of these farms (i.e. Nancy Hawkins, Jr., *Iuka*, *Watcheesee*, David Taylor, *Setugah*, George, *Esuttee*) likely produced regular surpluses for market use. Many Cluster 1 homes resembled those of Anglo-American settlers on the southern frontier; a few might have been deemed acceptable in more permanent Anglo-American communities. In general, however, these farmsteads did not sufficiently deviate in scale or composition from the Cluster 7 norm to appear divergent or to distinguish their owners as particularly Western in outlook. The overall similarity of Cluster 1 and Cluster 7 farmsteads is indicated by their combination as a single group in the six cluster solution.

Cluster 9 comprises 27 cases characterized by highly valued dwellings ($40.00-$75.00; median=$60.00; mean=$54.22) and relatively limited farmland ($4.00-$110.00; median=$63.00; mean=$58.06). The majority of Cluster 9 dwellings were hewn-log houses (n=17) or cabins (n=8), most with puncheon floors, and many with front sheds. Cluster 9 farmland ranged from half acre lots up to 17 acre fields; most of these properties included six to ten acres of farmland. These farmsteads also included ancillary buildings worth up to $64.00 (median=$19.00; mean=$21.93). Almost half (n=12) of Cluster 9 farmsteads maintained corn cribs, six (21 percent) had hothouses, and eight (21 percent) had stables. Sarah Smith had a smokehouse and kitchen; Ollikee maintained a smokehouse, and Edmund Fallen had a springhouse. Owners of Cluster 9 farmsteads included 3.7 percent of the fullblood households in the study area, 6.25 percent of the *métis* households, and 16 percent of the households with intermarried whites. These properties appear to have been evenly distributed in the northern and southern portions of the study area.

The Cluster 9 farmstead type, with highly valued dwellings and limited agricultural holdings, reflects the adoption of western standards of more comfortable permanent housing without the concommitent intensification of agriculture necessary to support western material lifestyles based on commercial consumption. This pattern probably reflects a variety of circumstances. As discussed in Chapter 5, many Cherokee families chose to focus their market directed efforts on livestock production rather than row crops; these families could generate appreciable surplus incomes without extensive agricultural holdings that might unduly impinge on the corporate land

base. This strategy may have been socially advantageous for Cherokees with westernizing propensities who wished to maintain themselves within, or limit competition with, the traditional Cherokee community. Seven of the Cluster 9 properties belonged to women, most of whom did not have adult males in their households. In the case of the recently widowed Sarah Smith, her $54.00 dwelling, with its freestanding kitchen and smokehouse, stood adjacent to the large farms of her white father-in-law, John Smith, and her *métis* brother-in-law, Henry Smith. It is likely that Sarah Smith and her children were partially supported by their relatives, and she maintained a domestic lifestyle comparable to that of the other Smith households. Little Betsy, the sister of Dick and Jack Downing, may also have been partially supported by her kinsmen. George Owens, Sr. and Edmund Fallen were recent emigrants to the study area, and when Welch and Jarrett appraised their properties, the agents found farmsteads in their nascent stages. Although James Raper maintained his own household, his farmstead was located adjacent to the plantations of his father, Thomas, and uncle, Jesse, and he most likely participated in the operation and profits of these large properties.

A number of Christianized fullbloods (i.e. Slow Water, *Chewtoni*, Thomas *Askaquah*, *Connausuteeskee*, *Arch*, and *Oonullah*) owned Cluster 9 type improvements. Although these households farmed on a modest scale (2-11.5 acres) comparable to Cluster 1 families, they are distinguished by residence in large, well finished hewn-log houses comparable to those of southern Anglo-American yeoman farmers. As previously hypothesized, such dwellings may reflect the responsibilities of these households in hosting church functions and church related travelers. The limited farmland associated with these properties indicate that these families had not adopted the agrarian focus of the Anglo-American "improving" farmer.

A similar, but more accentuated, pattern is evident in the properties of Thomas *Askaquah*'s brothers, *Atohee* and *Chewacheckah* (Cluster 6). These farmsteads consisted of very highly valued dwellings ($200.00 and $175.00) with relatively small agricultural improvements ($137.50 and $114.00) and few outbuildings ($33.00; $40.00). As previously noted, the large and elaborate dwellings of these Christianized fullbloods probably served dual purposes as Christian meetinghouses and hostels. Construction and use of such large, western styled buildings by *Atohee* and *Chewacheckah* illustrates the material effects of Christianization as a westernizing influence.

Cluster 3 comprises 27 properties (John Wayne, Jr., Sweetwater, John Wickliff, Andrew Kell, James Blythe, Margret Hanks, *Culsawee*, *Wacheecha*, *Kulkeene*, Balltown George, *Caheswee*, Celia Silversmith, Jack Downing, *Satagah*, *Annatah*, John Muskrat, Robert Muskrat, *Aquillah*, Jesse Grass, Caty Walker, Charles Buffington, Peter, *Sutawakee*, *Toonanatalah*, Jack Christie, *Cheslequillanah*, *Sullsah*) with dwellings worth $18.00 to $63.00 (median=$40.00;

mean=$41.87), other buildings valued at $6.00 to $110.00 (median=$54.00; mean=$57.13), and farmland worth $54.00 to $500.00 (median=$176.00; mean=$215.78). This cluster is relatively diffuse, with broad ranges in the values of dwellings and farmland, but with a tightly grouped distribution of ancillary building values. Twenty-one (78 percent) of these properties included corn cribs, 10 (36 percent) had stables, 11 (41 percent) had hothouses, four had smokehouses, and two maintained stillhouses. Cluster 3 properties also included a springhouse, a blacksmith shop, a generic shop, a wagon shed, and a store. The lower ranges of Cluster 3 substantially resemble Cluster 9 properties, while those properties with values near the upper limits resemble Cluster 12, and it is clear that Cluster 3 occupies an intermediate position between these two groups. In general, Cluster 3 properties exhibit relatively large and well finished hewn-log dwellings with sufficient farmland to produce surplus for market disposal, characteristics similar to the improvements of Anglo-American yeoman landholders throughout the southern highlands.

Cluster 3 cases represent 5.9 percent of the household properties in the Hiwassee River drainage area, but only 1.2 percent of the farmsteads in the Little Tennessee River Basin. In addition, Cluster 3 members constitute 3.6 percent of the fullblood households in the study area, 17 percent of the *métis* households and 11 percent of the households with white members. This distribution indicates a stronger tendency for Anglo-Cherokee households to maintain larger and more valuable farmsteads comparable to those of the Anglo-American yeoman class. This pattern of property holding is consistent with the expectation that Anglo-Cherokees assimilated and exhibited western values and material lifeways to a considerably greater degree than their fullblood counterparts.

It is also noteworthy that many of the owners of Cluster 3 properties were fullbloods prominent in local and national government or who were leaders in the native Christian community (i.e. *Sutawakee*, Sweetwater, Balltown George, Peter *Oganaya*, John Wickliff, and Richard Walker). The expanded or more highly developed properties of these households may relate to their leadership roles and responsibilities, and are not necessarily inconsistent with the values of the traditional communitiy. Cluster 3 also includes almost one-quarter of the slaveholders (Charley Buffington, Robert Hanks, Richard Walker, Robert Muskrat) in the study area, and such properties appear equally consonant with the values of the more westernized, slaveholding class. Development of such properties by Westernized, English speaking slaveholders, traditional town leaders, and native Christian preachers illustrates the convergence in the form or structure of real properties that emanated from different ideological foundations, and which bespoke very different, context specific, meanings.

The John Wayne, Sr., John Christie, *Culsuttahee*, *Jekah*, Arch, *Wakee*, *Cullahsageesee*, and Anna [William] Boling properties group as Cluster 12 on the basis of high dwelling values

(range: $70.00-$125.00; median=$77.50; mean=$85.00), moderate values of other buildings (range:$8.00-$66.00; median=$51.00; mean=$45.35) and farmland values between $115.00 and $220.00 (median=$163.50; mean=$166.13). All Cluster 12 properties included corn cribs (three families maintained two cribs each); five (62.5 percent) of these households had stables. Cluster 12 households also maintained one kitchen (John Christie), one hothouse (*Culsuttahee*), and one blacksmith shop (William Boling). These farms included 13 to 23 acres of cultivated land (median 18.5 acres), sufficient land to generate ample subsistence and limited market surplus.

Cluster 12 properties are primarily distinguished from Cluster 3 farmsteads by more elaborate and highly valued dwellings. Seven of these were hewn-log dwellings; one was constructed of scutched logs. Four of these homes had front sheds or piazzas; five had nail attached roofing. Four Cluster 12 houses were one and a half to two stories high; three of these buildings boasted sawn plank floors. All of these dwellings mirrored the homes of well established Anglo-American yeoman farmers in the southern highland, and their construction was obviously informed by Anglo-American housing standards rather than the prevalent native modes.

The members of Cluster 12 include six fullblood families, one *métis* household (John Christie), and one household with an intermarried white (Anna/William Boling), proportions which suggest a greater tendency for Anglo-Cherokees to develop more elaborate, Western styled properties. Arch resided in Stecoah in the northern portion of the study area; the remainder of the group lived in the Hiwassee River Basin to the south. As is the case with Cluster 3, this group includes several individuals active in the National government (John Wayne Sr., *Culsuttahee*, William Boling) and includes one native Baptist preacher (Arch); their larger properties may connote the additional responsibilities of leadership. Arch's property generally parallels that of Baptist associates in the northern part of the district, such as *Chewwacheckah*, *Atohee*, Slow Water, and Thomas *Askaquah*. The property of the single intermarried white (William Boling), although well-developed with a capacious house and 23 acres of cropland, represents a newly established improvement. Boling, a former Cherokee councilman and signatory to the 1827 constitution, emigrated to Arkansas in 1834, but returned to North Carolina in 1835 after several of his children died of cholera and his first wife was killed by a falling tree. Boling's pre-emigration property, valued by government appraisers in 1834, included a 14 buildings, 175 fruit trees, 83.5 acres of bottomland, and 27 acres of upland worth an estimated $1,110.00 (United States Congress 1836:242).

Clusters 3, 9, and 12 combine in the six cluster solution, forming a 62 member class distinguished by substantial dwellings, agricultural holdings of moderate size, and a variety of ancillary buildings such as corn cribs, stables, and hothouses. These properties deviate

substantially from the study area norm defined by Clusters 1 and 7, and may be generally described as approximating the farmsteads of Anglo-American yeoman models, yet typically included significantly less cropland than their Anglo-American counterparts. The apparent de-emphasis on cropland among these higher wealth Cherokee cases may reflect the difficulty of accessing markets with bulky agricultural produce hauled from this isolated mountain region. Cherokees aspiring to economic security and "improvement" may instead have directed their energies to the production of livestock, which were readily transported to market (on the hoof) and which yielded high returns for investment of labor and resources. The families that controlled this middle tier of property improvements account for 11 percent of the fullblood households in the study area, 21 percent of the *métis* households, and 32 percent of the households with intermarried whites. The relative prominence of Anglo-Cherokee households in this group suggests that this farmstead type is primarily a western or western-derived pattern represented as a significant minority component of the Cherokee landscape of southwestern North Carolina.

The 14 most highly valued Cherokee properties ($659.75-$2826.25) in southwestern North Carolina classify as unique cases or form very small clusters in the twelve cluster solution, an indication that much of the total variation in the study population is represented among these cases. Although many of these cases differ from each other as much as they do from the remainder of the population, they are similar in their extreme deviation from population norms in every dimension. Most of these properties can be characterized as upland plantations, with large, well finished dwellings, extensive cropland, and numerous outbuildings. In general terms, these properties are comparable to upland plantations developed by Anglo-American small slaveholders throughout the Southern Appalachians (see Inscoe 1989; McKelway 1995; Olmstead 1860; Young and Andrews 1992). Like many plantations in the Anglo-American upland South, these farms appear to have generated surpluses by strategies of diversification, and these 14 cases include the majority of specialized economic facilities in the study area. As viewed from the limited perspective of real property, these cases represent the most complete expression of western agrarian economic modes and material lifestyles in the study area. The owners of these largest properties constituted 42 percent of the families with intermarried whites, almost 10 percent of the *métis* families, and less than .2 percent of the fullblood families in the study area. These families also held 54 percent of the total slave population of the region, and account for 46 percent of the English literate individuals documented by the 1835 census. This distribution most clearly illustrates the disparate concentration and development of real property by a relatively small, and predominantly Anglo-Cherokee, sector of the population. The dominance of Anglo-Cherokees in the uppermost ranks of Cherokee property holders is hardly surprising, inasmuch as Anglo-Cherokees (particularly intermarried whites) were the portion of the population most likely

to have been inculcated with western values from an early age and were the most likely to implement those values.

The largest of these high wealth clusters (Cluster 4) describes the properties of Ned Christie, John Smith, Bear's Paw, George Blair, Henry Smith, Jonathan England, and Dick Downing. These farms comprised highly valued agricultural improvements ($323.00-$810.00; median=$536.00; mean=$540.29) that ranged in size from 35.25 acres to 81 acres. They also included some of the largest and most substantial hewn-log houses ($50.00-$140.00; median=$110.00; mean=$95.71) in the study area, and other buildings valued between $79.00 and $212.00 (median=$108.00; mean=$126.71). Four of these properties had smokehouses, five had corn cribs and six included stables. Two farmsteads (Ned Christie, John Smith) had stillhouses, one (Bear's Paw) included a blacksmith's shop. John Smith also owned a gristmill valued at $145.00. Only George Blair maintained a hothouse as part of his property.

These properties reflect two distinct modes of landholding. The farmsteads of Christie, Downing, England, and the Smiths were all consolidated holdings, with 46 to 81 acres at their places of residence; these clearly constitute small plantations directed toward surplus production for market use. By contrast, Blair's and Bear's Paw's properties were composite holdings, with noncontiguous improvements spread over large areas. Blair maintained 35.25 acres in five relatively small (2-16.5ac) improvements, four of which included residential structures that likely housed tenants. Bear's Paw owned 46 acres distributed among seven small improvements; other holdings included eight cabins and a blacksmith's shop. While such composite holdings may have been a response to the patchy distribution of preferred cropland in the study area, they may also indicate that Blair and Bear's Paw were spacing their improvements to control large areas, or that these individuals acquired such scattered properties for speculation purposes.

Similarly, the John Timson and Andrew Colvard holdings (Cluster 8) consist of multiple properties with respective composite values of $958.70 and $1119.00. Timson's and Colvard's holdings group together on the basis of relatively high dwelling values ($100.00 and $55.00) and farmland values ($501.50 and $718.00) and very high values for buildings other than their primary residences ($343.00 and $337.00). Timson's properties consisted of seven farms comprising 54 acres, eight houses or cabins, a kitchen, two smokehouses, a springhouse, two stables, and a store. Timson's primary improvement had a $110.00 dwelling, but only five acres in cultivation. His larger farms were occupied and cultivated by the Henson, Ruddle, Love, and Butterfield households. Colvard maintained four improvements that comprised 60.75 acres, nine cabins and houses, a cookhouse, a corn crib, a smokehouse, three stables, and a gristmill under construction. Like Timson's properties, Colvard's farms were occupied by white tenants who

farmed on shares. The Timson and Colvard properties combine with Cluster 4 properties in the six cluster solution.

The John Welch and Thomas Raper properties (Cluster 2) are grouped together on the basis of very high total property values and markedly similar values for dwellings and ancilliary structures. John Welch's extensive properties included a 40ft by 16ft hewn-log dwelling worth $191.00, and 165 acres of farmland valued at $1376.00. Post-removal claims for property improvements suggest that Welch controlled an additional 100 acres of cropland. The various cabins and houses occupied by John Welch's six black slaves and multiple white tenants totaled $218.00 in value; Welch's properties also included a kitchen, two smokehouses, a springhouse, a shop, two lumberhouses, two corn cribs, five stables, a horselot and a gristmill. Thomas Raper resided in a $200.00 hewn-log dwelling, and controlled 68.5 acres of cropland worth $643.00. Raper also owned a kitchen, a smokehouse, a shop building, a barn, a corn crib, two mills, a store, and two tenant cabins.

The large, diverse, and highly valued holdings of David England, Jesse Raper, and Gideon Morris are classified as unique singletons in the twelve cluster solution. The England and Morris holdings combine in the six cluster solution; Raper's property is combined with John Welch's and Thomas Raper's in the six cluster solution. David England lived in a double house worth $230.00 and farmed 203.25 acres worth $1836.50. His other holdings included twelve houses and cabins, a kitchen, a smokehouse, a springhouse, a schoolhouse, a granary and two corn cribs, four stables, a barn, a chickenhouse, a stillhouse, a blacksmith shop, a gristmill, a hothouse, and a well.

Jesse Raper (Cluster 10) resided in the most highly valued dwelling ($340.00) in southwestern North Carolina, and farmed 100 acres with the aid of black slaves and white tenants. Raper's other holdings included four cabins occupied by his tenants and slaves, a kitchen, a smokehouse, a springhouse, three stables, three cribs, a barn, a shop, a store building, and a stillhouse. Like his brother Tom and nephews James and Isaac, Jesse married into the *métis* McDaniel family, and assumed control over some of the McDaniel holdings at Nottely. He aggressively expanded these holdings and spent much time in court defending land grabs against suits by the McDaniels, John Christie, and *Toonanatalah.* Both Tom and Jesse declined to remove with the Cherokees and maintained substantial plantations up until the Civil War. Jesse Raper and his family removed to Indian Territory after the Civil War; Tom Raper's descendants continue to occupy the Raper/McDaniel farms at Nottely.

Gideon Morris (Cluster 11) owned properties valued at $2826.25, surpassing the next most valuable property by more than $700.00. Although the Morris family lived in an older house worth only $71.00, the household controlled other buildings worth $605.00, and 191 acres of farmland worth $1893.50. Morris' properties included five tenant and slave cabins worth

$119.00, a smokehouse, six corn cribs, three stables, and a gristmill valued at $355.00. Morris' property is most distinctive in terms of extensive cultivated acreage, multiple cabins, corn cribs, and stables, and its highly valued mill.

Like their economic peers, the Welches and Rapers, the Morris family avoided removal with the Cherokee Nation and remained in North Carolina as prosperous members of Anglo-American society. This presumably reflects the social and cultural allegiance of the family, but may also relate to Morris' business partnerships with members of the Treaty Party (i.e. Stand Watie, John Bell). Although he ostensibly opposed the removal treaty, Morris may have feared that guilt by association with the Treaty Party would expose his family to reprisals. The Morris family removed to the Cherokee Nation West in 1869 to recoup their fortunes after the devastation of their farms and loss of their slaves in the Civil War (Perdue 1982).

All these larger plantations consisted of substantial central improvements with smaller dispersed farmsteads occupied by white tenants. Like other "improving" planters, Raper, England, Morris, and Welch continuously undertook to engross additional lands to consolidate holdings sufficient for programs of crop rotation and fallowing and to provide partible inheritances for their children. This strategy was laudable by Anglo-American standards, yet stood in direct opposition to the norms of traditional Cherokee society. By dominating the best lands in the region, these families precluded entry of Cherokee subsistence farmers into premium farm sites, including the former town sites of Nottely, Quonessee, Little Tellico and Tasetsi; this hampered the traditional rotation of Cherokee farms. Such overt appropriation of corporate resources almost certainly created interhousehold conflict and societal level stresses that tended to magnify and focus the differences between the traditionally oriented majority and the westernized, English-speaking minority.

Discussion

The trivariate cluster analysis delineates gross patterns of variation in the composition of Cherokee farmsteads, and provides a structure for the interpretation of material evidence for socioeconomic and cultural differentiation among Cherokee households. The twelve cluster solution accomplishes a parsimonious fit that summarizes the dominant trends of variation and covariation among dwellings, outbuildings, and agricultural properties and illustrates differential patterns of property holding among ethnic subsets of the study population. However, the cluster solution does not reveal which threshholds of property values demarcate holdings acceptable to traditionalist sensibilities from those more representative of Western values. Instead, this analysis indicates that the data cannot be strictly dichotomized as representing Western versus native models, but instead are arrayed as broadly continuous distributions marked by a small number of extreme (and highly Westernized) outliers that are readily discriminated as deviant cases in one or

more dimensions. It is possible that the gulf in property values between these outliers and the remainder of the population represents a dichotomizing threshhold, and the remainder of the variation could be accommodated within parameters of the traditional system.

The majority of Cherokee properties in the study area appear remarkably homogeneous in composition; more than 85 percent of the Cherokee farmsteads in southwestern North Carolina consisted of 12 or fewer acres of cropland, dwellings valued less than $32.00, and few outbuildings other than corn cribs and an occasional *asi*. Such small, subsistence level farmsteads appear to have been the norm for Cherokee households in the study area and are the standard against which variation in the population is measured. The prevalence of such small, minimally developed properties under traditional systems of corporate tenure and communally controlled resource bases indicates that forces other than economic and legal circumstance determined the configurations of Cherokee farmsteads. Although all Cherokees were equally entitled to develop and hold (theoretically) unlimited amounts of farmland, relatively few Cherokee citizens in the study area elected to farm on more than a subsistence scale. While preferred farmland is relatively restricted in the study area, there was likely sufficient land for most Cherokee families to have produced on much more extensive scales. Models for such expanded farms were readily apparent in the nearby Anglo-American settlements, and examples of similar properties were evident in the study area as well. Similarly, most Cherokee households constructed small, "comfortless log huts" for dwellings despite the ready availability of unlimited timber and stone adequate to build large and substantial hewn-log houses. Cherokee citizens were quite familiar with the more elaborate dwellings of frontier whites, and most Cherokees possessed the technical skills and equipment to construct such buildings, but instead chose to limit the scale and elaboration of their residences.

Insofar as the small dwellings and limited farmland of most Cherokee households appear to have been the products of socially conditioned choice rather than legal, political, or economic constraints, it can be inferred that these properties express pervasively shared cultural ideals and social convictions. The majority of the study population was not motivated by strongly economic goals, nor did they seek to change their living conditions, but rather took comfort in a familiar stasis. The scale and uniformity of most Cherokee properties was consistent with the traditional Cherokee values embodied in the Harmony Ethic; they maintained economic and material equivalence among households by presenting an easily attainable standard that was sufficient for household survival and reproduction. These properties reflect a value system in which concern for the corporate *status quo* outweighed individual desires for wealth attainment and material comfort; it is a system in which everyone is the "same size." Such concerns almost certainly

derived from the communal ethos of eighteenth century village life, and are characteristic of egalitarian horticultural communities throughout the world.

It is obvious that the pattern of dispersed Cherokee farmsteads of the 1830s was a far cry from the villages of two generations previous, and to characterize these small farmsteads as 'traditional' seems incongruous with the broad changes in Cherokee settlement pattern, community plan, and architecture that occurred between 1780 and 1830. Such changes have typically been interpreted as acculturative emulation of white frontier models and denotative of the Cherokees' assumption of Anglo-American values and goals. Instead, it appears that dispersal of Cherokee villages occurred as a response to changing defense considerations during the late eighteenth century and preceded any economic reorientation on the part of the Cherokees by almost two decades. Although Cherokee families resident in dispersed farmsteads probably farmed on a slightly larger scale than they had in village settings, they did so in efforts to attain subsistence security in the absence or reduction of communal agriculture; most did not produce marketable surpluses. Although the horizontal log cabins of the Cherokees were derived from Anglo-American rather than aboriginal models, they fit well the changing needs of Cherokee society and proved more expedient than traditional vertical post architecture. These changes in Cherokee settlement pattern and architecture created farmstead patterns that superficially resembled those of the poorest frontier whites, but which derived from markedly different values and expectations. Although Cherokee villages dissolved as nucleated physical entities, they remained viable as social, civic, political, and religious organizations that were decidedly corporate in nature (see Jordan 1975). The Harmony Ethic remained the dominant (and most functional) value system as long as Cherokee communities maintained such corporate perspectives. If changes in Cherokee material life, such as settlement dispersal and horizontal log architecture, were compatible with traditional values, these innovations were readily incorporated into the native repertoire to became part of 'traditional' culture.

Although the small farmsteads and marginal dwellings of most Cherokee families had numerous analogs on the Anglo-American frontier, such properties stood in sharp contrast to the ideals of "improvement" pursued by Anglo-American agrarians. The desultory farmsteads and shifting settlements of the white squatter class marked them as the dregs and outcasts of the larger society. Similar improvements in the hands of Indians evoked racist disdain from whites, but had little or no bearing on respectability within the native community. Such contrasts served to define the Indian identity as distinct from whites and provided a material forum for nativistic Cherokees to express their disapproval of the acquisitive values of white society. Such expression may have been particularly important for a people under the extreme stresses deriving from violent oppression in Georgia, large scale dispossession, and impending removal. By identifying

themselves as Indians, and asserting their affinity for traditional values though material media, Cherokees expressed their solidarity and differentiated themselves from members of the Treaty Party, who were largely depicted as assimilated lackeys of Anglo-American interests. For many Cherokees, the traditionalist identity expressed through shared poverty was synonymous with patriotism and opposition to removal. From this perspective, it would appear that the small size of most Cherokee holdings was not simply the result of passive conservatism, but rather a conscious assertion of traditional modes to project identity and allegiance.

The motivation for Cherokee householders to maintain small farms and simple dwellings may also have had a more specific foundation in the doctrine of sympathy that pervaded traditional Cherokee belief and world view. This theory held that like produces like, that the consumer assumed the ascribed characteristics of his foodstuffs or the practitioner assumed the nature of other beings by close association or practice of their habits. Thus, consumption of beef caused the eater to become dull and ponderous like the cow, while bullfrog meat caused the consumer to have brittle bones like a frog. If the hunter consorted with bears, lived in a cave, and ate a diet of nuts and berries, he assumed a "bear nature" and even grew fur after the manner of bears. A habitual diet of white man's food would cause the Indian to assume the unenviable nature of the white man (Mooney 1900:472), a personality inherently flawed by slyness, dishonesty, miserliness, and avarice. Within such a framework of belief, it was obvious that the assumption and practice of western lifestyles (such as residence in elaborate structures and farming large acreages) not only signalled an affinity for things Anglo-American, but actually transformed the Indian into a *unega* (Cherokee: white man [perjorative]) who could not be trusted. Such an individual was, perhaps, worse than the *unega* himself, because the white man could not choose his innate nature. Only by overacting the role of a good Cherokee, by becoming a super-Cherokee who was freely hospitable and extremely open handed, could the native overcome the social onus of having property like a white man and retain trust and good standing within the traditionalist community.

The association between small properties and nativistic or traditional valuesets should not be overdrawn. The study population includes numerous examples of small properties owned by English-speaking Anglo-Cherokee households, and similar modes of property holding were prevalent among poor whites of the rural south. Many of the smaller farmsteads classified in Clusters 1 and 7 reflect transient property developments by newly established or recently relocated households. While such small farmsteads might be the final forms attained by many families, in other cases they probably represent the nascent stages of properties intended for expansion and elaboration.

Properties owned by a small number of Anglo-Cherokees (and a single fullblood household) at the upper range of the socioeconomic spectrum reflect the thorough incorporation and integration of Western material modes of life. The fourteen properties included in Clusters 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, and 11 all possessed dwellings valued in excess of $70.00, 35 or more acres of farmland, and a wide array of ancillary domestic strucures, farm buildings, and specialized facilities. These farms substantially resembled the typical holdings of Anglo-American middling farmers and small planters in the southern highlands, and the Cherokee owners of such properties occupied a socioeconomic status parallel to the upper middle class of the Anglo-American rural South.

Unlike the smallest Cherokee properties, which developed from a variety of circumstances and cannot be referenced to a single set of ideals and values, the largest and most diverse properties held by Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina reflect directed planning and implementation processes that emanated from the Western ideals of innovation, material improvement, and acquisition of wealth. The development or acquisition of such properties required considerable investment of labor, and, in some cases, capital, and represent sustained efforts at the attainment of material goals that were not grounded within native values or tradition. It may be inferred, by extension, that the owners of these properties felt themselves unconstrained by the dominant values of the native community, and willingly suffered any censure or social exclusion occasioned by nonconformity with community standards. Indeed, patterns of geographical assortment, marriage preference, and personal association (as indicated by store account records and witnessing of spoliation claims) suggest that the Anglo-Cherokee owners of the largest properties perceived themselves as constituting a separate community of association and interest. These families appear to have had little involvement in local social, civic, or political affairs. This is not surprising, inasmuch as most of the wealthiest families were recent arrivals to the study area and were not well integrated into the kinship networks of the Valley Towns region. Despite their relative wealth, organizational abilities, and bilingual skills, these households (with the exception of John Timson) also avoided participation in national politics, preferring instead to concentrate their efforts on personal business interests. The social and political distinctiveness of these families is reflected most clearly in the fact that 10 of these 14 households avoided removal and elected to remain in North Carolina as members of the Anglo-American community. Although several of these households profited substantially from provisions of the New Echota Treaty, most publicly disavowed the treaty to ensure their survival within the mounting chaos of the Cherokee Nation. To their credit, many of these families aided fullbloods who sought to elude removal troops and acted as patrons and advisors to the remnant native communities in the post-removal era (Hindman 1841b; Porter 1838).

The real properties developed by the wealthiest Anglo-Cherokee families not only symbolized their affinity for Anglo-American culture and their disregard for traditionalist sensibilities, but actually imposed a substantial burden upon the continuance and vitality of traditionalist lifeways. The appropriation and consolidation of large tracts of the highest quality farmland along commercial thoroughfares by these Anglo-Cherokee families limited other families' access to commercial outlets for their grain and livestock, and appreciably reduced the already limited farmland available for shifting horticultural plots. Anglo-Cherokees' dominance of most old town sites (e.g. Nottely, Tlanusiyi, Little Tellico, Setsi, Konahete, Quanassee) precluded any reassembly of nucleated communities. Blocked from access to large, contiguous tracts of preferred farmland, more conservative, subsistence oriented Cherokees were forced to further disperse their communities in search of fertile cropland. Continuity of the traditional settlement–subsistence system depended upon the maintenance of a large pool of unused and unclaimed land and outlets for the natural growth of communities. The large numbers of Cherokee migrants to the study area during the 1820s and 1830s required reallocation of available farmland, and the disparate acquisition of farmland by a small number of Anglo-Cherokee families greatly strained a system already under pressure. The inordinate control of supposedly communal resources by a few wealthy families undoubtedly created resentment, if not animosity, on the part of the traditionalist majority and polarized relations between more conservative and Westernized Cherokees. The individual appropriation of corporate resources by Anglo-Cherokees was one of the main bases for the growing social and political gulf that separated Westernized Anglo-Cherokees and conservative fullbloods throughout the nineteenth century.

Several different farmstead configurations (Clusters 4, 9, and 12) occupy intermediate positions between the small farmsteads of the Cherokee majority (Clusters 1 and 7) and the extensive holdings of the wealthy few (Clusters 2, 5, 8,10, and 11). These configurations reflect varying degrees of departure from more traditional patterns. Cluster 9 is characterized by moderately to highly valued dwellings combined with relatively small agricultural holdings and relatively low values for outbuildings. Such properties appear to reflect domestic environments comparable to those of the southern yeoman class without agricultural bases sufficient to support the lifestyle of middling farmers. While the households that occupied such properties may have derived appreciable incomes from alternative sources (e.g. livestock sales), they apparently did not attempt the diversified economic strategies that distinguished the self sufficient farmers of Anglo-American settlements in the upland South. Cherokee owners of such properties included recently relocated Anglo-Cherokee households, Cherokee widows, and a number of Christianized Cherokees and preachers. The distribution of these properties suggests that this farmstead pattern reflects relatively Westernized lifestyles maintained by households in both waxing and waning

phases, as well as the adoption of Western standards of housing by Christian converts. This pattern illustrates the role that Christian missionaries played in the acculturation (albeit specialized and directed) of fullblood converts in the study area.

Properties classified in Clusters 3 and 12 resemble the farmsteads of the southern Anglo-American yeoman class, with more highly valued dwellings coupled with moderately sized agricultural holdings and numerous outbuildings. The owners of these properties include both Anglo-Cherokees and fullbloods, with a high proportion of individuals prominent in civic, political, and religious affairs. This suggests that preferences for Western material modes derived from both acculturational and enculturational experiences, and that expression of these modes may have served native as well as Western-insprired needs and aspirations. For town chiefs and religious leaders, these larger than average properties helped to fulfill their obligations for hospitality and redistribution, and in such roles their Western styled properties were completely acceptable within native frameworks of meaning and value. By constrast, it is likely that Anglo-Cherokee families, along with some fullblood households, developed such expanded properties in their quest for material improvement and "progress" as defined by Western models. Although more heterogeneous than Cluster 12, Cluster 3 reflects a similar trend of assimilation of Western material modes in varied subcultural settings.

To summarize, Welch and Jarrett's 1836–1837 appraisals of Cherokee property improvements in southwestern North Carolina document the physical composition and relative values of 634 single family farmsteads. These appraisals reveal substantial variation in the quality of housing, extent of agricultural activity, and in the numbers and types of ancillary structures maintained by Cherokee families. Inasmuch as the composition and values of such real properties constitutes a primary gauge of the socioeconomic well-being of households in most agricultural societies (see Blanton 1994; Michael Smith 1987), the variation evident among Cherokee farmsteads in North Carolina can be interpreted as a central measure of the socioeconomic diversity and differential economic standing of Cherokee households. Although the range of variation in Cherokee real properties superficially resembled the poor white squatter–yeoman farmer–small planter continuum in contemporaneous Anglo-American frontier settings, the structure and causes of socioeconomic variation appear quite different among Cherokee households. Despite the ready and free availability of agricultural land and building materials, the vast majority of Cherokees maintained small, subsistence level farmsteads with minimal housing. Relatively few (<20 percent) Cherokee households developed agricultural bases and domestic environments comparable to self sufficient yeoman farmers; fewer still farmed on commercial scales or lived in substantial dwellings like those of the Anglo-American rural middle classes. The small, periodically shifting farmsteads that dominated the Cherokee landscape appear to have

been a direct outgrowth of the corporate villages of the eighteenth century, and represent a residential and production mode evolved within the native tradition under changing political circumstances. Deviation from this native standard toward expanded and more permanent improvements appears to reflect the assimilation of Western agrarian lifestyles. The extent of variation evident among Cherokee properties indicates an economic radiation that was primarily the result of differential Westernization, and the strong relationship between household ethnicity and economic status reflects the markedly divergent values regarding the production and accumulation of wealth that developed among ethnic and cultural subsets of the Cherokee population. Although both fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee households are represented throughout the socioeconomic spectrum, the distributions of property among these ethnic subsets are nearly inverse. With few exceptions, fullblood households controlled the smallest and least developed properties, while Anglo-Cherokees, particularly *métis* families with intermarried whites, controlled a disproportionate share of agricultural land and maintained the largest and most diversified domestic improvements in the study area. This concentration of real property is partially attributable to higher rates of formal education, bilingualism, and perhaps greater business acumen on the part of Anglo-Cherokees, yet the extent of variation suggests far more deeply rooted differences in aspirations and implementation of values among various sectors of Cherokee society. The relative poverty of the majority of fullbloods (and many Anglo-Cherokees) established an economic parity that was consistent with the core values of the traditional Harmony Ethic, the ideological basis of Cherokee corporate society. By maintaining low levels of economic activity and very modest domestic environments, traditionally oriented Cherokees were all "the same size," thereby avoiding unseemly interhousehold competition that could fracture the unity of a corporate egalitarian society. By repetition of this farmstead mode, members of the traditionalist community demonstrated the "being" orientation of economic and social stasis that Thomas (1959) noted among conservative Cherokees of the mid-twentieth century. By contrast, the large and diverse properties developed by many Anglo-Cherokee families (as well as a few fullblood households) clearly embody the ideals of property accumulation, material improvement, permanence, and "orderly" living emphasized by the agrarian ideologies of Anglo-American society, the perpetual "becoming" orientation. These properties largely reflected individualistic profit orientations on the part of their owners, and constituted very public rejections of the corporate standards of the traditionalist community. While some of these wealthier property holders probably regarded themselves as innovators who led the Cherokees by example toward a 'civilized' life, others were apparently disinterested in effecting changes in Cherokee lifeways and acted to optimize their material self-interests. This is most clearly indicated in the cases of

Anglo-American males who married minimal blood degree *métis* women in order to gain access to Cherokee corporate resources, a strategy immortalized in the often cited contemporary lyric:

> All I want in God's Creation,
> A pretty little girl and a big plantation,
> Away down yonder in the Indian Nation.
> Away down yonder in the Indian Nation.

Such individuals interjected themselves and their values into Cherokee society, and perpetuated their alien ideologies through the enculturation of their offspring. They held themselves apart from mainstream Cherokee life, reaping the benefits of Cherokee citizenship while avoiding the attendant responsibilities of the corporate society.

The extreme contrasts between the properties of a small, yet highly visible group of wealthy Anglo-Cherokeees and the tiny farmsteads of the impoverished fullblood majority presented an apparent dichotomy which probably served to heighten and canalize ethnic class awareness in southwestern North Carolina. While the interposition of a relatively small middle tier of households may have mitigated the perception of social, economic, and ethnic dichotomy, the most westernized of Cherokees surely engendered the unfavorable scrutiny of the conservative majority. The vast gulf between the poles of this dichotomy would have obviated social boundary demarcation, yet the presence of an ambiguous middle tier raised the possibility of personnel defection, and required that both groups take active, concrete measures to safeguard the interests and integrity of their respective communities of association.

Chapter 5
Chattel Property of Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: An Analysis of Spoliation Claims Filed 1838–1842

> We heard of the orders being issued to take us, and also heard of the building of the forts, and some white people would tell us, we would all be taken, but we did not believe that it would take place. We were so much opposed to coming to this country, we did not try to sell anything we had... The soldiers came and took us from home- they first surrounded our house & they took the men while they were at work in the field and then drove us out of doors and did not permit us to take any thing with us, not even a second change of clothes, only the clothes we had on, and they shut the doors after they turned us out. They would not permit any of us to enter the house to get any clothing but drove us off afoot to a fort... The horses were running near the house, but we were hurried off and guarded very close, that we could not go off to look for our horses & when the men ask[ed] permission to look for the things or to get anything, they would not grant it. The cattle & hogs were all running there on the place when we were taken off, and everything we possessed was all left, even more than I have charged for.
> Ooloocha Sweetwater, March 5, 1842

> The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses and camped at the forts and military posts all over the Nation... Well furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers who, like hungry wolves, follow the progress of the captors and in many cases accompany them. These wretches rifle the houses and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. ... It is a painful sight. The property of many has been taken and sold before their eyes for almost nothing; the sellers and buyers being in many cases combined to cheat the poor Indian. Private purchases, or at least the sham of purchases, have in many instances been made at the instant of arrest and consternation: the soldiers standing with guns and bayonets, impatient to go on with their work, could give but little time to transact business. The poor captive in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified, children, without a friend to speak one consoling word, is in a very unfavorable condition to make advantageous disposition of his property even were suitable and honest purchasers on the spot, but more especially so when the only purchasers present are harpies.... Many who a few days ago were in comfortable circumstances are now the victims of abject poverty. Many who have been allowed to return to their homes under passport to inquire after their property, have found their horses, cattle, hogs, ploughs, hoes, harness, tables, chares [sic], earthen ware, all gone. And this is not a description of extreme cases... (Evan Jones, June 16, 1838).

> ...There are several families now in camps at whose houses I have been and personally know them to have been possessed not only of fine stocks of every description, but of a great abundance of household goods, and other varieties of property required to the most comfortable living, who have not been suffered to bring along with them personal clothing sufficient for a change, or bedding enough to accommodate at once, half the family. These people assure me that the military so hurried and urged them away, that no time was allowed to gather up their effects; that, when after much entreaty they had been suffered to return (a day or more having elapsed) to look after their property; they found their houses stripped and robbed of everything left. (Nathaniel Smith to Major Genl. Winfield Scott, June 6, 1838)

The eyewitness accounts of Ooloocha Sweetwater, Nathaniel Smith and Evan Jones poignantly depict the devastating losses of property suffered by many Cherokee families as a consequence of their summary arrest and deportation from the old Cherokee Nation. Such catastrophic material losses compounded the tragedy that unfolded as the Trail of Tears, reducing Cherokee families to a level of penury that threatened (and, in some cases, claimed) their very lives. Many families who reached the Cherokee Nation West never regained their former prosperity; the removal served to further polarize the socioeconomic spectrum of Cherokee society.

In the months and years following removal, thousands of Cherokee families and individuals sought redress for their losses by recourse to Articles 10, 16, and 17 of the Treaty of New Echota:

> ...Three hundred thousand dollars is appropriated by the United States to liquidate Cherokee claims against the United States for spoliations of every kind [Article 10].... The Cherokees stipulate to remove west within two years from the ratification of this treaty, during which time the United States shall protect them in the possession and enjoyment of their property, and in case of failure to do so shall pay all losses and damages sustained by them in consequence thereof [Article 16].... All claims arising under or provided for in this treaty shall be examined and adjudicated...by such commissioners as shall be appointed by the President of the United States for that purpose, and their decision shall be final, and the several claimants shall be paid on their certification by the United States [Article 17].... (Royce 1887:128).

Between 1838 and 1847, Cherokee citizens submitted a complex array of claims for spoliations of chattel property, personal injury, real property improvements, and pre-emptions of property to the consideration of four successive Federal boards of commissioners (U.S. Congress 1848). The spoliation claims, which resemble Anglo-American probate inventories in scope and format, document a wide range of chattel property, including livestock, household goods and furnishings, clothing, agricultural and manufacturing equipment, foodstuffs, raw commodities, and cash. These claims also illustrate the range of less tangible capital assets and credits held by Cherokee citizens, such notes of hand and other debts uncollected from Anglo-Americans, liens, counterfeit cash and bank notes passed by American citizens, interests in gold mines, stud fees, wages unpaid by Anglo-American employers, and other contractual agreements that American citizens had failed to honor. Cherokee claimants also sought recompense for standing crops abandoned at the time of removal, and for improvements such as cleared and cultivated land, buildings, and fruit trees that were developed after the 1836–1837 property valuations or which were omitted from the valuations. In addition, many Cherokees took the opportunity to file claims for losses of property improvements abandoned under previous cessions and for spoliations of personal property dating back to the time of the Creek War (1813–1814).

The spoliation claims present an extraordinary body of textual and quantitative evidence that details the material lives of Cherokee households at the time of the 1838 removal. These records are uniquely suited to the reconstruction and analysis of Cherokee material lifeways, and provide the primary data for interhousehold comparisons of chattel property. Many of these claims detail complete or near-complete inventories of household property, illustrating the constellations of "goods assembled together in ownership" that "make physical, visible statements about the hierarchy of values to which their chooser[s] subscribe"(Douglas and Isherwood 1979:5). Like the farms and homes discussed in the previous chapter, these assemblages of chattel goods were conscious constructions informed by current dialogues of

ethnicity and identity, custom and innovation. Because such chattel assemblages are generally more complex, plastic, and portable than real property, they illustrate greater latitudes of choice in the construction, manipulation, and display of material identity. At a gross level, the losses reported by Cherokee families illustrate broad discrepancies in wealth holding among various sectors of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina. On more specific levels, the spoliation claims document variation in the material minutiae of daily life, from moccasins to cravats, hominy mortars to teapots, blowguns to clocks. Variation in the scale, value, and composition of chattel assemblages reflects a broad continuum of material lifestyles, and, by extension, the value systems that governed such lifestyles. The spoliation claims provide specific data for comparison and contrast of the material lives of the most conservative, monolingual Cherokee fullbloods and the most Westernized, English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees, and serve to delineate the material realities of the social, cultural, and economic spectrum that spanned these extremes.

The remainder of this chapter examines spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households from southwestern North Carolina. This overview has three major objectives: 1) to achieve a broad-based, yet specific, description of Cherokee material culture, with particular reference to issues of conservatism and Westernization; 2) to analyze household level variation in the value and composition of material assemblages; and 3) to determine the degree to which ethnic/cultural subsets of the population are differentiated by wealth holding and material lifestyle. To achieve these goals, the following discussion considers individual items or classes of items with reference to contemporary narrative accounts of Cherokee and southern rural Anglo-American society in an effort to establish the significance of particular material classes to the inculcation, projection, and maintenance of cultural identity. Within the body of this discussion, univariate distributions of particular material classes are compared and contrasted between English-speaking and Cherokee-speaking sectors of the study population. This consideration of individual material categories is followed by multivariate comparisons of spoliation inventories as household level assemblages in order to determine patterns of wealth holding and assemblage composition indicative of ethnic or cultural differentiation within the study population.

The Study Sample and Its Biases

The following discussion and analyses are based upon a sample of 435 spoliation claims filed by members of 415 Cherokee households from southwestern North Carolina between 1838 and 1847 (Appendix III). The majority (n=366) of these claims are contained within the John Ross Papers of the Penelope Allen Cherokee Collection at the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. These constitute two major groups: those

recorded in the late summer and fall of 1838 by clerks in the internment camps at Calhoun, Tennessee and referred to the First Board of Cherokee Commissioners (n=19); and those recorded in March–May 1842 by clerks in various districts in the Cherokee Nation (now northeastern Oklahoma) for consideration by the Second and Third boards (n=347). This sample was selected from approximately 665 claims filed by former residents of the study area, and is restricted to those claims that report losses of ten or more types of property attributable to at least five discrete functional categories (e.g., livestock, agricultural equipment, cookware, clothing, furniture, cloth manufacturing equipment). This criterion is imposed to facilitate interhousehold comparisons of material assemblages and wealth; most of the smaller accounts reflect losses of single items or fractional assemblages and are problematic for incorporation in household level analyses of wealthholding and assemblage composition.

The remainder of the sample (n=60) derives from the records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners contained within Record Group 75 of the United States National Archives. These represent approximately one-fifth of the 303 claims filed by Cherokee families that remained in North Carolina after removal, a sample selected by the same criterion of at least ten items representing five or more functional categories.

Two additional datasets, store account records from A.R.S. Hunter's Store (Hunter 1836–1838) and McMinn County, Tennessee probate inventories [1838–1841] (Works Progress Administration 1937) are introduced to provide comparative bases for interpretation of the spoliation claims. Hunter's Store accounts document 874 commercial transactions by 247 members of the study population between October 1836 and May 1838, providing direct evidence of the commercial consumption behaviors of Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina. These records reflect the availability (and popularity) of particular commercial goods to Cherokee consumers, and document retail pricing structures prevalent in the study area. Hunter's accounts occasionally provide independent verification for goods listed in spoliation claims. For example, Charles Buffington filed a claim for loss of a plaid cloak worth $12.00-- the same camel cloak that he purchased from Hunter for $10.00 the previous year.

Twenty-eight probate inventories for Anglo-American decedents from McMinn County, Tennessee provide a quantitative description of the material life of southern upland agrarian households for comparison and contrast with the Cherokee cases considered in this study. The McMinn County sample consists of estates inventoried between 1836 and 1838 (selected for contemporaneity with the Cherokee spoliations), and includes a cross section of rural Anglo-American society, from poor white tenants to wealthy, slaveowning agrarian capitalists.

This sample represents the most extensive body of contemporary Anglo-American probate inventories available for agrarian families living in close proximity to the study area. McMinn County is located in the lower Hiwassee River Valley, in the Valley and Ridge Province of eastern Tennessee, approximately 50 miles from the study area. The county was directly linked to the study area by a system of well developed wagon roads, and Athens, the county seat, was a commercial hub well known to the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina.

The Cherokee spoliation claims are highly standardized in format and reflect Anglo-American legal conventions of the period (see Figure 5.1). Inventories of lost property typically include minimal nominal description, with a table of goods and property, quantities, and estimated values followed by standardized narrative testimonies and signature marks (typically 'X') by the claimant and one or more witnesses who were familiar with the claimant and his or her possessions. The clerks responsible for recording the claims signed (in English) and dated the claims, indicating official sanction of the documents. Those claims submitted by North Carolina Cherokees who retained W.H. Thomas as attorney were witnessed before local magistrates of Cherokee County. Spoliation claims are typically identified by the claimant's name, with places of residence prior to and following the removal. In most cases, the individuals called upon to witness claims were household members, close relatives, or near neighbors. These data facilitate correlation of the spoliation claims with the 1835 census and 1836–1837 property valuations records, and promote interpretation of particular claims as representative of fullblood or Anglo-Cherokee households. Collateral documentation (e.g., 1835 census, 1851 Drennen Roll, 1909 Miller Enrollment) facilitates identification of 45 of the reporting households as minimally Cherokee-English bilingual; these are primarily Anglo-Cherokee households who presumably represent the most westernized sector of the study sample. The remaining 370 households consisted of fullblood Cherokees; in the absence of contrary evidence, these families are presumed to be monolingual Cherokee speakers.

The Cherokee spoliation claims are comparable in format, scope, and detail to the probate inventories of contemporary Anglo-American households, documents that are the grist of social historical studies of vernacular life in America (e.g., Benes 1989; Carr and Walsh 1980, 1994; Deetz 1977; Gasco 1992; Jones 1980; Main 1975, 1982; Shackel 1992a, 1992b; South 1977; Stapp 1993). Stapp (1993:7) notes that:

> Many historians regard the inventories in probate records as valid and democratic transmitters of the material culture and social values of populations for whom few domestic artifacts or personal documents may be extant. While obviously documents themselves, the systematic notation of the tangible in inventories seems to function as a snapshot of the ordinary stuff of everyday life

Figure 5.1. Spoliation claims of *Inoque* (Cheoah) and Isaac Davis (Shooting Creek). Originals in Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

> that belonged to people for whom little else may be available for interpretation. Therefore, scholars maintain that probate inventories are a superior primary source that permits access to populations who have previously been assumed historically inarticulate.

Stapp (1993:37) further observes that probate records "provide access to hitherto inaccessible populations, with immediacy and particularity" and are "the vehicle for ...understanding the material condition and cultural values of a hitherto presumed inarticulate population" (Stapp 1993:66). These assertions are clearly applicable to the Cherokee claims papers.

Despite their enthusiasm for probate inventories as core data sources, historians, historical archaeologists, and other social scholars are sanguine about the potential biases and limitations of these documents, and many of their concerns are relevant to consideration of the Cherokee spoliation claims. Lindert (1981:660) observes that "The set of persons whose estates yield surviving probate inventories is a biased slice of society" because it tended to be the wealthier members of Anglo-American society whose estates warranted inventory. Carr and Walsh (1980:83) note the relationship between age and wealth, and the proportionate over-representation of elder males among probate records:

> Biases in the data ...prevent inventories from accurately reflecting the wealth patterns of the living population. Every wealthholder who died was not inventoried, and if one wealth group is less well represented than another in proportion to its size, wealth patterns will be distorted. In addition, inventories would be biased toward the rich even if every dead man's estate were appraised. This is because wealth tends to increase with age, and more old men than young men die in proportion to the numbers.

A number of factors conspire to effect under-representation of assets, and particular classes of assets, in probate inventories. As Jones (1980:116) indicates "Unofficial and undisputed distributions of assets among heirs" often preceded the probate process, in part as a means to evade levies on estates. Such distribution or liquidation often preceded anticipated deaths. In some cases, appraisers may have worked in collusion with heirs to reduce taxable portions of estates. Appraisers also undoubtedly overlooked many small items, or lumped them in miscellaneous categories such as Deetz's (1977) "small things forgotten." Legacies bequeathed in form often escaped probate, as did goods with no perceived monetary value.

Another issue with which researchers struggle in diachronic or supralocal studies of probate inventories is definition of monetary equivalencies. Where studies focus upon comparative distributions of wealth rather than the composition of household belongings, it becomes imperative to standardize or otherwise adjust the widely varying values that appraisers assigned to estate goods. Researchers typically have recourse to independent, external sources such as commercial records to establish standardized schedules of value, but such standardization frequently obscures internal variation in values that estate appraisers based on the quality or age of items.

Such concerns about socioeconomic representation, item or material class representation, and value equivalencies are equally applicable to the Cherokee claims records, but the sources and nature of these biases are markedly different from those inherent to probate inventories. Probate inventories reflect the absolute loss of all personal or household property occasioned by the death of estate holders; this is an unmitigated certainty. By contrast, Cherokee claimants suffered widely varying degrees of property loss according to the particular circumstances of their arrest and detention or by damage otherwise inflicted by American citizens. Most of the claims reflect severe losses of household property abandoned wholesale at the time of arrest by removal troops. In some instances, however, individuals were able to retain and transport some or most of their belongings, or were able to profitably dispose of a portion of their property prior to or during the removal. As a consequence, the spoliation claims range in scope from reports of single items to complete assemblages, yet the accompanying testimony rarely indicates what proportion of household belongings are represented, and it is unclear whether variation in reported losses reflects differential ownership or differential loss of chattel property. By limiting the study sample to 435 cases that list ten or more categories, many of the fractional assemblages are excluded, and greater interassemblage comparability is achieved. It is, however, almost certain that this restricted sample excludes complete inventories reported by some of the poorest Cherokee households, yet retains fractional assemblages reported by wealthier households and may introduce some bias in household representation.

A more serious bias is the marked under-representation of the wealthiest and most westernized Cherokee households (as defined by the 1835 census and 1836–1837 property valuations) in the study sample. The uppermost economic tier of Anglo-Cherokees, including John Welch, Gideon Morris, David Taylor, Robert Hanks, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, David England, Jonathan England, Richard Downing, John Timson, John Smith, and Henry Smith, did not suffer the catastrophic losses of property that devastated many of their fullblood neighbors. Most of these families either emigrated before the removal deadline or secured permits to remain in North Carolina as citizens, and were not subject to arrest or major spoliation of their property. Although Welch and Morris each reported property losses in excess of $2,000.00, these claims reflect a very minor proportion of their total household wealth and do not meet the sampling criteria. The more Westernized, English-speaking slaveholders resident in southwestern North Carolina are represented only by the spoliation claims of the George Blair, Charley Buffington, Edward Christie, Robert Muskrat, and Richard Walker households and their immediate kindred. The relatively low incidence of claims by members of this socioeconomic class probably reflects the greater ability of English-speaking

individuals to arrange for the transport or profitable sale of their chattel property to non-Cherokees during a time of crisis when monolingual Cherokee speakers were at a distinct disadvantage.

Similarly, many of the wealthiest fullblood landholders (as defined by analysis of real properties), such as *Situwakee*, Sweetwater, *Wachacha*, and *Chislocoleyne*, are not included in this analysis. Although surviving indexes for claims document submission of spoliation accounts by *Situwakee* and *Sweetwater*, the particular Delaware District ledgers containing these records are not included in the Penelope Allen Collection and were not available for use. *Wachacha*, who remained in the Valley River region under permit but finally fled to the mountains to avoid arrest, filed an attenuated claim with the Third Board of Cherokee Commissioners; the limited scope of these records indicates that his property may have partially protected by his white brother-in-law and patron, Gideon Morris. Bear's Paw, the second largest landholder among fullbloods in the region, filed a relatively small claim (via widow Aiky Bearpaw) which likely represents a fraction of the family's chattel property.

The study is also hampered by the rather low degree of correspondence between the spoliation claims and collateral datasets (e.g., the 1835 War Department census and the 1836–1837 property valuations); such collateral records are key to establishing household ethnicity, size, composition and real property holding. The limited linkage (claims-census: 30%; claims-valuations: 53%) among these records can be attributed to a number of factors. One compounding variable is that Cherokee individuals were known by different names in different situations; the same individual could appear by three distinct names in the census, property valuations, and claims. This is illustrated by Old Bearpaw of Valley River, who was also known as Bearmeat, Bigmeat, *Yonachewahyuh*, Jumper, and *Tiokikuska*. In some instances, individuals are represented by English given names and surnames, while in other circumstances, they are denominated with Cherokee names or English transliterations of Cherokee names, such as James Spears, who was also known as *Tesonahee* or The Roach. While this profusion of personal names can sometimes be resolved by reference to collateral records (e.g., the Mullay, Chapman, Siler, and Drennen rolls), many of these names cannot be cross-referenced or definitively linked to specific households.

In addition, a large number of the spoliation claims were filed by individuals who do not appear in the census or property valuations lists, which designate only the names of presumed household heads defined by Anglo-American observers. In some instances, widows or other surviving heirs filed claims for household property; surviving members of the same household often filed multiple claims for their proportional estate losses. For example, Robert Muskrat, a Westernized fullblood slaveholder from Tusquittee, died soon after emigrating to

Oklahoma. His sons, Wilson and Thompson, filed a joint claim as heirs to Muskrat's estate. The sons also filed separate claims for their personal property contained within the Robert Muskrat household, and Robert's widow, Nancy, filed an extensive claim for household possessions distinct from Muskrat's estate. Thus, the chattel property of the Robert Muskrat household is represented across four separate claims; these claims, and other similar occurrences, are concatenated for the purposes of analysis. This case also illustrates the holding of separate personal property by members of the same household; there are, undoubtedly, a large number of claims which represent properties held within the same household, but which cannot be linked in the absence of conclusive documentation.

A further concern is the disproportionate representation of particular communities or geographic localities in the study sample. Certain localities, such as the Nantahala River Valley, Buffalo Town, Alarka, and Peachtree, are markedly under-represented, while Aquohee, Cootlohee, Nottely, Stecoa, and Beaverdam are proportionately over-represented as places of residence reported in claims records. This is partially attributable to the variable conduct of the military removal by different garrisons as well as the disposition of particular communities and lineages to emigrate, remain under permit, or hide until the removal was over. For example, Col. James Gray Bynum, commander of North Carolina troops in the Cheoah River Valley, made concerted efforts to facilitate the sales of Cherokee property for the benefit of the detainees (Bynum 1838c), while in the Valley River Valley, federal troops themselves despoiled Cherokee homes (Welch 1841). Few claims emanate from the Peachtree Creek community, because most of the Anglo-Cherokee families there(e.g., John Timson, John Smith, Henry Smith, William Henson) secured permits to remain in North Carolina from their neighbor and kinsman (by marriage) Preston Starrett. By contrast, many of the Nantahala River Valley residents took refuge in the mountains during the military operations, then joined the Oconaluftee enclave as part of the group that later became known as the Eastern Band. Because many of these families had no specific legal standing to remain in North Carolina, they may not have filed claims in order to avoid government scrutiny of their status.

The spoliation inventories differ from probate records in other important dimensions. Unlike probate lists, which were generated by (supposedly) independent eyewitness observers, the spoliation claims reflect memory-based accounts by the claimants themselves, in some cases recorded years after they incurred losses. Some of the more detailed claims were recorded in the internment camps at Calhoun within months after the detention of claimants. However, most of the claims, were recorded three to five years after the actual losses of property, and the time lapse between the traumatic events of removal and reporting of

spoliations frequently diminished the claimants' recollection of their smaller and less valuable possessions.

Because of the inherent self-interest of Cherokee claimants, the "padding" of spoliation claims is also an obvious concern for comparative purposes. On this point, Malone (1956) notes:

> While it is possible that these claims contain exaggerations of losses, it is more likely that they are fairly accurate.... it must be remembered that the Cherokees had long possessed a reputation for personal honesty and integrity. If exaggerations exist in these papers, it is far more probable that they lie in the Indian's interpretation of the value of his lost items, and not in their nature (Malone 1956:204-205).

In most instances, the claims reveal household inventories commensurate with standards of living indicated by the property valuations. Many claims reflect pitifully small assemblages of personal property, yet Cherokee claimants took great pains to describe their meager possessions in detail and to support their claims with witnessed statements. The rather standardized content of the claims and the regular sequence of presentation of particular items suggest that the clerks responsible for recording the claims (based upon oral testimony) may have employed schedules of items and prompted claimants with checklists. The uniform values assigned to reported items suggests that the clerks (primarily English-literate Anglo-Cherokees such as J.D. Wafford, Moses Daniel, Robert Daniel, and Thomas Taylor) determined monetary values based upon claimants' descriptions of their property. In most cases, these values are comparable to the retail costs of similar items in mercantile establishments such as Hunter's Store at Huntington (Hunter 1836–1838), and "value inflation" does not appear to be a serious bias.

Of greater concern to the present study is the gross under-representation of particular classes of goods in the spoliation claims. Certain highly valued and easily portable goods, such as clothing, bedding, personal paraphernalia, precious metals, and currency, were infrequently reported, most likely because Cherokee detainees hurriedly gathered such items and transported them to the internment camps and Indian Territory. Likewise, horses and wheeled vehicles are substantially under-represented in the claims, since removal troops allowed the Cherokees to bring mounts, draft animals, and vehicles to facilitate emigration. Other items, such as native manufactured ceramic wares, basketry, and carved wooden objects, may have been frequently omitted from spoliation claims because of a perceived lack of commercial value. Ritual paraphernalia, such as drums, rattles, whistles, feather wands, *kanuga* scratchers, and other priestly equipage, is entirely lacking from the claims records, because claimants could not realistically expect compensation for such goods and may have been reluctant to reveal the existence of such items to government officials. Some goods and commodities, such as foodstuffs, crops, fodder, and peltries, were subject to seasonal cycles of

abundance or scarcity; many were not "in season" during the June 1838 removal. Cherokee householders typically disposed of surplus livestock to drovers and stock stands during the late fall, and it is likely that the herds of cattle and swine in the region were significantly reduced by the time of the late spring–early summer removal. Cherokee consumers purchased gunpowder and lead to expend during extended late fall hunts and bought bushels of salt for the preservation of pork slaughtered during the early winter; these supplies were expended by spring and were not replenished until fall.

Clearly, the various biases inherent to the spoliation claims detract from the potential of these records for the reconstruction of Cherokee material culture and the analysis of socioeconomic and ethnic patterning evident in assemblage configurations. Some biases, such as the absence of the region's wealthiest and most westernized families, are readily accounted, and can be factored into the interpretation and conclusions as a missing sector of the socioeconomic spectrum. Other biases are less clearly defined, and may exert irremediable influences on the dataset. Because the claims testimonies rarely declare the extent of losses relative to total chattel property, it is unclear whether any claims are comparable as "whole" assemblages. It is likely that this potential bias would tend to obscure the degree of socioeconomic and interethnic variation within the study sample, since the wealthier and more westernized families may have been better able to retain and transport their possessions or to sell their belongings at fair prices.

Despite such potential for bias, it is evident that the study sample embraces a wide range of variation in scale and scope of assemblages, and exhibits robust interassemblage patterning that parallels the structure of variation defined in analyses of the 1835 census and the 1836–1837 valuations data. The importance of the spoliation claims to the reconstruction and analysis of Cherokee material culture, and its relationship to the social and ideological differentiation of Cherokee society, can hardly be overstated. These records indeed "provide access to [a] hitherto inaccessible population" with detail and immediacy that is rarely available for native communities prior to the advent of modern ethnology.

Material Content of the Claims Papers

Spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households from southwestern North Carolina document almost 350 distinct types of goods and chattels that were prominent components of Cherokee material life at the time of the 1838 removal (Table 5.1). While these items do not encompass the Cherokee material universe, they reflect the major daily and seasonal activities of Cherokee families: tools and livestock for agrarian production; looms, spinning wheels, and other equipment for home manufactures; transportation-related equipment; firearms for hunting and defense; dishes, cookware, and other equipment for the storage, preparation, and

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text.

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
producer's durable goods				
livestock				
horse	271	32	239	22
beef cattle	226	28	198	21
cow & calf	145	22	123	16
ox	44	6	38	8
hog	330	39	291	21
sheep	79	11	68	13
goat	21	1	20	
chicken	328	35	293	2
goose	20	8	12	10
turkey	15		15	
guinea fowl	4	1	3	
duck	83	18	65	
beehive	63	11	52	8
pet bear	1		1	
agricultural tools				
plow	324	37	287	20
gears (plow harness)	228	27	201	14
trace chains	44	5	39	6
singletree	41	4	37	10
doubletree	2	1	1	1
collar	30	4	26	4
hames	26	3	23	2
clevis	20	4	16	7
backband	1		1	2
hoe	354	38	316	13
mattock	215	26	189	11
harrow/harrow teeth				5
bell	40	5	35	6
reaphook	7	4	3	3
scythe	2	2	1	14
cradle	2	2		
coulter	2		2	2
ox yoke	2		2	2

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
producer's durable goods				
agricultural tools				
ox ring	1		1	
cutting knife	1	1		12
log chain	12	4	8	7
rake				1
dung shovel				1
haymow				1
pitchfork				1
pruner				1
wheat sieve	1			
farm mill	1			
pick	1		1	
spade	38	4	34	3
shovel	22	4	18	3
general woodworking tools				
ax	324	34	290	20
broadax	8	1	7	3
hatchet	4	2	2	2
drawknife	103	17	86	10
auger	118	13	105	10
gimlet	10		10	
chisel	44	4	40	6
gouge	4		4	
crosscut saw	2	1	1	5
handsaw	69	9	60	
saw	8	1	7	14
wedge	67	14	53	7
froe	9	5	4	7
plane	21	2	19	9
jackplane	5		5	2
joiner	1		1	3
footadze/adze	20	2	18	3
hammer	19		19	
nails	6		6	

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text (cont.).

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
producer's durable goods				
general woodworking tools				
pincers	7		7	
nippers	1		1	
awl	1		1	
rasp	5		5	
grindstone	4	2	2	6
file	18	1	17	1
roundshave	4		4	
inshave	1		1	
shave	1		1	
compass	3		3	
lathe	3		3	
lathe tools	5	2	3	
scraper	2		2	
square	2	1	1	
rule				1
crow bar	1		1	1
croze	1		1	
jack	1		1	
transportation equipment				
wagon	7	2	5	11
wagon wheel				1
wagon gears	2	2		
truck wagon	3		3	2
truck wheel	1		1	
wheelbarrow				1
stone sledge				1
canoe	28	3	25	
specialized producton tools				
blacksmith's tools	7	2	5	5
cooper's tools	2		2	
gunstocker's tools	2		2	
silversmith's tools	2		2	

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
producer's durable goods				
specialized producton tools				
cobbler's/saddler's tools				2
beaming knife	1		1	
whiskey still	3	1	2	2
still components				5
still kettle	1		1	
whiskey barrel	1	5	8	1
brass cock (spigot)	1		1	
sugar pot	2		2	
gold machinary	2		2	
gold pan	1		1	
flour mill				1
sawmill saw				1
stilliards	11	2	9	13
measure	3		3	6
extraction tools				
rifle gun/gun	207	23	184	9
shotgun	1		1	2
pistol	11	3	8	1
powder	18		18	
lead	16		16	
shot bag	4		4	3
powder horn/flask	2		2	3
bullet mold	1		1	
gunlock	6	1	5	
gun barrel	4		4	
fishgig/spear	18	2	16	1
steel trap	16	1	15	
dirk/side knife	20	1	19	
tomahawk	14	1	13	
ginseng hoe	1		1	
blowgun	59	3	56	
bow & arrow	1		1	

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text (cont.).

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
producer's durable goods				
fiber processing/cloth production tools				
cards	194	26	168	8
spinning wheel	189	28	161	16
check reel	27	8	19	3
loom	85	12	73	11
weaving equipment	86	11	75	3
cloth	34	5	29	
spun cotton	22	4	18	
thread	33	8	25	1
yarn/spinnings	8		8	
turkey cotton	1	1		
scissors	44	1	43	
shears	23	1	22	1
knitting needle	13	1	12	
needles	2		2	
pins	2		2	
ribbon	2	1	1	
warp/trim	2		2	
flax hackle				4
producer's perishables (commodities)				
cotton	72	9	63	2
wool	49	8	41	1
flax				1
deerskin	20		20	
sheepskin				1
cowhide	9	2	7	
hide	3	2	1	1
leather	8	2	6	2
iron/steel	14	1	13	3
feathers	10	2	8	
fodder	9	2	7	
tallow	4		4	
soap	58	6	52	1
coal	1	1		

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
cookware and kitchen accesories				
cast iron pot	357	37	320	17
Dutch oven	89	16	73	14
frying pan/skillet	76	16	60	16
spider	12	1	11	
castings	12	3	9	2
kettle	6	1	5	
brass kettle	27	5	22	3
pothooks	102	10	92	8
pot rack	9	5	4	7
gridiron				1
tin kettle	5		5	1
tin pan	98	17	81	1
tinware	7		7	1
coffee pot	53	7	46	7
coffee mill	11	6	5	11
bottle	52	1	51	5
flask	2	1	1	
vial	1		1	
butcher knife	35	2	33	
jug	32	5	27	6
crock	17	1	16	8
jar	3	1	2	5
churn	31	13	18	9
milk pan	4	2	2	
milk strainer	22	8	14	
dipper	13	1	12	
tray/waiter	6	3	3	6
wire sieve/sifter	5	3	2	5
funnel	1		1	
meal tub	1		1	
pounding mill	12		12	
spring pestle	1		1	
steel mill	1	1		

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text (cont.).

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
food consumption wares				
plate	227	29	198	4
cup & saucer	109	20	89	5
bowl	58	13	45	1
dish	41	10	31	3
crockeryware (gen.)	57	5	52	10
pitcher (ceramic)	52	16	36	4
pitcher (glass)		1		1
teapot	4	1	3	3
tin/japanned cup	143	16	127	
knife & fork	136	22	114	3
fork	1		1	
knife	7		7	1
spoon	100	13	87	4
pewter dish	13	3	10	1
pewter plate	10	2	8	1
pewter tumbler	1	1		
decanter	4	1	3	
tumbler	10	3	7	
mug	7	1	6	
salt cellar/stand	5	4	1	
pepper box	4	1	3	
castor	1	1		2
sugar box	1	1		
sugar dish	7	3	4	2
butter plate	2	1	1	
knife box	2	1	1	
traditional kitchen/household goods				
basket	243	14	229	5
cane sieve/sifter	106	5	101	
mortar & pestle	69	3	66	
aboriginal vessel	40	5	35	
riddle	32	2	30	
back basket	31	2	29	

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
traditional kitchen/household goods				
fanner	21	2	19	
wood spoon	16		16	
bread tray	5		5	
furniture				
table	174	31	143	15
chair	152	30	122	17
bedstead	75	21	54	16
looking glass	32	11	21	8
trunk	29	10	19	7
chest	18	6	12	10
cupboard	15	2	13	13
stool	9	2	7	
dresser	3		3	1
bench	3	1	2	
bureau	1	1		9
shelf	1		1	
tablecloth				2
carpet/rug				2
bed/featherbed	73	14	38	21
quilt	45	10	35	2
blanket	34	7	27	2
sheet	16	3	13	2
counterpane/coverlet	8	3	5	2
bedspread/cover	3		3	
bedclothes	4	1	3	20
pillow	3	2	1	
pillowshirt				1
bedcord	1		1	
bearskin	9		9	
towel	1	1		1
hearth tools	15	7	8	8
andirons	9	4	5	9

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text (cont.).

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
household goods				
candlestick/stand	5	4	1	6
snuffer	1	1		
candlemolds	5	4	1	1
clock	1	1		13
tin box	1		1	
canister	6	1	5	
box	4		4	4
sack	1	1		
chamber pot	1		1	1
mousetrap	1	1		
washpot	3	2	1	3
wash tub	7	2	5	6
smoothing iron	12	6	6	
washboard	1		1	
washing machine				1
soap trough	1		1	
pail	292	27	265	
bucket	138	17	121	
keeler	69	7	62	
piggin	7	1	6	
tub	2		2	
pewter basin	10	3	7	
basin	2		2	
vessel	2		1	
keg	18	3	15	
barrel	13	5	8	16
hogshead	2	2		
hasp & staple	10		10	
padlock	113	7	106	
lock	12	1	11	
doorlock/latch	3		3	

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
riding tack				
bridle	82	5	77	7
saddle	74	7	67	23
saddle bags	4		4	6
saddle blanket	1		1	5
bridle bit	1		1	
girth	1		1	
strap	1		1	
martingale				5
circingle				2
halter	3		3	
halter/neck chain	3		3	
lead line	2		2	
stirrup iron	2		2	
spurs	5	1	4	2
curry comb	4		4	1
clothing				
clothing	16		16	
dress	26	5	21	
pants	14	2	12	
hat	9	4	5	
handkerchief	7		7	
shirt	6	1	5	
hunting shirt	2		2	
vest	5	1	4	
coat/overcoat	5	2	3	
shawl	4	1	3	
cloak	4	2	2	
neckstock	2		2	
waist band	2		2	
cape	1		1	
shoes	18	3	15	

Table 5.1. Incidence of chattel property categories among groups discussed in the text (cont.).

Item	Cherokee Study Sample (n=415)	Bilingual Cherokees (n=45)	Monolingual Cherokees (n=370)	McMinn Co. whites (n=28)
consumers' durable goods				
clothing				
stockings/socks	10	3	7	
moccasins	2		2	
beaded belt	1		1	
beaded garter	1		1	
personal paraphernalia				
earbobs	15	1	14	
breast pin/broach	2		2	1
silver band/hatband	2		2	
gold ring	1		1	
beads	15	3	12	
comb	16	1	15	
tuck comb	5		5	
razor	1		1	3
fiddle	3		3	2
fife	1	1		
trumpet	11	2	9	
umbrella	3	1	2	1
ostrich feather	3		3	
pipe	1		1	
money purse	2		2	3
silver watch	1		1	2
buckle	1		1	
brush	1		1	
finery	1		1	
vermillion	1		1	
safeguard	1		1	
spectacles	1		1	
lace	1	1		
button	1		1	
wooden cane	1		1	
book	1	1		13
writing paper	1		1	
slate				3
consumers' durable goods				
personal paraphernalia				
ink stand				2
newspaper				1
map				1
engravings				1
consumers' perishable goods				
foodstuffs				
bacon	21	5	16	2
beef	2		2	
meat	3		3	
bear's oil	1		1	
lard	4	1	3	2
corn	183	19	4	
beans	97	5	92	
peas	3		3	
potatoes	34	2	32	
flour	5	1	4	
dried fruit	4		4	2
chestnuts	1		1	
honey	1		1	
salt	90	10	80	
whiskey	2		2	3
medicine	1		1	
liquid assets				
cash	31	4	27	
gold	5		5	
silver	1		1	
bank note	1		1	
note of hand	1		1	

consumption of food; household furnishings and domestic equipage; clothing, ornaments, and other paraphernalia for personal attire and grooming; and equipment for leisure activities. Most claims are dominated by livestock and an array of commercially available, mass-produced goods which indicate broad assimilation of Western technologies and which suggest material standards of living comparable to those of rural Anglo-Americans, yet many claims document the survival and vitality of native technological traditions as well. Although the majority of chattel property reported by Cherokee claimants was Western in derivation, the configurations of goods evident in most spoliation inventories differ substantially from the assemblages of contemporary Anglo-American households (i.e., McMinn County, Tennessee, households), and may indicate distinctively aboriginal modes of economic and domestic life.

The following discussion considers the incidence and abundance of particular items and classes of items represented in Cherokee spoliation claims to achieve an overview of Cherokee material life at the time of the 1838 removal. This discussion also compares the distributions of particular goods among English-speaking and non-English-speaking sectors of the study population to determine which material elements best reflect socioeconomic and cultural differentiation within Cherokee society. The qualitative significance of these material elements is inferred by reference to contemporary narrative accounts of Cherokee and southern Anglo-American societies, and by comparison with the incidence of such goods in the probate inventories of contemporary Anglo-American households from McMinn County, Tennessee.

To facilitate presentation, the goods and chattels reported in the claims are grouped into 15 more inclusive categories based, in part, upon the sequenced groupings evident within the claims themselves. These categories are: livestock, farming equipment, carpentry and woodworking tools, toolkits for specialized (non-farm) artisan craft production, firearms and other extractive equipment, cloth manufacturing equipment and supplies, commodities and raw materials, foodstuffs, transportation related equipment, household furnishings, kitchen and dining equipment, traditional native technologies, clothing, personal paraphernalia and leisure equipment, and liquid assets (see Table 5.1 for group compositions). These categories primarily reflect functional classes or activity sets that are internally consistent and mutually exclusive, and which illustrate the differing technofunctional and economic emphases among individual households and between ethnic groups. Certain categories, however, such as traditional native technologies and specialized craft toolkits, conflate functional groups in order to reflect sets indicative of cultural conservatism or specific modes of technological assimilation. Some items are not neatly referable to single categories, but are assigned to

groups that reflect their primary functional roles. For example, stored corn represents at once a human food resource (foodstuff), feed for domestic livestock (commodity), and a ready medium of exchange in local markets (liquid asset), but its role in the traditional maize-intensive Cherokee diet takes precedence. Axes were the primary tools used in horizontal log carpentry, but also served in clearing land for agriculture and were used to partition large animal carcasses in the field or on the farm. Such multiple functions reveal the inherent ambiguities of material culture, in which markedly different meanings can derive from varied use contexts.

Following Jones' (1980) large-scale analysis of colonial era probate inventories, the goods and chattels (exclusive of liquid assets) reported in Cherokee claims may also be logically organized as producers' goods or assets and consumers' goods or assets; these categories are further dichotomized as durables and perishables (Table 5.1). Jones classifies livestock, producers' vehicles (e.g., wagons and sledges), farming tools and equipment, artisan tools and equipment, equipment for nonfarm (i.e., business) production, and equipment for household based production (e.g., spinning wheels, looms) as producers' durable goods; these are the tools used in the generation of household income and subsistence. Producers' perishables include crops and raw materials or commodities (e.g., leather, iron, tallow, fibers, wax) used for either market or subsistence production. Consumers' durable goods include apparel, cooking and dining equipment, furniture and household equipment, and leisure and recreational items such as musical instruments and books. Consumer's nondurables include food and expendable household supplies such as soap and candles.

These broader categories of goods and chattels also serve as analytic categories in the following multivariate comparison of individual household assemblages. The initial dichotomization of producers' and consumers' goods gauges the relative allocation of household resources to media and tools for production of subsistence and commercial income as compared to resources devoted to construction and improvement of domestic lifestyles. The more discrete functional classes monitor particular strategies and scales of market and subsistence production pursued by Cherokee households and reflect compositional differences in the domestic equipage of families and individuals. The specific functional and cultural implications of each of these classes are detailed in the following discussion.

Producers' Assets

Producers' goods and equipment, those assets that Cherokee families used to satisfy household subsistence needs and to generate commercial income constitute almost 90% of the total chattel wealth claimed by Cherokee families in the study sample. These producers' assets include livestock, agricultural equipment, carpentry tools, artisans' equipment and materials, transportation equipment, nonfarm production equipment, cloth production equipment, and firearms and other equipment for extraction of natural resources. Some of these categories clearly delineate either subsistence-focused or market-focused activity sets; most reflect mixed economic strategies directed at "safety first" subsistence production that could be expanded or intensified to generate marketable surpluses. Nevertheless, the relative abundance, composition, and diversity of production technologies and other producers' goods in spoliation claims serve to gauge differential Cherokee assimilation of Western economic modes and scales of production as contrasted with retention of traditional modes and scales of production established during the eighteenth century.

Livestock

Livestock, including horses, cattle, swine, sheep, goats, poultry, and bees constitutes more than 70% (by value) of the chattel property reported by Cherokee families from the study area, and constitutes the primary form of wealth held by Cherokee households at the time of removal. The preeminence of livestock validates Cherokee Agent Hugh Montgomery's 1831 contention that Cherokee wealth "consists chiefly, if not entirely of Slaves and Stock." Cherokee families, like their Anglo-American counterparts in the upland South, depended upon livestock for transportation, draft, subsistence, and commercial income. Animal husbandry, which the Cherokees gradually adopted over the preceding century, constituted one of the primary bases of the Cherokee cash economy, and sale of horses, cattle, and swine to Anglo-American markets (often via stock drovers and other itinerant middlemen) netted many Cherokee households their main cash income (Bays 1991; Klinck and Talman 1970; Morse 1822; Newman 1979; Riggs 1987; Sturtevant 1981). Even the largest landholders regarded livestock as their primary asset and their principal means of wealth generation. For example, John Powell testified that the John Welch family (the wealthiest Cherokee household in the Aquohee District) was: "able at all times to pay any demands against them; they have been the most extensive stock holders in the country" [i.e., Valley River region] (Powell 1843). McDonald and McWhiney (1975) and Inscoe (1989) describe a similar emphasis on 'woods ranching' of free-range livestock in the antebellum economy of the Anglo-American upland South, and note the role of such woods ranching in the expansion of the Southern frontier. The commercial importance of livestock to the Cherokee economy was predicated

upon the growth of Anglo-American markets for cattle and swine in the Cotton Belt, and enhanced by the Cherokees' geographic position between the major livestock producing regions of Tennessee and Kentucky and the livestock importing regions of the lower South.

Horses account for $45,411.00, or 31% of the total chattel property represented in Cherokee spoliation claims from southwestern North Carolina. A total of 792 horses is reported in 284 claims, with individual claims ranging from one to as many as 15 horses; the median number is two horses per household. It is likely that these horses represent only a portion of the steeds and draft animals owned by Cherokee households in the study area. In many instances, Cherokees sold surplus horses and other livestock in anticipation of removal, or disposed of their stock at bargain prices to whites who approached them in the internment camps. Many Cherokees from the study area brought along mounts and pack horses to facilitate the trip to Indian Territory; these appear to have been the only livestock that removal troops allowed their prisoners to bring along at the time of their arrest. A number of claims document horses that were stolen by whites from the internment camps in Calhoun, Tennessee or along the route to Oklahoma. Other horses were stolen by whites prior to the Removal, and the frequency of such claims indicate that horse thieving was a major source of friction between whites and Cherokees.

Values assigned to horses range from $30.00 up to $150.00 each, with a median value of $60.00. Although some fine saddle and breed stock is represented among these horses, most were multi-purpose beasts of burden used for riding, plow draft, or pack-bearing as the need arose; few were hitched to the rare wheeled vehicles owned by North Carolina Cherokees. Most claims simply designate horses; others discriminate among stallions, mares, studs, geldings, colts, and fillies. In some cases horses are described by color (e.g., bay, black, brown, chestnut, clay bank, gray, iron gray, roan, skewball, sorrel, white) and age; in one instance a horse is described as $14^{1/2}$ hands high. Values assigned to horses appear to have been determined by a combination of size, sex, age, condition, and confirmation; bloodlines may have been considered in some instances.

By the time of Removal, horses had been part of the Cherokee cultural repertoire for nearly a century. British hide traders brought saddle and pack horses into the Cherokee country during the early eighteenth century, and by 1750 many Cherokees had acquired personal stocks of horses. Adair (1930) reports that Cherokees owned "a prodigious number of excellent horses," which they prized above all other personal possessions. During the American Revolution and ensuing Chickamauga conflict, Cherokee warriors frequently took horses from Anglo-American settlements as spoils of war; toward the end of this period,

raiding increasingly focused on horse stealing (American States Papers Indian Affairs 1832). Southwest Territory Governor William Blount observed that:

> ...white people living among the ... Cherokees,... and the half-breeds, who are numerous, and mostly traders, encourage the Indians to steal horses from all the citizens of the United States, to the end that they might purchase them. Thus encouraged, the Indians go into the frontier settlements... (Blount 1792).

This pattern was continued in the early nineteenth century by informal organizations of Cherokee horse thieves, known as 'Pony Clubs', that raided the stocks of both Cherokees and whites (McLoughlin 1986). McLoughlin (1986) and Perdue (1998) interpret the pervasive horse thievery by young Cherokee males as an alternative path to warrior status after establishment of the *pax Americana*. Cherokee agent R.J. Meigs complained of the illegal traffic in stolen horses:

> ...the number of horses carried thro' and into this country is almost incredible–from Georgia, both the Carolinas and Kentucky... horses...serve as a kind of currency ...all over this western country and hence arises the facility with which they are stolen by Indians and others (Meigs 1807).

Major John Norton, who visited the Cherokees in 1807, reports that many Cherokees engaged in legitimate horse trade as well, and Cherokee traders purchased horses from the Muskogees, Choctaws, and Plains tribes for resale on Anglo-American markets (Klinck and Talman 1970):

> ... I met a sensible young man (half Cherokee) who had been to the west of the Mississippi, as far as the Villages of the Pawnees on the upper parts of the Red River. ... their errand was to purchase horses, which these people generally possessed in abundance. These animals are of the Spanish breed, and are to be bought very cheap. Two or three yards of coarse broad cloth will suffice to purchase a horse (Klink and Talman 1970:54).

The role of horses in Removal Period Cherokee society was complex and multifaceted. During the eighteenth century, the Cherokees gradually incorporated horses into native frames of reference and meaning, and integrated the horse (*sakwahli*) into the repertoire of traditional culture. This is most clearly reflected by the development of a horse dance (Gilbert 1943; Speck and Broom 1951) and the use of horse nomenclature in personal names (e.g., The Stallion, The Old Stud). At the same time, horses came to constitute a novel form of wealth that was accepted within traditional society. Horses were not only functionally useful, but they could be captured as war trophies, bartered, exchanged, wagered, and lent. Although horses appear to have been excluded from rules governing redistribution, owners of horse herds were obliged to "lend" their animals upon reasonable demand (Klink and Talman 1970). Thus, horses became both real wealth to be accumulated and a medium for garnering social wealth in the form of prestige that accrued to generous individuals. For those Cherokees who subscribed to western concepts of personal property and wealth accumulation, horses were both tangible assets and symbols of prosperity and propriety; they could be bought, sold, rented, speculated upon, converted to capital, or used in display of economic

status. In one of the more unusual claims from the study area, Sharlotte of Tusquittee claimed that she was deprived of stud fees paid to a white because her mare was not successfully bred on the eve of removal! While ownership of horses by individuals and households in the study area can be generally interpreted as evidence of wealth holding, horse ownership alone cannot be used to discriminate adherence to traditional or western values.

Ownership (or, more accurately, reported loss) of horses appears to have had little relationship to patterns of real property holding. A Pearson product-moment correlation yields correlation coefficients less than .1 for the values of lost horses and the values of dwellings, outbuildings, and improved land for corresponding households. This suggests that wealth in horses was nearly independent of the agriculturally based economy, and may instead reflect a herding complex established within the native tradition. Among 41 households that reported losses of five or more horses were a number of families that produced sizable agricultural surpluses or lived in substantial dwellings (i.e., Edward Christie, John Christie, John Wayne, Sr., John Wickliff), but most of these claimants were subsistence farmers who lived in simple cabins. For instance, Nancy Muskrat (John Muskrat's widow), claimed loss of 15 horses worth $610.00; the Muskrat family farmed only six acres. Suckerfish, a leader from Little Tellico, lost nine horses worth $1000.00, but farmed only six and one quarter acres. The absence of the largest landholders from the ranks of the claimants precludes a uniform assessment of the relationship between horse ownership and agricultural involvement, but it is clear that many of the subsistence farmers in the study area possessed considerable wealth in horses, a pattern that indicates multiple modes of wealth production and wealth holding among Cherokee households.

Cattle, which are documented by 311 spoliation claims, account for 15% of the total chattel property losses reported by North Carolina households. Values reported for lost cattle range from $2.00 for calves up to $30.00 for trained oxen; the total value reported for losses of 2259 cattle is $22,421.50. These include three functionally distinct classes of kine: dairy cattle, beef cattle, and draft cattle. Dairy cattle, identified as cows with calves, number 366 cow/calf pairs documented in 148 claims. These cows supplied milk, one of the most important sources of protein and fat for Cherokee households, and it is likely that most families maintained one or more milk cows. The Cherokees adopted a dairying complex introduced by resident British traders during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Becker 1977; Kilpatrick 1966; Steiner and deSchweinitz 1799), and rapidly incorporated dairying into traditional subsistence strategies. Most families consumed milk fresh or clabbered; butter production was rare, and cheese production is undocumented, although the *Cherokee Phoenix* printed several articles with formulae for cheese making.

Beef cattle (n=1,449), including dry cows, weaned calves, yearlings, steers, and bulls, are documented in 237 claims. Beef cattle were raised primarily for market, and to a lesser degree, for domestic consumption. Beef was apparently not a prominent component of Cherokee diet, and seldom figures in historical accounts. Norton, who traveled through the Cherokee Nation in 1807, observed large herds of cattle, but repeatedly recorded eating pork, rather than beef. As late as 1885, J.C. Hart, the federal agent to the Qualla Cherokees, noted "Beef is seldom eaten, but pork is highly esteemed" (Mooney 1900:179). Consumption of beef is indicated by two spoliation claims that list over 500 pounds of dried beef; in contrast, 21 claims list 1900 pounds of bacon.

The commercial marketability of beef cattle overshadowed their contribution to Cherokee subsistence. Cherokee families in the study area sold surplus cattle to Anglo-American drovers (or other Cherokees), who then herded the stock to Anglo-American markets in the Piedmont region of South Carolina and Georgia for resale (Bays 1991; Boudinot 1826; Sturtevant 1981). Mountain cattle exported to the Cotton Belt were 'finished,' slaughtered, and consumed by Anglo-Americans and African Americans in urban areas or on monoculture plantations (McDonald and McWhiney 1975). The Cherokees became familiar with the Anglo-American cattle trade as early as the mid-eighteenth century, when British traders resident in the Cherokee backcountry raised large stocks of cattle for sale to markets in the Piedmont and Coastal Plain (Bays 1991). William Fyffe, a British trader, noted in 1761 that, "the traders have profited greatly by their cowpens among them" [the Cherokees] (Fyffe 1761). By the late eighteenth century, Cherokee entrepreneurs and Anglo-American Loyalists resident among the Cherokees raised large numbers of cattle for sale in British West Florida (Hawkins 1916). With the opening of the cattle trade in new American markets during the Federal Period, the 'woods ranching' of cattle fueled a Cherokee economic recovery (Bays 1991, Riggs 1987). When Major John Norton toured the Cherokee Nation in 1807, he observed that the cattle trade was the primary means by which Cherokees generated income and accumulated wealth (Klinck and Talman 1970). He also noted that demand for suitable cattle range, especially canebrakes, was a major impetus for the dissolution of nucleated villages in the post-Revolutionary era. During Norton's visit to the Valley Towns, he observed that possession of cattle was one of the few aspects in which the Valley Cherokees had changed since the Revolution. The Meigs census of 1807 documents 934 cattle in the Valley Towns (Meigs 1809). By 1825, census takers noted 1,799 cattle in the Aquohee district and 1,506 in the Taquohee District (Boudinot 1828), an increase that reflects the growing importance of the cattle trade. This trend parallels *métis* John Ridge's

1826 statement that "The principal portion of our [i.e., the Cherokees'] trade consists in Hogs and horned Cattle" (Sturtevant 1981:82).

Draft cattle (n=78), designated as oxen or work steers, are reported in 46 claims. Oxen were the favored draft beasts for plowing among many contemporary Anglo-Americans (Gray 1941), and were esteemed for their abilities to draw heavy plows and accomplish deep tilth, especially in low-lying ground. In addition, oxen were much less expensive to obtain and maintain than horses, the primary draft animals used by the Cherokees. Despite their obvious advantages, trained work oxen were uncommon in the Cherokee Nation, leading a missionary at Brainerd to comment:

> Few people in this part of the county, either red or white, know anything about working oxen. A few pair, well broken, introduced into different parts of the nation, may do much toward teaching the people that "Much increase is by the strength of the ox" (Brainerd Mission Journal 1820).

It is likely that most Cherokee families elected to use horses for draft and riding rather than maintain separate stock for plow draft. The use of oxen by certain households may indicate a tendency toward agricultural 'improvement' and an overall intensification of the agrarian complex. Households that maintained oxen include those of Robert Muskrat, Richard Walker, and George Blair, all slave owners, as well as Wilson Christie, the son and immediate neighbor of slaveholder Edward Christie. It also appears that the use of oxen on the Valley Towns Mission farm may have influenced some Cherokees to adopt work steers, and oxen are particularly concentrated among Cherokee Christians and preachers. Only three claims include yokes or other hardware related to ox draft. *Tsuwautsuckah* and Scraper each claimed two wooden ox yokes; *Toonanailah* reported loss of an ox ring, presumably the large iron ring attached to yokes to allow attachment of draft implements or vehicles.

The prevalence of cattle in Cherokee spoliation claims reflects both the subsistence importance of dairying and the commercial importance of beef cattle. While most Cherokee households maintained a small stock of cattle to provide milk, meat, and occasional surplus cattle for sale, some families appear to have concentrated upon cattle production for market, and raised much larger cattle herds. Reported losses of cattle range from one up to 129 head (median=four; mean=6.4; sd=10.9). Ninety percent of claimants lost fewer than a dozen cattle, and focused market production of cattle appears to have been restricted to less than five percent of families who claimed 20 or more head of cattle. The greatest loss of cattle (n=129) was suffered by Ned Christie, the *métis* planter, slaveholder, and distiller who lived at the mouth of the Valley River. His sons Wilson and Jesse, who lived on the same farm, claimed losses of 43 additional cattle, and Ned's brother, John Christie, lost 29 head. Richard Walker, another English-speaking slaveholder, lost 40 cattle, while his daughter and son-in-law (Nancy and Robert Muskrat), also slaveholders, lost 34 head. Nancy Hawkins, Sr. (wife of

Andrew Colvard) and her co-resident daughter, Rose Hawkins, lost 19 cattle in 1838, but reported loss of 101 head (by theft) in 1832. The concentration of cattle among planters and slaveholders illustrates the diversified wealth production strategies of more Westernized families. The diversification between livestock, agricultural crops, and manufacturing or processing enterprises guaranteed these families an uninterrupted flow of profits even in the face of fluctuating markets. However, market- oriented cattle production was not restricted to wealthy Anglo-Cherokees or slaveholders, and claims for large numbers of cattle by fullbloods with small agricultural holdings (e.g., *Toonigh*, *Awahulle*, *Dickageeska*, Catey, Anna *Ahstola*, Susannah) indicate that some families generated incomes primarily through sales of livestock. A commercial focus on livestock, rather than crop production, may have been attractive to these households for a number of reasons. First, the capital returns on labor were considerably higher for livestock than for row crops. Second, livestock could be moved to market on the hoof, a distinct advantage in a mountainous region with few roads or wheeled vehicles for transport of agricultural produce. Third, and perhaps most importantly, livestock was a form of wealth and wealth production that was less visible and less susceptible to redistributive mechanisms than maize or other agricultural products. While agricultural plots formed static advertisements of wealth production capacity, free-ranging cattle and other livestock were out of sight, out of mind. Unlike expansive agriculture, which visibly diminished the finite common pool of cropland, livestock foraged at large, and their impact upon corporate resources was not easily accounted. For these reasons, livestock production may have been a preferred means of wealth generation for those families that wished to increase their household resources while maintaining good standing within traditional society. It is noteworthy that nearly half of the leading cattle producers in the study sample were female. This exemplifies the economic parity of women within Cherokee society, and reflects the traditional practice of women holding property independent of their husbands, a right guaranteed by Cherokee law (Cherokee Nation 1852; Sturtevant 1981).

Swine (n=9477) were reported by 342 claimants, and represent approximately 23% ($34,559.75) of the total chattel wealth lost by study area households. Hogs were central to the economies of mountain whites and Cherokees throughout the nineteenth century. Pork, both fresh and preserved, was a dietary staple for Removal Period Cherokee households, and sales of surplus swine to Anglo-American drovers netted many Cherokee families their principal cash income. Swine were easily raised in the mountain country, where abundant supplies of oak and chestnut mast provided optimal forage for free-ranging stock. As Cherokee agent J.C. Hart indicated in 1894, "a considerable number of hogs are kept, running wild and untended in summer" (Mooney 1900:219). Cherokee swineherds kept

their stock semi-domesticated with periodic feedings of maize and household refuse. Herd management practices are indicated by terms used in the claims records, which differentiate among sows, boars, barrows, and shoats. Because swine mingled freely on open range, owners most likely distinguished their stock with cropped earmarks. Bacon and lard reported in a number of spoliation claims indicate that Cherokees processed and preserved pork in a manner comparable to their white neighbors, but the scarcity of smokehouses in the region suggests that most Cherokee households devoted less energy to meat processing and storage than their white counterparts.

As was the case with horses and cattle, British traders resident in Cherokee settlements introduced swine into the Cherokee backcountry by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Although Adair (1930 [1775]) reports that the Cherokees considered hogs a nuisance and Mooney (1900:213) cites dietary prohibitions against pork, archaeological evidence from the lower Little Tennessee Valley indicates that swine were an important component of Cherokee diet by the mid-eighteenth century (Bogan 1986; Schroedl 1986b). The Cherokees' adoption of swine raising may have been a response to depletion of large game around Cherokee settlements due to overhunting for the hide trade (Hatley 1990). Once established, Cherokee herds of swine expanded rapidly. Meigs' 1809 census enumerates 19,778 swine in the Cherokee country, including 927 within settlements in southwestern North Carolina. The 1825 census reports 5,544 hogs in the Aquohee District and 2,419 in the Taquohee District, a tremendous rate of increase that reflects the growing commercial importance of swine. Anglo-American demand for swine from the upland South expanded dramatically in the first third of the nineteenth century, as plantations in the Cotton Belt focused on cotton production and allowed food production to lapse (Burnett 1946; Inscoe 1989; McDonald and McWhiney 1975). The swine industry that developed in response to this demand was based upon large-scale hog drives that originated in the central basins of Tennessee and Kentucky, and droves swelled with hogs purchased along various routes to markets in Greeneville, South Carolina, Augusta, Georgia, and destinations farther east. This traffic was an important impetus for the development of toll roads and other commercial facilities across the Cherokee Nation and throughout the upland South. Drovers not only paid tolls for their herds, but paid for their own lodging and supplies and purchased local grain en route to feed their stock. The annual hog drives through the Cherokee Nation brought ready grain markets to Cherokee producers, and also allowed Cherokees to dispose of surplus hogs for cash. In addition, mercantile stores like Hunter's and Hyatt's often operated in conjunction with stock stands, and frequently exchanged commercially

manufactured goods for Cherokee corn and hogs, which the merchants sold at 50%-100% profit to Anglo-American drovers.

Because neither Cherokees nor Anglo-American drovers kept explicit records of these transactions, the volume of this trade in the study area is difficult to document. However, the losses of hogs reported in spoliation claims indicate that many Cherokee families maintained large herds of swine to provide household meat and surplus stock for market disposal. Spoliation claims document losses from one to 309 hogs (median=14; mean=26.66); 30% of claimants reported herds of 25 or more swine, enough to provide several marketable hogs per year. Ten percent of claims list 55 or more hogs, a level of production that implies more focused market orientation. Rose Hawkins and her mother, Nancy (Andrew Colvard's *métis* wife), lost a total of 380 hogs valued at $1,375.00 between 1832 and 1838. *Utsutaky*, a fullblood from Valley River, lost 309 hogs valued at $1,210.00, 60% of his total chattel property. The next largest herd (n=236) belonged to *métis* slaveholder Ned Christie, whose sons claimed an additional 114 hogs. Other claimants of 100 or more hogs include Polly (n=200), Adam (n=200), Richard Walker (n=170), his brother John (n=130) and their kinsman Robert Muskrat (n=170), Anna Ahstola (n=167), Mocking Crow (n=150), and Cheoah headman *Dickageeska* (n=140). *Yorksey*, daughter of district judge *Situwakee*, owned 116 swine. Sam *Wahcheesee*, who helped his father, *Wahcheesee*, operate an informal stock stand on the Unicoi Turnpike at Beaverdam, claimed 107 swine; Anne Reed, the widow of Anglo-American storekeeper and stock stand owner N.B. Hyatt, lost 100 hogs. Catey, a fullblood slaveholder from Valley River, owned 100 swine, as did John *Etowee* from Nottely. Like cattle and horses, swine were concentrated among wealthy slaveholders and large planters, but were generally distributed among small landholders as well, and appear to have been the major marketable commodity produced by most Cherokee families. Because hogs were cheap to acquire, reproduced rapidly, and thrived on wild forage with little supplemental feeding, they were a means by which even the poorest Cherokee could accumulate and increase property. Like cattle, hogs were dispersed over rangeland, and the size of individual herds was not apparent to the casual observer. It may have been possible for members of the more traditional community to maintain large stocks of swine without incurring wealth leveling sanctions from their neighbors, and disparities in the size of swine herds may have been considered temporary disconformities acceptable within traditional frameworks of property holding.

Sheep (n=620) and goats (n=132) are more limited in their distributions than other hooved stock. Sheep figure in 80 spoliation claims from the study area, with reported losses of one to 40 sheep per household (median=6; mean=7.5). Cherokee families maintained

flocks of sheep to provide wool for household textile production; it is also likely that some families bartered surplus wool at local stores or traded wool to other local households. Sheep raising appears to have been introduced into the Cherokee nation during the 1790s, when Cherokee agent Silas Dinsmoor attempted to promote domestic cloth production. The 1809 census documents 101 sheep among settlements in the study area; by 1825, there were 765 sheep in the Aquohee District and 323 sheep in the Taquohee District. Although most families kept only a few sheep to supply wool for knit stockings or occasional weaving, a few households maintained substantial flocks that produced surplus wool for sale or expanded cloth production. Charles Jones, a *métis* farmer from the Valley River Valley, claimed a loss of 40 sheep worth $80.00. His neighbors, Hogshooter and Jesse Christie, each claimed losses of 30 sheep. Jesse Christie was a member of Ned Christie's household (which claimed four sheep), and it appears that Jesse had responsibility for the family's flock. Other claims that document 20 or more sheep include those of *Keelahdooh* and Logfish (kinspeople/spouses living on *Ooyonootlogee* Creek), Mouse, and Trout.

Losses of a total of 132 goats were claimed by 21 households from the study area. Spoliation claims indicate that some families owned as many as 16 goats, but most owned fewer than ten. Values assigned to goats ranged from $1.00 to $2.70 per head. Cherokee families maintained goats as an ancillary meat source, much as Olmstead observed of the Anglo-American settlers in the study area 20 years later:

> Many of the farmers keep small stocks of goats, for the manageable quantity of excellent fresh meat the kids afford them when killed in summer. Their milk is seldom made use of...(Olmstead 1860:225).

The Cherokee term for goat, *awi ahanu'lahi*, or bearded deer, suggests that Cherokee families used goat meat and hides as analogs to venison and deerskins. As a meat source, goats had a number of advantages over cattle and hogs. Goats thrive on rough forage, and could pick over plants left by other livestock on open rangeland or browse in the scrub of old fields. Goats were not particularly salable, so home consumption of goat meat did not deplete commercially valuable livestock. In addition, dressed goat carcasses were relatively small, and could be consumed over a short period of time, obviating preservation problems and waste. However, goats' propensity for jumping fences and ravaging gardens and crops probably limited their popularity among Cherokee families.

Goats were particularly concentrated among households of the Tusquittee and Shooting Creek communities, as well as in the Hiwassee Town, Hanging Dog, and Cheoah settlements. It is noteworthy that three of the claims filed for goats were submitted by native Baptist preachers (John Wickliff, *Chewtoni*, *Tsuwautsuckah*); these herds may reflect ministers' need to maintain ready meat supplies for frequent hosting obligations.

Poultry, including chickens, ducks, geese, turkeys, and guinea fowls, supplied Cherokee households with eggs, meat, and feathers for domestic use and occasional barter. Chickens (n≈8666), the most common poultry, are reported in 342 claims, with flocks ranging from a single hen to 200 birds (median=17; mean=24.38). Most of these fowl were valued at 12.5 cents apiece. Chickens, which British traders introduced among the Cherokees prior to 1750, were commonplace elements of Cherokee farmsteads by the study period. These small, hardy English breed birds were occasionally used as the table fowl, but chickens were most important as a source of eggs, which were a staple protein resource in Cherokee diets. Cherokee families in the study area also sold chickens and eggs to Anglo-American markets, and Hunter's store accounts document payment for commercial goods with eggs and chickens (Hunter 1836–1838). Eggs typically exchanged at a rate of one cent each, and a flock of 100 birds could return a substantial annual yield.

While most Cherokee families maintained flocks of chickens for subsistence production, almost 15% of households owned 50 or more chickens, enough to produce marketable surplus eggs. The largest flock (n=200) belonged to Charles Jones, a *métis* from Valley River who filed one of the most region's most extensive claims for livestock lost during removal. Catey, Buzzard, Anna *Ahstola*, Sealy, Hungry, Nancy, *Keelahdooh*, and Logfish all claimed losses of 100 or more birds. It is noteworthy that female claimants reported the greatest losses of chickens, a possible indication that domestic fowl were resources primarily under women's control. This is supported by records of women's payments of eggs or chickens to Hunter's store.

Cherokee families kept ducks (n=847) and geese (n=88) as sources of feathers and down for stuffing mattresses, bolsters, and pillows. Spoliation claims reveal a high degree of correspondence between the incidence of ducks or geese and featherbeds in Cherokee households. Inscoe (1989) notes that duck and goose feathers were also an important commercial commodity produced by mountain white communities of the period, and Cherokee families probably found ready markets for their surplus feathers. Eighty-three families reported losses from two to 68 ducks valued from $.125 to $.50 apiece. Although ducks were widely distributed throughout the study area, claims for ducks were particularly concentrated among households from Aquohee and Brasstown Creek and among households from the Valley River Valley. Most families kept relatively small flocks of ducks, but a few households owned flocks sufficient to produce feathers for sale. Crow of Aquohee maintained the largest flock of 68 ducks; Ned Christie and his son Jesse claimed losses of 65 ducks. John Christie, Ned's brother, owned 28 ducks, and Jack Killdeer from Nottely claimed 50 ducks. *Keelahdooh* reported 29 ducks. Geese are represented in only 20 claims from the

study area. These reflect losses of one to 11 geese valued between $.50 and $1.00 each. Geese are particularly well represented among claims filed by the Christie family and the Walker-Muskrat families. The concentration of geese among these slaveholding planters suggests feather production for market as a component of the diversified agrarian strategies pursued by these households.

Tame or captive wild turkeys (n=62) are documented in 16 spoliation claims from the study area. Cherokee families most likely raised turkeys as a supplemental meat source, although surplus birds were salable to Anglo-American markets, and Anglo-American drovers regularly moved flocks of turkeys from the Valley and Ridge and Blue Ridge regions to markets in the Piedmont. Claimants assigned monetary values of $.50-$1.00 to lost turkeys.

Guinea fowl are reported in four claims (*Santoola*, Jenny Sixkiller, John Davis, Jesse Buffington). Guineas are general utility, hardy barnyard fowl that are prolific layers and palatable table birds. Another primary characteristic of guinea fowl is their excessive volubility, and they are maintained on many modern Anglo-American and African American farms as 'watchbirds'. Guinea fowls' incessant cackling may have limited their popularity among Cherokee households.

Apiculture was another form of European animal husbandry selectively adopted by the Cherokees. Bees supplied Cherokee homes with both honey and beeswax for domestic use and commercial sale. Hives, stands, or gums of honeybees (n=319) are documented in 63 claims, with numbers of hives ranging from one to 19 per claim (median=5; mean=5.05). Values assigned to beehives range from $1.50 to $7.00 apiece, with the majority of hives valued at $3.00. Beekeeping appears to have been particularly concentrated in the Tusquittee, Shooting Creek, Aquohee, and lower Valley River communities; claims from these communities account for over 70% of the beehives documented. Seven claims for beehives were filed by members of the related Muskrat and Walker families (Jo Walker, Betsy Walker, Muskrat, Lucy Muskrat, Jackson Muskrat, Robert Muskrat, John Muskrat), whose losses account for almost 20% of the beehives claimed by families from the study region.

Although there are no records for commercial trade in honey and wax from the study area, these commodities were major products of nearby Anglo-American mountain settlements, and a ready market for these goods existed in urban areas. While claims for smaller numbers of beehives probably indicate household use of bee products, the larger claims (>10 hives) suggest commercial production for trade of honey and wax to local consumers or to extralocal American markets. It is also noteworthy that all claims that list candlemolds, candlestands, and candle snuffers also document losses of honeybees, an indication of household production and use of beeswax candles.

Pets are conspicuously absent from the spoliation claims, despite a number of ethnohistoric accounts that make reference to Cherokees' domestic dogs and cats. The absence of these domesticates from spoliation claims may denote a perceived lack of market value, or may reflect the fact that many household pets (primarily dogs) followed their owners to the internment camps. The only pets documented from the study area were pet bears that belonged to Big Bear of Shooting Creek and Mink of Konahete. These claimants ascribed values of $1.00 and $1.50 to their pets, a cost comparable to that of a raw bearskin. Another Cherokee from the lower Hiwassee Valley in Tennessee also claimed a pet bear, with a collar and chain, and asserted that the troops shot his pet; Thomas McDaniel of Etowah (Georgia), lost a pet deer.

The livestock reported by Cherokee families from southwestern North Carolina constitutes the great bulk of the chattel wealth owned by these households, and forms a primary basis for interhousehold comparisons of wealth. These claims range from $0.13 for a single chicken up to $3199.50 worth of horses, cattle, and hogs, with a median household value of $148.50 and a mean value of $237.74. Comparison of claims filed by English-speaking Cherokee families (primarily *métis*) with those filed by fullblood families reveals that distributions of livestock values differ significantly between these two groups. Reported losses of stock by Anglo-Cherokee households range from $5.75 to $3199.50, with a median value of $254.00 (mean=397.85). Fullblood families reported losses ranging from $.13 to $1814.00, with a median loss of $156.40 (mean=236.68) worth of livestock . Student's t-test comparisons on the distribution of livestock values among English-speaking and non–English-speaking Cherokee families indicate a statistically significant difference (t=3.565; p>|t| 0.0004). These distributions suggests that more westernized, English-speaking households were more likely to amass and hold significant amounts of wealth in livestock than their monolingual fullblood counterparts, a pattern consistent with the expectation that English-speaking Cherokees more fully embraced the economic strategies and profit orientation of Anglo-American agrarianism. It is likely that this differential in livestock holding was more accentuated than spoliation claims indicate, in part because English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees were often able to dispose of a portion of their property and suffer only partial losses. For example, *métis* slaveholders Charles Buffington and George Blair reported only $59.50 and $325.00 (respectively) in livestock losses, although it is almost certain that their pre-removal stock herds were far more extensive. Two of the wealthiest slaveholders (not included in the study sample), John Welch and Gideon Morris, reported losses of 60 and 100 hogs (respectively), a fraction of their total holdings. Many of the wealthiest Anglo-Cherokee families, such as the Rapers, Englands, and Smiths, did not suffer

extensive losses due to the military removal operations, and are not represented in the study sample. The largest losses of livestock were reported by Edward Christie ($3199.50) and Rose Hawkins ($2969.00). Edward Christie was a wealthy *métis* slaveholder who cultivated a large (65 acres) farm and operated a whiskey distillery at the mouth of the Valley River. Christie's real property holdings ranked eighth in value among Cherokee farmsteads appraised by Welch and Jarrett, and his ownership of extensive livestock herds is consistent with other indications of his market orientation. It is likely that Christie's herds were typical of those owned by the wealthiest Anglo-Cherokee families. By contrast, Rose Hawkins was a young, single *métis* woman who lived in a small cabin on a nine-acre tract, a situation that belied her chattel wealth. Rose lived adjacent to her mother, Nancy Hawkins, Sr., who, along with her second white husband, Andrew Colvard, operated farms totaling 60.5 acres. It is possible that Nancy Hawkins, who reported $603.25 worth of stock, transferred nominal ownership of her herds to Rose to keep her assets beyond Colvard's grasp. After Removal, Nancy divorced Colvard, and she and Rose pooled their resources as a single household.

Despite the general tendency for English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees to possess larger herds of livestock than fullbloods, a number of monolingual fullblood households reported extensive losses of horses, cattle, and hogs. *Toonigh*, Mocking Crow, *Utsutaky*, Polly, Sucker, Catey, Nancy (John) Muskrat, and John Wayne all reported losses of livestock in excess of $1000.00, and 31 other fullbloods claimed herds worth more than $500.00. These claims demonstrate that while chattel wealth was particularly concentrated among a few Anglo-Cherokee families, a small proportion of fullblood families generated and accumulated wealth comparable to their *métis* neighbors. Some of these fullblood families, such as John Wayne, farmed on extensive scales, but most were subsistence farmers who differed little from their poorer neighbors. While many English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees maintained large herds as a component of diversified strategies for commercial production, most fullblood herders depended upon their livestock as a primary source of income. This suggests that while some fullblood families may have adopted more Western attitudes toward wealth accumulation, most tended to restrict their commercial activities to unobtrusive pursuits (such as woods ranching) and maintained homes and farms like their more conservative kinsmen.

Production Technologies

A substantial component of the material losses suffered by Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina consisted of tools and equipment used in subsistence production and commercial activities. These include agricultural toolkits; woodworking tools; blacksmith's and mechanic's tools; tools for fiber processing and cloth production; specialized toolkits for leatherworking; chairmaking, silversmithing, and coopering;

distilleries; and equipment for the extraction of natural resources, such as firearms, traps, and mining equipment. While such toolkits do not constitute wealth *per se*, they are the technologies necessary for the production of subsistence requirements and material surpluses, and the incidence and prevalence of such technologies in Cherokee inventories gauges the degree to which Cherokee families incorporated Western agrarian modes of production.

Agricultural Equipment

Agricultural implements are among the most commonly claimed losses suffered by Cherokee households, with 392 claims reporting losses of plows and draft harness, hoes, mattocks, scythes, and sickles worth $4547.80. These claims range from a single hoe worth $.50 to an assemblage of plows, hoes, and other implements valued at $77.00; the median value of claims for agricultural tools is $8.50. Some of the largest assemblages are reported by westernized slaveholders and their close relatives, such as Robert Muskrat, John Muskrat, Richard Walker, Jo Walker, Betsy Walker, Ned Christie, Wilson Christie, John Christie and Charlie Buffington. The concentration of agricultural equipment among these households is consistent with their expanded agricultural holdings and their ability to pool free and coerced labor to produce for market purposes. However, the size of agricultural equipment assemblages does not appear to have been directly correlated with the size of agricultural holdings, and large assemblages claimed by Adam, *Tsuwautsuckah*, Old Hog (a.k.a. *Culsatahee*), and *Dickageeska* may reflect the roles of preachers and town leaders in organizing and equipping communal labor for subsistence production.

The most frequently reported agricultural implements are broad-bladed, eyed "Scovill" hoes (n=1269), which figure in 360 claims. Household losses ranged from one to 14 hoes (median=3) valued between $.25 and $1.60 each (median=$.55), a cost comparable to Hunter's prices of $.50 to $.75 for hoe heads (without handles). Cherokee farmers and gardeners used such hoes for most agricultural tasks, from field preparation and planting to weeding and cultivation, and in the harvest of ground crops such as potatoes. Steel hoes had been part of Cherokee core technologies since the early eighteenth century, when British traders supplied hoes that revolutionized Cherokee horticulture and allowed Cherokee farmers to expand their cultivation and better assure subsistence. Although steel hoes were manufactured at distant sources and acquired through purchase, Cherokee consumers readily integrated hoes into the native material repertoire, and by the nineteenth century, Cherokees regarded hoes as entirely "traditional" technology.

The numbers of hoes represented in spoliation claims are noteworthy. While most Cherokee assemblages included three or more hoes, only 63% of the farm assemblages represented in McMinn County probate lists [ca. 1836-1840] reported hoes, and no probate

inventory listed more than four hoes. The disparity between the Anglo-American probate lists and the Cherokee spoliation claims may reflect a proportionally greater emphasis on hoe cultivation by Cherokee farmers.

Mattocks (n=309), or grubbing hoes, are reported in 219 claims, with one to four mattocks per claim valued from $.75 to $5.00 each (median=$2.00). These heavy-bladed, short-handled hoes were used most commonly for clearing new ground of tree roots and brush, but probably had many digging applications in lieu of shovels or spades. The abundance and ubiquity of mattocks reflects the nearly continuous clearing of new ground under the Cherokee swidden system.

Cherokee farmers used shovels (n=22) and spades (n=54) for a wide range of agricultural and nonagricultural digging tasks, and these tools cannot be strictly classified as agricultural implements. Farmers probably used shovels and spades for clearing new ground, ditching, housesite preparation, and excavation of storage facilities for root crops.

Plows (n=683) are reported in 333 spoliation claims, which document from one to as many as 12 plows per household (median=2). Values assigned to these plows ranged from $.50 to $10.00 each (median=$2.50). Most plows were listed in conjunction with gearing, or draft harness and hardware consisting of collars, hames, trace chains, plow lines, singletrees, and clevises. Complete sets of gearing were typically valued between $.75 and $8.00 (median=$3.00).

Among 259 plows described by type, only 34 were barshares or improved patent plows with moldboards; shallow-draft, symmetrical fluke shovel, gopher, or mole plows account for 183 cases. Although such shallow draft plows were considered inferior by agricultural theorists of the period, one-horse shovel plows were the dominant form used throughout the Anglo-American South. Edmund Ruffin lamented comparable plow technology prevalent in Virginia between 1815 and 1840:

> Two-horse ploughs were rarely used, and only on the richest and best cultivated farms.... On the far greater number of farms there was neither a two-horse plough, nor a mould-board plough for a single horse. Ninety-nine acres in the hundred were broken up by one-horse ploughs; and half of the whole quantity with the trowel-hoe, or fluke-hoe plough, having cutting wings to the share on both sides alike, and no mould-board, The ploughing was rarely deeper than three inches (often less) (Ruffin 1842).

While plow technology in the Cherokee Nation was primitive by "progressive" farming standards, the mere presence of plows on most Cherokee farmsteads in the study area is remarkable evidence of the penetration and acceptance of western technologies in the "darkest part of the Nation." Prior to the nineteenth century, Cherokee women performed most tasks of the traditional horticultural complex using iron hoes for soil preparation, planting, and weeding. Town or clan based communal work groups worked each family's

plots along with the town fields. This system of communalistic subsistence horticulture was alien to market-oriented Anglo-Americans, and government sponsored programs to 'civilize' the Indians during the Federal Period focused on replacing female horticulturalists with male farmers who tilled individual plantations to derive commercial profit. The introduction of the plow, a potent symbol of agrarianism and the arcadian civilization of the new American republic, was viewed as essential to the 'domestication' of the Cherokees. American leaders exhorted Cherokee males to "abandon the chase" and "take up the plough," to become yeoman farmers. To encourage the agrarianization of the Cherokees, and thereby reduce the threat of future wars, the American government embedded provisions in the 1792 Treaty of Holston and the 1794 Treaty of Tellico to provide farming equipment and instruction to Cherokees. The Cherokee Agency proffered large numbers of plows, plowstocks, and draft harnesses to compliant Cherokee leaders and their adherents in a seed program that fueled the rapid spread of plow agriculture. Government officials, missionaries, and Anglo-Cherokee observers cited widespread adoption of the plow as a driving force (rather than effect) in the increasing role of Cherokee males in agricultural production and the expansion of Cherokee farms. Cherokee Vice Chief Charles Hicks [ca. 1818] wrote:

> The agricultural labor of the male part of the Cherokees, it is hoped will continue to advance with progress to the improvement of their farms, to supply the wants of their families and livestock, as the aid and labor of the advantage of the use of the plough are properly estimated as their best acquisition to their farms (Morse 1822).

A conclave of Christian missionaries to the Cherokees observed in 1830 that:

> Thirty years ago a plough was scarcely seen in the nation. Twenty years ago there were nearly 500. Still the ground was cultivated chiefly by the hoe only. Six years ago the number of ploughs, as enumerated, was 2923. Among us all we scarcely know a field which is now cultivated without ploughing. Consequently the quantity of land under cultivation is increased several fold. Habits of industry are much increased, and still increasing, and though many fail in this respect, so that the more indolent sometimes trespass upon the more industrious, yet most families provide in the produce of their fields for the supply of their own wants, and many raise considerable quantities of corn for sale (Byhan, et al. 1830).

The dramatic increase in plow agriculture in the study area is reflected by figures reported in the 1809 and 1825 censuses and the spoliation claims data. According to the 1809 Meigs census, settlements in the study area held only 16 plows, approximately one per 145 Cherokees. By 1825, there were 446 plows in the Aquohee District (one per 5.7 persons) and 308 plows in the Taquohee District (one per 4.4 persons). Spoliation claims indicate that the ratio in the study area increased to one plow per three persons by 1838. The prevalence of plows in the study area is indicated by missionary Evan Jones' 1826 statement that Cherokee youths "... are all taught the use of the mattock, the plough, and the hoe by their parents. There is no family which does not cultivate the soil" (Jones 1826).

Despite the expectations and contentions of Anglo-American officials and missionaries, widespread adoption of plow agriculture in the study area probably did not spur large increases in cultivation, nor did it effect abrupt changes in the sexual division of labor. The 1836–1837 property valuations indicate that most Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina still farmed on a subsistence basis; the adoption of plow technology may have promoted subsistence security, but did not lead to large-scale market production. Neither did men supplant women in agriculture; women's ownership and use of plows is indicated by spoliation claims. John Ridge noted in 1826:

> The hardest portion of manual labor is performed by the men & women occasionally lend a hand in the field more by necessity than anything else. *Justice is due to the females of the poorer class* [emphasis added]... (Sturtevant 1981:81).

Acceptance of plow technology probably did affect the organization of labor in the study area. Plowing enabled a single laborer to prepare moderate sized plots for planting, reducing or eliminating the need for large, town based communal work parties. This may have furthered the dissolution of town structures, and eroded the authority of town chiefs, who were specifically charged with the organization and maintenance of such work parties.

While the use of the plow did not necessarily lead to the expansion of agriculture, a small portion of the population capitalized upon the labor economy of plowing to increase their holdings, a move that contributed to the socioeconomic differentiation of the study population. The expansion and intensification of agriculture by market-oriented producers is indicated by the extent of agricultural holdings reported by Welch and Jarrett, but is also reflected in the large numbers of plows claimed by some of the wealthier Cherokee families. Edward Christie, a *métis* slaveholder who farmed 65 acres, reported a loss of 12 plows; his sons Wilson and Jesse reported an additional nine plows. John Christie, who farmed 21 acres, claimed six plows. Richard Walker, a slaveholder from Tuckaleechee who farmed 27 acres, lost seven plows. Walker's relatives, Jo Walker, Betsy Walker, and Anna Walker, claimed four plows each. Slaveholder Robert Muskrat (Richard Walker's son-in-law) farmed 30 acres with eight plows. *Toonanailah*, who farmed 27 acres (but claimed an additional 75 acres appropriated by Jesse Raper) lost seven plows. *Sulsa*, whose properties included 43 acres of farmland, reported six plows, and Aiky Bearpaw (widow of Bear's Paw) claimed four plows that her family used to cultivate 46 acres. In other cases, claimants with smaller acreages reported losses of four or more plows, a disconformity that suggests greater agricultural involvement than indicated by the property valuations. Isaac Tucker, who maintained a small garden plot on Downing Creek, reported five plows. These plows may reflect Tucker's recent dispossession from his 40 acre farm in Bell Creek, Georgia (Tucker 1838). Old Hog's (*Culsatahee*) and Tom Spikebuck's (*Oolagy*) claims for four plows each may relate to their

roles as town leaders and their responsibilities for organizing and equipping communal work parties to cultivate town fields for support of the poor. Claims for multiple plows by *Tsuwautsuckah*, Adam, *Elahque*, and Mocking Crow may reflect the assumption of similar duties by leaders of the native Christian community.

The low incidence of scythes and cradles (n=4) and reaphooks (n=12) in the spoliation claims reflects the limited cultivation of small grains by Cherokee families in the study area. This supports evidence from the 1835 census, which indicates only two wheat growing households in the study area, and spoliation claims, which document only five instances of oats, three instances of rye, and 12 instances of wheat under cultivation in the study area. By contrast, 68% of the farm assemblages reported in contemporary (1836-1840) Anglo-American probate inventories from nearby McMinn County, Tennessee include scythes and cradles, reaphooks, wheat fans, and grain sieves, as well as large quantities of stored wheat, rye, and oats. The prevalence of small grain cultivation among Anglo-American farmers in the region is further attested by production figures reported in the agricultural schedule of the 1850 U.S. census for Cherokee County, North Carolina, which indicate that 89% of farm families produced rye or oats and 14% produced wheat.

The limited adoption of small grain cultivation by Cherokees in the study area probably relates to the overwhelming dominance of maize in the traditional Cherokee diet and the symbolic significance of maize in traditional Cherokee belief. Small grain culture differs markedly from maize culture, and requires specialized toolkits such as drag harrows and scythes. In addition, wheat and rye were typically processed into flour at gristmills, and many Cherokees in the study area did not have ready access to such facilities. Oats were typically reserved for horse feed; most Cherokees regarded maize fodder as sufficient forage. The Baptist mission at Peachtree promoted small grain culture by training Cherokee students in the growth of winter wheat and rye. Thomas Roberts wrote that his Cherokee students were "trained not only to books, pencils, and pens, but also to the hoe, the mattock, the plough, the *scythe, and the sickle* " [emphasis added] (Roberts 1822). Four Cherokees with close ties to the mission (John Wickliff, *Tsutanae*, Andrew Kell, and *Caneseha*) claimed losses of small grain crops at the time of Removal.

Claims for grain harvesting tools are particularly concentrated among westernized slaveowning households and among members of the Tusquittee community. Richard Walker, a slaveholder from Tuckaleechee, lost a scythe and cradle and four reaphooks worth $8.00. His son-in-law and fellow slaveholder, Robert Muskrat of Tusquittee, claimed a cradle and several reaphooks worth $12.50; Muskrat's neighbor, George Blair (also a slaveholder) reported a scythe worth $5.00. Four other Tusquittee households (Peggy Balltown, *Nakee*,

Beaver Toter, and *Sulsa*) claimed losses of reaphooks. John Christie of Cootlohee and *Wattatokah* of Cootlohee/Turtletown also lost reaphooks.

One other class of farm hardware, bells, relates to animal husbandry. Cherokee households filed 40 claims for a total of 65 bells used to hang around the necks of horses, cattle, and sheep to facilitate finding herds of livestock foraging on open range. Most of these bells were probably cast bronze or cast brass with iron clappers suspended on leather straps. Values assigned to bells range from $.25 to $2.00 (median=$.75).

Most assemblages of agricultural equipment claimed by Cherokee families consisted of one or two ploughs and sets of plow gearing, a few Scovill hoes, and a mattock. These simple toolkits closely resemble Eastern Cherokee farm implements described by agent J.C. Hart 60 years later: "For outdoor work there is an ax, hoe, and shovel plow. A wagon or cart may be owned, but is not essential. The outfit is inexpensive and answers every purpose" (Hart 1898:218 in Mooney 1900:179). A few households, most notably slaveholders Robert Muskrat, Richard Walker, and Edward Christie and their close relatives, maintained exceptionally large and diverse assemblages of agricultural implements. The large numbers of plows, hoes, and mattocks in these assemblages, together with the incidence of rare tool forms such as scythes and reaphooks, suggest that these families pursued diversified agricultural strategies on scales suited to market production. Similar assemblages claimed by Adam, *Tsuwautsuckah*, *Dickageeska*, *Sulsa*, and Old Hog may reflect the roles of town and religious leaders in coordinating communal agricultural efforts.

Carpentry and General Woodworking Tools

Spoliation claims from the study area document a wide array of tools used for general woodworking and heavy carpentry work, particularly log house construction. These include felling axes (331 claims), broadaxes (eight claims), froes (nine claims), wedges (68 claims), drawknives (104 claims), adzes (21 claims), augers (119 claims), gimlets (ten claims), chisels and gouges (45 claims), planes (n=28), saws (n=77), hammers (n=19), squares (n=2), compasses (n=3), and rasps (n=3). Although many of these forms had no precedents in traditional Cherokee contexts, nineteenth century Cherokee artisans probably acquired and used such tools with little hesitancy. Cherokee craftspeople were intimately familiar with wood technologies, and adoption of such novel tool forms simply allowed Cherokees to perform routine tasks with improved efficiency. The functions and operation of many of these tool forms are intuitively obvious, and Cherokee artisans were probably self trained in their uses. In terms of this analysis, most woodworking tools are regarded individually as neutral elements, but may in aggregate form distinctive patterns associated with more Westernized activity sets.

Pollaxes (n=668), the most common woodworking tools documented by spoliation claims, were basic equipment for every Cherokee household. Axes functioned in land clearing, fuel procurement, architectural construction, and heavy butchery. The majority of axes documented in the spoliation claims are described as chopping or felling axes and were probably American pattern pollaxes with straight handles. Patent axes are also represented in the claims, and records from Hunter's Store indicate sales of Collins pattern axes. Values reported for felling axes ranged from $1.00 for a 'half worn' ax to $3.00 for a new ax. The median value assigned to felling axes is $2.00. Other ax types reported in the claims include broadaxes, hatchets, and a handaxe. Broadaxes (n=8) and hatchets (n=4) were also reported by study area households. Broadaxes, which are used to hew and square heavy timbers, are rarely represented in the spoliation claims. This parallels the preponderance of round log, rather than hewn log, structures in the region. It is likely that standard felling axes were deemed sufficient for the limited timber hewing undertaken by most households. Hatchets were probably used for a wide range of light hewing, chopping, and riving tasks.

Handsaws (n=69) were used for cutting building logs to length and cutting corner notches and large mortises. The relative scarcity of handsaws suggests that most log buildings were fitted by ax work only; this contrasts with the incidence of saws in 50% of contemporary probate lists from McMinn County. Larger crosscut saws represented in two claims (Nanny, John Tucker) were probably used in felling and bucking logs. Iron wedges (68 claims) were used to cleave puncheons and boards for building construction, but were especially important for splitting fence rails. Because most Cherokee households produced thousands of rails to fence their fields, it is likely that iron wedges were far more common than is indicated by the spoliation claims. Wooden wedges (and mauls) were probably also very common, but were assigned no monetary value and do not appear in spoliation claims. Few households reported losses of froes (n=9), the specialized cleaving tools used for riving shakes, shingles, and boards. By contrast, froes are included in one quarter of the Anglo-American probate inventories from McMinn County, Tennessee. It is likely that most Cherokee families accomplished their basic riving tasks with axes or wooden wedges, and did not obtain the equipment to produce consistently sized scantlings in quantity. Cherokee craftsmen used transverse bladed, two handled drawknives (n=118) to thin and dimension riven boards or other small stock. Woodworkers further trued wood stock with steel bladed wooden planes (n=29), jackplanes (n=7), or joiners (n=1). Heavier smoothing tasks, such as planing split floor puncheons or interior surfaces of cribbed log buildings, were accomplished with footadzes (n=23).

Fixed bit augers of various dimensions were reported by 119 households, with losses of one to seven augers per household. Carpenters used augers to bore pegholes for joining timbers in the heavy timber constructions. Sizes of augers reported include large, small, 1/2", and #5. Most of these augers were simple T-handled borers with spade bits, although three screw augers and one trick auger are also documented. Gimlets (n=8) are smaller, hand held boring tools, used to ream holes up to approximately 1/4". Woodworkers used chisels (44 claims) for cutting mortices and gouges (n=4) for hollowwork such as excavation of wooden bowls, canoes, and spoons.

The only measuring and layout devices documented in the claims are three compasses and two carpenter's squares. The scarcity of such gauges indicates that most of the carpentry in the region was performed by sight estimates rather than rigid standards. Hammers and clawhammers (n=27), used for driving nails and perhaps wooden pegs, are represented in very few claims. The low incidence of hammers parallels the low frequency of nail use in structures described in the 1836-37 property appraisals. There does not appear, however, to be a casewise relationship between the incidence of hammers and nailed roofs and floors.

Files and rotary grindstones used to sharpen edged tools are surprisingly rare in view of the omnipresence of axes and other cutting implements. Only four families (Edward Christie, Jack Christie, Barrow, Utsutaky) reported rotary grindstones, tools valued from $1.50 to $5.00. The common equipage of Edward Christie and his nephew Jack probably reflect familial influence. Barrow, a blacksmith, probably used the grindstone in his ironworking operations. *Utsutaky* may have used a grindstone in conjunction with a set of mechanic's tools worth $2.50. Files (n=31) were reported by only 18 households, a puzzlingly low frequency in view of the general utility and low price ($.12-$1.00) of files. Hunter's store records document only one sale of a file to Thomas Raper for use by his miller. The scarcity of files and rotary grindstones suggests that most residents of the study area sharpened their tools with whetstones or on large stationary stones.

Carpentry and generalized woodworking tools are widely distributed throughout the study population, an indication that most households maintained the technologies necessary for house construction and other basic woodworking tasks. Most households, however, owned minimal woodworking toolkits: axes for multiple farm and building tasks, iron wedges for splitting logs and boards, drawknives for shaping and smoothing smaller stock, and boring augers. A few households maintained more complete and diversified carpentry toolkits, assemblages which may reflect emphasis on construction of more refined buildings or some level of household specialization in carpentry. For example, the heirs of Lucy Muskrat reported losses of four augers, three chisels, a drawknife, two footadzes, six gimlets, three

hammers, a handsaw, two planes, three wedges, and three sets of pincers. The heirs of Susan of Cootlohee claimed an axe, two augers, two chisels, a broadax, a drawknife, a footadze, two gimlets, three gouges, and a handsaw. The Richard Walker household lost two axes, four augers, two chisels, a broadax, a froe, a drawknife, a handsaw, and four wedges. Ned Christie reported three axes, three chisels, a drawknife, a footadze, a froe, a handsaw, and a plane. *Toonanailah* indicated carpenter's tools including an ax, a wedge, four augers, a crowbar, a drawknife, a footadze, a froe, three gimlets, a handsaw, and a jackplane. Such large and diverse sets of carpentry equipment are more characteristic of contemporary Anglo-American farm probate lists from McMinn County, Tennessee (Works Progress Administration 1937), and maintenance of such assemblages is consistent with the agrarian emphasis on household level technological independence. The smaller and more generalized toolkits owned by most Cherokee families reflect the less technically complex architecture prevalent on Cherokee farmsteads. It is also likely that Cherokee communities consistently pooled labor and tools in building projects for community members.

Artisan and Non-Farm Production Toolkits

A few Cherokee households from the study area reported losses of more specialized toolkits or equipment sets used in complex manufacturing tasks such as ironworking, silverworking, whiskey distilling, leatherworking, coopering, chair construction, and gunstocking. These specialized tool assemblages reflect the dissemination of complex nontraditional artisan crafts and production technologies, elements of the diversified economic strategies that characterized western yeoman agrarianism. Assumption of more specialized artisan skills was one of the benchmarks by which contemporary observers (e.g., Morse 1822; Ridge [1826] in Sturtevant 1981) measured Cherokee "progress" toward "civilization." The incidence (albeit limited) of such specialized toolkits in Cherokee inventories reflects the growing technological self sufficiency of Cherokee communities under agrarian regimes, and the broad convergence of Cherokee and southern Anglo-American lifeways.

Seven households reported losses of ironworking equipment. *Toonanailah* of Nottely claimed an anvil and set of tongs worth $17.00. William Boling, an intermarried white who lived two miles from *Toonanailah*, claimed an entire set of blacksmithing tools worth $50.00, as well as coal and iron stock. Boling's father-in-law, Bear's Paw, operated a forge at present-day Suit, and his widow, Aiky Bearpaw, claimed the loss of a set of smithing tools valued at $50.00. *Teesataskee* of Stekoa reported $75.00 worth of blacksmith's tools; Isaac Tucker (Downing Creek) lost tools worth $70.00. Barrow (Cheoah) lost a bellows, two hammers, and three sets of tongs worth $35.00. Jackson (Valley River) claimed a set of smith's tongs valued

at $1.00. These records reflect the importance of ironworking for maintenance and production of agricultural equipment and other iron hardware for area residents.

Cherokee smiths in the study area probably undertook forge tasks similar to those reported by Cherokee Agency blacksmith George Colville in 1809:

> ...making keys, making whip saws, steeling axes, making clevises, twisted links, lap rings, mending crowbar, upsetting axes and mattocks, dressing hoes, sharpening shares, pointing coulters, making coults, mend bolt, socketing hoes, making polhooks, sleeting hoes, putting clapper in bell, making heat screw for plow, making fish gig, bales for kettles (Colville 1809).

Some of the Cherokee smiths operating in the study area may have acquired training and tools for ironworking through government or mission sponsored training programs, while others probably gained ironworking skills by employment in the commercial ironworks of east Tennessee (Kennedy 1838). In some instances, Cherokee ironworkers probably learned their trade by close association with intermarried Anglo-American blacksmiths. For example, Bear's Paw may have acquired forge skills from his son-in-law, William Boling, and *Wachacha* may have learned ironworking from his brother-in-law, Gideon Morris, who maintained a forge at his farm on Valley River.

The relatively rare occurrence of forge equipment in Cherokee inventories contrasts with the incidence of blacksmith's tools among almost 25% of the probate lists of Anglo-American farmers from McMinn County, Tennessee. Anglo-American farmers regarded ready access to forges as essential to the maintenance of farming equipment and success of the family farm. Farmer-smiths also performed forgework for fees, and some smiths produced wrought iron specialty items (e.g., gun hardware) for local markets as a supplement to their farm incomes. Like their Anglo-American counterparts, the Cherokee ironsmiths who operated in southwestern North Carolina appear to have aspired to economic 'improvement' through agrarian expansion and technological diversification. This attitude is perhaps most evident in the claim of *Toonanailah*, a fullblood householder from Nottely who farmed 27 acres, operated a forge, a cooper's shop, and a distillery, and hauled freight.

Leatherworking tools and tanned leather reported by nine households reflect the production and repair of Western-style last-built shoes and saddles by Cherokees in the study area. *Juhnuhootah* and Scraper each claimed sets of saddler's tools valued at $8.00; *Tsutanae*, *Chinoque* Owl, and Robert Muskrat reported losses of cobbler's tools. Robert Muskrat, Moses, *Takalessutleska*, and Jim also reported leather for shoe soles and uppers. Shoe production by households in the study area parallels the widespread adoption of western style footwear by Cherokees in the nineteenth century. J.B. Evans, a missionary who visited the study area in the 1830s, noted that "Moscassins [sic] are yet extensively used by both men and women; but shoes are coming into use" (Evans 1979). A.R.S. Hunter sold large

numbers of Western-style hard-soled shoes to Cherokee customers, and spoliation claims reflect numerous losses of shoes. Cherokee cobblers certainly produced shoes for their families, and it is likely that they sold shoes to neighbors and commercial outlets. Such cottage production of shoes for commercial use was a substantial industry among Anglo-Americans until the introduction of machinery for the mass production of shoes in the 1840s.

Juhnuhootah of Valley River reported loss of a specialized toolkit used in production of silver ornaments such as earrings, armbands, hatbands, and broaches. This toolkit, valued at $10.00, likely included small bellows, hammers, an anvil, and an array of dies, molds, and punches. Cherokee silversmiths supplied a local market for men's silver ornaments and tack ornamentation. Beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Cherokee males developed a mode of personal ornamentation that included lavish use of silver ear dangles, nose dangles, gorgets, and armbands. This style of personal ornamentation developed concurrently among many native groups east of the Mississippi, and emerged as a type of pan-tribal style with minor intertribal variation. Use of such ornamentation declined in the early nineteenth century, a trend that *métis* James D. Wafford linked to Westernization as "the time when the Cherokees dropped their silver ornaments and went to work" (Mooney 1900:214). Nevertheless, the incidence of silversmith's toolkits and silver ornaments in the spoliation claims indicates some persistence of elaborate male ornamentation, a decidedly non-Western characteristic and a strong material diacritic of ethnic affinity.

Edward Christie, *Toonanailah*, *Nakee*, and Jack Rabbit reported losses of whiskey distilleries and other equipment for liquor production. Christie, a wealthy *métis* who resided at the mouth of the Valley River, lost an 80 gallon still full of mash, valued at $80.00. Jack Rabbit , a fullblood from Shooting Creek claimed spoliation of a still and kegs valued at $70.00, and *Toonanailah*, a fullblood from Nottely River, lost two stills worth $125.00. *Nakee*, a fullblood woman from Tusquittee, lost a still worth $80.00. Welch and Jarrett's valuations suggest at least three other distilleries that operated at Peachtree Creek (John Smith), Nottely (Jesse Raper), and Shooting Creek (*Satagah*).

Spoliation claims filed by Cherokee families from the study area document a number of specialized woodworker's toolkits including cooper's paraphernalia (crozes, inshaves, chamfer knives), lathes and turning tools, chairmaker's tools, and gunstocker's tools. Cherokee artisans probably learned specialized woodworking skills, such as coopering, wood turning, and chair construction, through formal instruction at the Valleytowns Mission or other Anglo-American establishments in the study area. *Toonanailah* and *Chuwachuckah* each claimed sets of cooper's tools, which presumably included crozes, inshaves, and chamfer knives. *Toonanailah* probably used the tools to produce whiskey barrels for his distillery,

and his claim included 13 hogsheads that may have been products of his shop. Jack Rabbit, another distiller, claimed a cooper's croze and roundshave. Sapsucker, Luther Rice, and Sally claimed sets of chairmaker's tools, which probably consisted of spokeshaves, small drawknives, and small mortising chisels. These individuals most likely produced slat-backed, woven-bottom chairs for their own use and for sale or trade to neighbors. Woodturning lathes (n=3) and sets of turning tools (n=5) were probably used for turning elements of chair frames.

Suttiyah and John Hog each claimed sets of gunstocking tools worth $1.00 to $2.00. These toolkits probably included small spokeshaves, specially cut chisels, and small augers or gimlets. It is likely that Cherokee artisans devised means of repairing or restocking trade guns early in the eighteenth century with little or no training from British colonial gunstockers. Mooney (1900:375) relates a Cherokee story from the mid-eighteenth century that involves a native gunstocker and his product.

The incidence of these specialized toolkits in the spoliation claims denotes the limited assimilation of complex nontraditional artisan crafts and extraction activities by Cherokee individuals in the study area. As reflected by the claims records, these specialized technologies were equally represented among all ethnic subsets of the study population, and a case for differential Westernization is not supported by the spread of specialized technologies in the study area. Most members of the study population did not attempt to maintain a static material universe, but instead evaluated technological innovations and accepted or rejected such innovations based upon utility, affordability, and the compatibility of nontraditional technologies with native lifestyles and beliefs. The gradual incorporation of these technologies by innovators within local Cherokee society (as opposed to directed introduction by missionaries or government agents) provided a context for the accommodation of such toolsets and craft activities within native frameworks of use and meaning. Native innovators such as *Toonanailah*, Barrow, Bear's Paw, and *Teesataskee* recast nontraditional artisan crafts from expressly western frameworks and translated both the processes and products into expressions of native technology that advertised Cherokee "civilization" and parity with whites without compromising native identity. It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that specialized artisan technologies are poorly represented among Cherokee inventories as compared to contemporary Anglo-American farm probate lists. One third of Anglo-American farmers from McMinn County, Tennessee, possessed specialized toolsets for one or more crafts, and the association of specialized artisan technologies with an agrarian lifestyle is clearly indicated.

Firearms and Extractive Equipment

Spoliation claims from the study area document several types of equipment used for direct extraction of natural resources. Hunting gear (e.g., firearms, ammunition, hunting knives, blowguns, bows and arrows, traps), fishing gear (e.g., fishgigs, fishhooks, traps), and sugaring equipment (e.g., sugar kettles) can best be characterized as tools for non-agricultural biotic extraction. Extraction of mineral resources is indicated by claims for gold rifflers and pans; it is likely that many of the tin pans, shovels, and spades reported in the claims papers were also used in placer mining. For most Cherokee families in the study area, the capture or gathering of wild foods and forest products remained an important component in the generation of household subsistence and commercial income. With the discovery of placer gold deposits in the region in the late 1820s, many Cherokee families derived additional income from recovery of mineral resources. The continued emphasis on wild foods and forest products among Cherokee households fueled assertions by Anglo-American politicians that the Cherokees remained "children of the forest" who could not coexist within agrarian Anglo-America. However, Cherokee dependence upon wild resources appears no greater than that of tens of thousands of frontier Anglo-Americans who demanded an Indian removal that would free the region's resources for their own use. When Cherokees joined in the region's goldrush, Anglo-American critics lambasted Cherokee profit seekers for their presumptive sharing of America's wealth. The Cherokees were damned if they did, damned if they didn't.

Firearms (n=416) are the primary extractive equipment reported in 208 spoliation claims from the study area, numbers that bolster W.G. Williams' 1838 observation that the North Carolina Cherokees "are very illy provided with arms and ammunition; it is thought that there are at most not more than 400 rifles among them, and those for the most part useless or in bad repair" (Williams 1838a). Firearms reported in the claims include 325 long arms described as "rifle guns," one shotgun, 13 pistols, and 117 long arms simply designated "guns." Claimants assigned a wide range of values to their weapons, with estimated values of shoulder arms ranging from $5.00 to $32.00 (median=$20.00) and pistols valued from $1.00 to $10.00 each (median=$5.00). Most of the claimants owned more than one firearm, and reported losses range up to four firearms per household. By contrast, only 41% of McMinn County probate lists document firearms, and only two of these inventories list more than a single gun. The prevalence of firearms in Cherokee contexts suggests a relatively strong emphasis on hunting to extend household food supplies and to garner salable hides and pelts. In addition, the omnipresence of firearms in Cherokee households may reflect concerns for familial defense against Anglo-American interlopers like the throngs of gold-seekers who pilfered farmsteads and stole livestock throughout the study area in the early 1830s.

No descriptive detail is provided for firearms reported in the spoliation claims. The "rifle guns" are clearly shoulder arms with rifled bores. Most of these were probably inexpensive, mass-produced weapons made by the Pennsylvania gun houses such as J.J. Henry, Tryon, and Deringer for the western trade (Hanson 1960). Some of the rifles may have been manufactured locally in the white settlements surrounding the Cherokee Nation or may have been surplus guns from commercial armories, such as the "Yawger" rifle (1807 issue U.S. "Harper's Ferry" Jaeger-style rifle) claimed by a Georgia Cherokee. Most Cherokee rifles were probably fullstocked, flintlock arms with iron or minimal brass trim or occasional silver mountings (like William Murphy's "fine rifle gun"). Rifle bores ranged from .36 to .50 caliber. Although flintlocks were the prevalent ignition system, the use of percussion ignition in the area is indicated by sales of primer caps at Hunter's store (Hunter 1836–1838). Those firearms designated simply as "guns" probably included both rifles and smoothbore shoulder arms such as military muskets; "rifle guns" and "guns" do not co-occur in individual claims and may have been largely synonymous. Beaver Toter's shotgun was, presumably, a single-barreled halfstock fowling piece.

Pistols (n=13) evince a more limited distribution. Five claimants (*Oonukah*, John Owl, Thomas, Whiteman Killer, Moses), repoted pistols as the only firearms in the house, while seven households (Beaver Toter, Thomas *Askaquah*, Scraper, Little George, Wilson Christie, Isaac Tucker, John Tucker) reported pistols as ancillary sidearms in conjunction with rifles or shotguns. All of these pistols appear to have been single-shot, fixed-frame handguns; there is no indication of the newly developed Colt Patterson model revolvers or Allen pepperbox guns. Values reported for pistols range from $1.00 to $10.00 each, a range comparable to prices represented in Hunter's store accounts. Included in these accounts are sales of four percussion pistols to Wilson Christie's brothers, Jesse and Allen. Unlike shoulder arms, pistols were of limited utility in hunting, and were probably maintained for personal protection (or offense) and recreational shooting. This latter function is indicated by the juvenile Christie brothers' purchase of pistols and repeated purchases of ammunition.

Because firearms were pervasive in southern Anglo-American and native American contexts, they probably had no particular diacritical marking value within nineteenth century Cherokee society. Firearms probably first entered the Cherokee material repertoire during the late seventeenth century, and Cherokee customers avidly sought guns from British traders in the early eighteenth century. Although early smoothbore trade guns were inaccurate and cumbersome to load, firearms greatly increased Cherokee efficacy in hunting and warfare by producing traumatic wounds and rapid mortality in prey and victims. Cherokee adoption of firearms (and concomitant abandonment of bows and arrows) was so rapid and complete that

Cherokee leaders in the Revolutionary Period lamented their unfamiliarity and awkwardness with bows and arrows. The degree to which Cherokee consumers integrated firearms into traditional use contexts is indicated by the incorporation of firearms into the Green Corn Dance, a central ceremony of the Cherokee ritual round. Evans [ca. 1835] describes a performance of the central dance of this ceremony in the study area:

> The chief of the town in which the festival is held, generally leads the dance: he advances, singing, in the square level yard in front of the house.... But a few moments elapse, before the patriarch is joined by a considerable number of men... some with guns and pistols charged with powder and wadding; others with clubs, poles and branches of trees.... All of this time, an irregular firing of guns and pistols is kept up... (Evans 1979:20).

Lanman (1849), Speck and Broom (1951), and Gilbert (1943) document the continued use of firearms in Green Corn ceremonials through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Firearms were equally integral to functional and symbolic contexts of Anglo-American society. Firearms were essential equipment for southern farmers, who frequently supplemented their diets with game, and who held rifles as a last line of defense against real or imagined foes. The image of the sturdy pioneer with one hand on the plow tiller and the other grasping a rifle stock was thoroughly ingrained in the romantic consciousness, and the rifle was a populist symbol of American independence and defiance toward "savages" and the European powers. Like their Cherokee counterparts, Anglo-American farmers in the southern Appalachian region prized fine firearms, and often lavished scarce resources on firearms for display.

The scarcity of firearms in spoliation claims filed by westernized Cherokee slaveholders and native preachers is noteworthy. Despite extensive losses of household paraphernalia, livestock, and agricultural equipment, the Ned Christie, George Blair, Richard Walker, and Robert Muskrat households did not report guns among their losses. Charlie Buffington, the least wealthy slaveholder of this cohort, reported losses of one rifle and one shotgun. Among native preachers represented in study sample (i.e., John Wickliff, *Chewtoni,* Black Fox, Arch, *Chusawallee*, Beaver Toter, *Tsuwautsuckah*), only Tsuwautsuckah and Beaver Toter households listed any firearms. The significance of this pattern is unclear. It is possible that the U.S. Army took special pains to restore weapons confiscated from these prominent members of Cherokee society. It is equally possible that firearms and hunting were less important in households that were heavily involved in market-oriented agrarianism or devoted to evangelical church activities.

Documentation of ammunition and shooting accouterments is limited. Gunpowder, valued at $.50-$1.00 per pound, is reported in 18 claims, with quantities per claim ranging from a few drams up to seven pounds. Lead bars are documented in 16 claims, with amounts from one to six one-pound bars. Gunflints are documented in a single claim as part of the

assorted contents of a storage basket. The relative scarcity of ammunition in the claims supports Evan Jones' contention that:

> Among a population of more than five thousand souls in the mountain districts, I doubt whether a single pound of gunpowder could be found in the possession of any one individual, and in very few families could a single ounce be found... (Jones 1836b).

Records from Hunter's store indicate a number of purchases of gunpowder and lead by Cherokee customers, but most of these purchases occurred in the late fall, when Cherokees intensified their efforts in procuring winter meat supplies. Although shot bags (n=4), powder horns (n=1), metal powder flasks (n=2) and bullet molds (n=1) were not frequently claimed, such accouterments probably accompanied most firearms.

Tomahawks (n=21) and sheath knives (n=26) were frequently included in hunting equipment. Fourteen families claimed factory-made tomahawks valued at $.25 to $1.00 each; two of these are described as pipe axes. Tomahawks probably saw a wide range of service at home and in the field; hunters used such small belt axes for dismembering game carcasses. Most Cherokee males carried sheath knives or dirks as part of their everyday personal equipage. These were multi-purpose tools used for a wide range of daily tasks; hunters used such knives in skinning and butchering game. Sheath knives were also the principal sidearms that Cherokees used for personal defense and offense. Values reported for sheath knives range from $.13 to $1.00; Hunter sold large numbers of such knives for $.25 to $2.00 each. Although Removal troops almost certainly confiscated such potentially deadly weapons from their Cherokee owners, the scarcity of sheath knives in the spoliation claims suggests that many Cherokees retained their knives.

Although fish were an important protein resource for many Cherokee families in the study area, fishing equipment is poorly represented in the spoliation claims. Nineteen claims report a total of 24 fishgigs or fishspears; six claims document stationary fish weirs in the Hiwassee, Valley, and Nottely rivers. Multi-pronged gigs and single-pronged spears were used to take fish in shallow waters and were probably employed during spring fish runs when coarse fish congregated in shoals to spawn. Values assigned to gigs and spears range from $.25 to $1.00 each. Six households (George Leech, *Cajlahseegeeskee*, Johnson Robbins, Buck Bearpaw, George Owens, Jr., *Aquatakee*) claimed losses of fish traps built in area rivers or creeks. These stationary improvements should have been appraised as part of Welch and Jarrett's valuations, but the agents to failed to note fish weirs among household properties. Most of these were probably timber and rock constructions similar to one described by *Nahoola* of Taquohee:

> 1 Fish trap in the river 20 feet long with three falls in it stakes nailed on bottom & sides dam of 2 logs fastened together with pins & holders filled up with rock between the logs 40 yds one way & about 22-3 the other (Nahoola 1841).

Army survey sketchmaps indicate that these V-shaped weirs faced upstream, with traps situated at the downstream opening. Values assigned to fishtraps ranged from $5.00 for *Aquatakee*'s trap in Stekoa Creek to $50.00 for Johnson Robbins' weir across the Hiwassee River at Shooting Creek. Families probably operated fish weirs on a seasonal basis; large catches may have been distributed around the community or dried for short-term storage. Families also sold surplus catches at local outlets such as Hunter's store; ledgers indicate three occasions when Hunter paid Indians cash or goods for fish.

Nineteen households reported losses of a total of 25 leghold steel traps used for the capture of small furbearers. Values assigned to these traps range from $.50 to $8.00 each; it can be assumed that these values reflect a variety of sizes. One $5.00 trap is described as "large"; another $6.00 trap was "for catching otters." Cherokee families trapped small furbearers to supplement household incomees, and local stores readily accepted pelts in exchange for goods; Hunter's accounts document payments in otter, muskrat, fox, and raccoon skins.

Sugar production in the region is indicated by Jim's claim for fifteen sugar pots, large kettles used for the evaporation of maple syrup or other sap derived sweeteners. It is unclear whether this singular reference to sugar pots indicates production for household subsistence purposes or a limited market venture. Sugar production does not appear to have been widespread among the Cherokees, but earlier claims from eastern Tennessee make reference to Cherokee sugar camps.

Equipment for recovery of placer gold is documented by the claims of Sunday (Nottely River) and Old Coon (Valley River), and losses of gold are reported by *Juhnuhootah*, *Utsutaky*, *Chickatoowishtugh*, and Mink, all from Valley River. Sunday reported the loss of a gold washing machine, most likely a riffle trough with a mechanized rocker, worth $2.00, and an iron pan for washing gold worth $.38. Old Coon reported "gold machinary" worth $6.00. Gold was discovered in the study area in 1831 by prospectors who traced deposits from the goldfields of north Georgia. This discovery spurred a minor goldrush, and Anglo-American gold hunters ran amuck through Cherokee lands in the Valley and Nottely River valleys until Federal troops were called in to expel the interlopers. In the years thereafter, local Cherokees panned or sluiced small amounts of gold, which they used as currency for the purchase of store goods. Featherstonaugh, a British geologist who visited the study area in 1836, noted the casual character of Cherokee prospecting:

> ... I perceived the water was turbid as it usually is below where they wash for gold; a person whom we met explained that some Cherokees were engaged washing the mud and gravel... at the head of that stream (Featherstonaugh 1849:284)

> When we... reached Notley River, we found three Indian women and a little boy...with their feet in the thick red clayey water washing for gold....They had only collected about half-a-crown's worth of gold...(Featherstonaugh 1847:297).

Some intermarried whites, particularly Gideon Morris and David England, made concerted efforts at gold mining, investing considerable amounts of capital in equipment and payroll and employing their own slaves and free laborers in the gold works (England 1842). Most Cherokees in the study area, however, panned gold as an occasional source of ancillary income used for purchase of commercial goods and payment of accounts.

Cloth Production Equipment and Materials

One of the most common technological complexes represented in spoliation claims from southwestern North Carolina is equipment used for fiber processing and cloth manufacture. Two-thirds (n=274) of the claims in the study sample report losses of cards, spinning wheels, reels, looms, or loom components, proportions comparable to the incidence of such equipment in Anglo-American probate lists from McMinn County, Tennessee. The relative abundance of this equipment in Cherokee households reflects the rapid spread and acceptance of Western-style cloth production among Cherokee families during the early nineteenth century. The impetus for home manufacture of textiles came from the Federal "civilization" program through the Cherokee Agency, which supplied equipment and provided training to Cherokee women to lessen the Cherokee dependence on British produced dry goods. The Cherokees commonly credited agent Silas Dinsmoor with introduction of cloth production into the nation. Chief Charles Hicks [ca. 1817] noted "It may be with propriety said that the Cherokees had already ... entered the manufacturing system of cotton clothing in 1800, which had taken rise in one Town in 1796 and 7, by the repeated recommendation of Silas Dinsmoor, Esq..."(Morse 1822); John Ridge [1826]observed that "Col. Silas Dinsmore... labored indefatigably to induce the Indians to lead a domestic life by distributing ... cotton cards, spinning wheels and looms to the women" (Sturtevant 1981:87). The efforts of the government program were bolstered by mission schools, which trained Cherokee girls in processing fiber and weaving cloth. Their successes in promoting cloth production among the Cherokees were lauded in a number of contemporary accounts. John Norton observed in 1809 that "The [Cherokee] women are extremely industrious,... and make cloth, not only in sufficient quantity for their own families, but sell great quantities of it to the Creeks or Muscougui in exchange for Cattle" (Klink and Talman 1970:125). Chief Charles Hicks wrote:

> .... their domestic dependence is on the loom and wheel. From what has already been stated, the Cherokees may be considered in a progressive state of improvement, more particularly those in the middle part of the nation, for there is scarcely a family but what understands the use of the card and spinning wheel, except those in the mountainous parts of this territory, who have not

> had the same advantages as those have had in the middle and lower parts of this nation. But the greater part of them understand the use of the wheel and cards. The arts of weaving and knitting have become part of the female attention of this nation. There are ten families within twenty or thirty miles of this place, who weave coverlets and double twilled cloth; a considerable number of persons besides these are provided with sheets to supply the wants of their families... (Morse 1822).

Hicks' depiction of Cherokee progress in cloth production was echoed by John Ridge [1826]:

> ...The females were the first who were induced to undertake domestic manufactures, and they are still confined to them. These consist of white and striped homespun, coarse woolen blankets, and in many instances of very valuable and comfortable twilled and figured coverlets. Woolen and cotton stockings are manufactured in every family mostly for domestic use, A great portion of Cherokee clothing is furnished from our own people... (Sturtevant 1981:82).

These accounts stress cloth production as a positive aspect of "civilized" society, and the Cherokees' intensive adoption of textile manufacture was cited as proof of their progressive accommodation to agrarian lifeways. This was particularly important for Anglo-American theorists who viewed cloth production as a means for realigning native gender roles to 'civilized' norms. The western tradition of 'the distaff' held women's work and concerns synonymous with cloth production, and promotion of spinning and weaving among the Cherokees was supposed to force women into domestic roles, leaving agricultural labor to men.

The rapid spread of cloth production among Cherokee households in the study area is illustrated by censuses of 1809, 1825, and 1835, which recorded the incidence of spinning wheels and looms, or spinners and weavers, as evidence of Cherokee "progress." In 1809, George Barber Davis recorded 429 looms and 1572 spinning wheels in the Cherokee Nation, including 32 looms and 152 spinning wheels among settlements in the study area. By 1825, there were 762 looms and 2488 spinning wheels in the nation; Aquohee District households maintained 145 looms and 346 spinning wheels and Taquohee District families kept 53 looms and 211 spinning wheels. In 1835, Nathaniel Smith noted a total of 262 weavers and 645 spinners resident in 442 Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina. These figures suggest that cloth production increased over a three-decade period from less than 10% of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina to as many as 50% of the households in the region.

The prevalence of raw and spun fibers, homespun cloth, and equipment for fiber processing and weaving in the spoliation claims supports census estimates for the extent of cloth production in the study area. Ninety-eight claimants reported losses of raw wool or cotton fibers; another 60 indicated loss of spun thread or yarn, and 17 households reported homespun cloth totaling 360 yards. Almost 45% (n=195) of the claims list one or more pairs of cotton or wool cards (n=357) valued at $.50 to $2.50 each (median=$1.00). These cards

consisted of pairs of broad, steel-toothed brushes used for untangling and aligning raw fibers into bats preparatory to spinning thread or yarn. Half of the claims report two or more pairs of cards; ten claims indicate four or more pairs.

One hundred ninety-three households reported losses of spinning wheels (n=271), including large walking wheels for production of cotton thread, and smaller flax or flyer wheels used to spin wool thread and yarn. Values assigned to spinning wheels ranged from $1.00 to $8.00 each (median=$3.00). Most claims (n=141) list only one wheel, but a few individuals such as Charles Jones and Edward Christie reported as many as five spinning wheels. Twenty-nine families listed wooden clock reels for winding spun thread or yarn; such reels kept thread untangled and allowed spinners to gauge their output in skeins.

Spinners frequently dyed homespun thread and yarn with either locally available or commercially derived dyes, but only nine households reported losses of dyestuffs such as indigo, madder, and copperas. The low incidence of these commercial dyes and mordants probably reflects the prevalent use of locally available vegetable dyes, but also suggests that commercially available dyes were acquired and expended in small quantities on an as-needed basis. Hunter's store accounts document sales of small amounts of indigo and madder to James Raper, Charles Buffington, Ezekiel Buffington, Jesse Buffington, and Elijah Sourjohn.

One hundred seventeen households reported losses of weaving looms or loom components such as weaving harness or gears, reeds or sleys, shackles, temples, warping bars, and shuttles. Eighty-six claims list complete looms (n=93) at values ranging from $3.00 to $19.00 per unit (median=$8.00). These were locally manufactured, two harness horizontal floor looms of various sizes; some were 800-reed models capable of producing full width coverlets, while others generated yard-wide webs. Most families maintained a single loom; Roman Nose, *Suttiyah*, and *Awahulle* reported two looms each, and Edward Christie reported four looms.

Ancillary items used in the production and handling of fiber and cloth include shears (n=27) and scissors (n=55). Broad-bladed shears were primarily used for clipping sheep's fleece, and the incidence of shears corresponds closely with claims for sheep. Scissors undoubtedly saw a wide range of use around Cherokee households, but were certainly essential in the rigging and trimming of looms and trimming of cloth.

In addition to woven textiles, many Cherokee householders knit yarn to produce knit socks or stockings. Thirteen families reported losses of knitting needles worth $.13 to $.50 per pair, a price comparable to that of the three pairs of knitting pins that Hogshooter Christie purchased at Hunter's for $.38.

The spoliation records indicate that equipment and materials related to textile production were distributed widely across all sectors of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina, and the simple incidence of such equipment does not gauge socioeconomic status or monitor cultural and ethnic affinity. Such universal distribution suggests that the assimilation of cloth production technologies had little effect on native identity, and did not connote overt or extreme Westernization. As was the case with many introduced technologies that increased the material self-sufficiency of Cherokee households and decreased their dependence on Anglo-American merchants, Cherokee families adopted cloth manufacture and integrated the technology and activity into traditionally framed labor roles. While textile production probably increased the overall workload of Cherokee women, it also provided a means for women to generate surplus value through the production of fiber and transformation of fiber into salable cloth. A commercial context for Cherokee homespun is suggested by Norton's observation that Cherokee women produced cloth to trade for Creek cattle and Pawnee horses (Klink and Talman 1970), and by John Ridge's account of The Bold Hunter's wife, who supplanted her husband's hunting income with her weaving income (Sturtevant 1981). Home manufacture of textiles increased the economic power of Cherokee women, but did not fundamentally shift gender roles in economic production, and was easily accommodated within traditional structures of household organization and labor allocation.

While the absolute incidence of fiber and cloth production equipment in Cherokee households bears little relationship to socioeconomic standing or ethnic affiliation, variation in the diversity and value of such toolkits reflects a number of factors, including total household wealth. Most of the lower valued assemblages include only fiber processing equipment such as cards and spinning wheels; this suggests that many more households engaged in fiber and yarn production than actually wove cloth, and may reflect interhousehold pooling of labor, materials, and equipment. Among larger assemblages, the widely ranging values assigned to looms are primary determinants of assemblage value. This variation may reflect differences in the quality or size of looms, but also derives from idiosyncratic estimates. In a few instances the quantities and values of textile production equipment reported are exceptional. Edward Christie indicated loss of four looms, five spinning wheels, four pairs of cards, and a reel, a toolkit worth $47.00. His sons Jesse and Wilson reported another five sets of cards, three spinning wheels, a loom, and number of loom components; the family unit as a whole lost 42 sheep, enough to clothe a small community. The prevalence of such equipment in the Christie family suggests a level of textile production that greatly surpassed household needs and which may have been directed at market exchange. It is likely that Christie employed his black slaves at cloth production during the

fall and winter respite from agricultural work. Likewise, Richard Walker, whose heirs reported cloth production equipment worth $43.00, may have employed slave labor in textile manufacture. Charles Jones, a *métis* neighbor of the Christies, reported six pairs of cards, five spinning wheels, and a loom worth a total of $42.00. Like the Christies, Jones maintained a large flock of sheep (n=40), and may have produced textiles for market. In these and a number of other cases (e.g., Lucy Muskrat, Anna *Ahstola*, Robert Muskrat, *Toonanailah*), large and valuable toolkits for textile production co-occur with extensive claims for livestock, household goods, agricultural equipment, and specialized toolkits, and more intensive levels of cloth production appear to be associated with greater household wealth and more westernized lifestyles.

Producers' Vehicles

Wheeled vehicles for transporting farm products or hauling commercial freight were relatively rare among study area households. Only six households (*Toonanailah*, Cloud, Catey, *Cahneestoowah*, Richard Walker, Celia) reported losses of full-sized road wagons at values ranging from $50.00 to $120.00. The Richard Walker and Elizabeth McDaniel households also reported six sets of draft harness for wagons worth $8.00 to $12.00 each. George Blair reported that he contributed two wagons and teams to the emigration of the Bell detachment, but never received his entitled compensation for their use. Similarly, Peter *Oganaya* claimed the use of his wagon from Aquohee to Fort Cass. It is noteworthy that all of the households that reported wagons were situated along improved roadways (e.g., the Unicoi Turnpike, Blairsville Road) where wheeled vehicles could be used for hauling bulk commodities; most Cherokee households did not enjoy direct access to such thoroughfares. Possession of expensive wheeled vehicles by these families (and their positioning along wagon roads) connotes intensified commercial involvement, whether in the haulage of their own or their neighbors' produce to market. In addition, owners of such wagons hauled freight for wages or rented wagons and teams to wagoners, providing cash income for their households.

In contrast to the study sample of Cherokee spoliation claims, 41% of contemporary Anglo-American probate inventories from McMinn County, Tennessee, list road wagons among decedents' property. This relatively high incidence of wheeled vehicles among McMinn County households reflects both the prevalence of improved roads in the Tennessee Valley, and the importance of bulk freight haulage to agrarian commerce. Conversely, the scarcity of wagons among Cherokee spoliation claims reflects both limited access to improved roadways and limited demand for transport of bulk produce or other freight. In addition, the incidence of wagons among the spoliation claims was almost certainly reduced by demand

for wheeled vehicles for transport of belongings and infirm passengers during the forced removal, as evidenced by the George Blair and Peter *Oganaya* claims.

Small truck wagons for short distance transport on farms and trails are reported by Scraper, *Utsuyatugh*, *Tsuwautsuckah*; and Nancy Hawkins, Jr.; Black Fox claimed loss of two truck wagon wheels. These truck wagons were most likely homemade carts or wagons with wheels sawn from rounds of tree trunks; their utility for long distance haulage was limited. Scraper and *Utsuyatugh* reported values of $1.00 and $1.50 for their truck wagons; *Tsuwautsuckah's* $20.00 truck wagon may represent a more formal cart with felloe-built spoked wheels. It is likely that most Cherokee families did not require truck wagons for farm tasks and instead hand carried farm produce to storage depots or used horse-drawn farm sledges to haul materials over broken or rocky terrain.

Native Technologies (Producers' Equipment)

Although the majority of producers' goods and assets reported by the spoliation claims derive from commercial sources or reflect Western technologies, three classes of traditional native technology also constitute producers' equipment. Two classes, blowguns and bows and arrows, may be considered extractive equipment, while dugout canoes functioned as producers' vehicles.

Blowguns (n=113) made of hollowed lengths of rivercane are represented in 60 claims, and are ascribed values from $.25 to $1.00 each (median=$.50). Cherokee hunters used blowguns for killing squirrels, rabbits, and small birds, important protein sources for Cherokee families in the southwestern North Carolina. Williams (1838a) observed that the Cherokees in the study area had "bows and arrows and an implement called the blowgun, which they use for the purpose of killing small game, at which they are very expert." Mooney (1891) relates the strategy and efficacy of blowgun use:

> A favorite method with the [Cherokee] bird-hunter during the summer season is to climb a gum tree, which is much frequented by the smaller birds on account of its berries, where, taking up a convenient position amid the branches with his noiseless blowgun and arrows, he deliberately shoots down one bird after another until his shafts are exhausted, when he climbs down, draws out the arrows from the bodies of the birds killed, and climbs up again to repeat the operation (Mooney 1891:372).

The pursuit of small birds with blowguns was a favorite activity of young boys, and tradition held that wrens lamented the birth of male children with the phrase "Alas! The whistle of the arrow. My shins will burn" (Mooney 1900:401). The use of blowguns was by no means restricted to young boys; the incidence of blowguns in the claims of elderly men and women suggests that people of both sexes and all ages used these weapons to procure meat for the pot. The inclusion of blowguns in the spoliation claims indicates a recognition of market value for these items, and blowguns, like pottery and baskets, may have been traded

within an internal market in the study area. Such trade is indicated by Jesse Christie's purchase of a blowgun at Hunter's store. That Hunter's inventory included blowguns suggests that the merchant accepted blowguns in trade with the certainty of disposing of them in later cash transactions. The monetary value assigned to blowguns probably reflects the difficult, multistage process involved in producing an accurate blowgun, and it is likely that some artisans were recognized as particularly capable blowgun makers whose products were prized.

Traditional bows and arrows are represented only by *Chocohey*'s claim for a bow and three arrows worth $.44, a price comparable to the $.38 that James Gray, a fullblood from Cootlohee, received for his bow and arrows at Hunter's Store in 1837 (Hunter 1836–1838). These bows were probably simple, single curve arcs made of quarter riven locust staves and strung with twisted beargut or squirrel skin (King 1976; Mooney 1900). Cherokee arrows were typically made of cane with feather fletching; sheet metal arrowpoints were optional.

Prior to the introduction and widespread dissemination of firearms among the Cherokees in the early eighteenth century, the bow was the primary armament used in hunting and warfare. Firearms gradually supplanted bows (although hunters and warriors frequently carried bows as backups) to such a degree that the Raven of Chota remarked in 1781, "I have been forced to resort to the use of the bow, a weapon that my son understands better than I" (Raven 1781). The continued (although diminished) production and use of bows in the nineteenth century is indicated by Captain Spirit's (a fullblood preacher also known as John Huss) 1828 letter to the *Cherokee Phoenix* complaining of the disgraceful conduct of "Cherokees from our country going about in the cities of the United States with bows and arrows, shooting about, and expecting to obtain a little money." Malone (1956:205) relates that Cherokee informants in Oklahoma recalled "stalk-shooting" contests with bows as a pastime in the pre-Removal Cherokee Nation. Spirit's account, and the organization of "stalk shooting" contests suggest that the bow and arrow was largely relegated to recreational use during the nineteenth century. "Alexis," in an 1852 visit to the eastern Cherokee enclave of Cartoogechaye, observed bows and arrows hung on the wall with firearms and blowguns in a Cherokee home. Traditional archery continued among the Eastern Cherokees well into the twentieth century (King 1976), and modern archery events on Qualla Boundary can be linked to nineteenth century precursors.

Twenty-eight households reported losses of dugout canoes (n=35) valued from $2.00 to $10.00 each. These were probably troughlike vessels hewn from yellow poplar logs; surviving examples exhibit flat, keelless bottoms, vertical bouts and identical, sloping bows and sterns . *Ahtahnahtuskee* reported a canoe two feet wide and 30 feet long; the others probably varied

from 12 to 30 feet in length. Cherokee families used canoes for ferrying people and goods across unfordable streams, for transport along navigable stream courses, and as platforms for spearfishing. Production and use of dugouts was not a uniquely aboriginal trait; numerous Anglo-Americans and African-Americans plied southern waterways in dugouts of their own design and manufacture. Nonetheless, the dugout canoes reported by Cherokee households from the study area likely represent the direct continuity of a native technological tradition.

Claims for canoes are particularly concentrated among households resident along the Hiwassee River in Cootlohee and Turtletown (11 claims), and among households resident along the Nottely River (eight claims). These are the most navigable stream segments in the study area, and also contained the greatest concentrations of fishtraps in the study area. It is likely that many of these families maintained canoes for servicing fishtraps and other fishing activities.

Producers' Commodities

Cherokee households reported losses of a variety of raw commodities that may be characterized as producers' goods, including wool, cotton, tallow, steel and iron, salt, hides, furs, leather, and feathers. Some of these raw materials were household products intended for manufacture into goods for household use or for trade in either raw or processed forms. Other raw materials, such as steel, iron, and salt, were purchased from commercial sources.

Ninety families reported losses of salt, an important commodity used to preserve meat and supplement livestock feed. Use of salt as a table condiment is also indicated by the incidence of salt cellars in several inventories. Individual claims ranged from one pint up to six bushels of salt; assigned values ranged from $1.00 per peck to $3.00 per bushel. Hunter's accounts document 16 sales of salt to Cherokee customers at an average price of $4.00 per bushel.

Fourteen claims list iron or steel stock among household losses. This unfabricated metal was, presumably, material used in smithwork for manufactures and repairs, but only two of the claimants (Jackson,William Boling) listed ironworking equipment. It is likely that the other claimants kept metal stock on hand to supply smiths when they needed repairs or fabrication. Hunter's accounts indicate sales of steel and iron to Thomas Raper, David England, William Boling, John Welch, and Charles Buffington, at least three of whom operated forges. Boling's purchases amounted to 71 pounds of iron; his spoliation claim lists 50 pounds of iron worth $6.50 and 50 bushels of coal for firing his forge.

Raw wool or cotton fibers used in the production of fabrics are represented in 98 claims; 26 households reported both wool and cotton. Fifty-one households reported losses of raw wool valued at $.25 to $.50 per pound; losses ranged from one to 50 pounds. Only half of

these households also reported sheep, indicating some redistribution of raw wool from producers to spinners and weavers. In other cases, it would appear that claimants had disposed of their sheep prior to military arrest, but retained raw wool or sheared fleeces. For instance, George Cherokee lost 50 pounds of raw wool but reported no sheep; Barrow lost 30 pounds of wool but only three sheep. The raw wool reported in the spoliation claims probably represents fleeces sheared in the spring of 1838, just prior to the removal operations; there was little time for this wool to be processed into finished products.

Seventy-three families reported losses of raw or cleaned cotton fibers valued at $.125 to $.25 per pound. Amounts claimed range from one pound up to 80 pounds of cotton per household (median= 8 lb.). This cotton was probably the remnant of the 1837 crop; it is likely that most of this crop had already been cleaned, spun, and woven during the winter of 1837-38. The quantities of cotton indicated in the spoliation claims suggest that Cherokee families in the study region grew cotton on a small scale for household use only; commercial production of cotton was probably restricted to Cherokee planters in the southern parts of the nation.

Four families (John *Towee*, Sucker, *Guhdahgee*, *Nequechee*) claimed losses of tallow worth $.10 per pound. This rendered beef fat was used as a general lubricant, a fuel for lighting fixtures and as an ingredient in soapmaking. Soap production is indicated by 50 claims, with reported losses of soap ranging from five to 100 pounds worth from $.06 to $.10 per pound. Soap production was a substantial cottage industry in the antebellum upland South (Dunaway 1996; Inscoe 1989), and it is likely that Cherokee soapmakers marketed their surplus wares to itinerant Anglo-American middlemen.

Forty claims report losses of furs, hides, or sides of leather. Twenty-one households listed a total of 55 deerskins worth $.25 to $1.75 each; eleven households claimed losses of dried cowhides (n=20) worth $1.00 to $3.50 each. These hides derived from animals killed for household subsistence, and were retained for either market use or use in home manufactures. Furs, including raccoon pelts (n=4) and bearskins (n=10) were reported by eleven households. Most claimants listed bearskins among their bedclothes; similar uses of bearskins are reported among Anglo-American families in the region (Jack Brown, personal communication 1987), and Hunter's store records indicate that *Sataka* dressed a bearskin for use by the Hunter household. Four raccoon skins reported by John Wayne are the only other peltry documented in the spoliation claims. The scarcity of pelts is likely a function of the late spring-early summer date of the losses; most Cherokee hunters and trappers probably sold their pelts soon after the winter hunting season. Hunter's store records indicate payments

in otterskins and bearskins and reflect sales of muskrat and raccoon pelts to contract fur buyers.

Eight spoliation claims (*Takalessutleska*, Robert Muskrat, Jim, *Nakee*, *Cuttuhyuhah*, Moses, Jack Christie, Barrow) document tanned leather used for the production or repair of tack, harness, and shoes. It is not clear where area residents procured tanned leather, but they may have obtained leather from tanneries operating in Anglo-American settlements near the study area. Leather was typically valued at $3.00 to $5.00 per side, and most claimants reported no more than three sides. However, Barrow of Cheoah reported a loss of $56.00 worth of leather, along with a dried cowhide and two deerskins. This loss of ten or more sides of leather, along with unprocessed hides, suggests that Barrow was engaged in tannery work or resale of leather.

Ten households reported losses of duck or goose down and feathers, filler used to stuff feather mattresses and pillows. These claims range from three pounds up to 30 pounds of feathers valued from $.50 to $.75 per pound. Six of these claims also report losses of ducks or geese; only one indicated the loss of a featherbed. Cherokee producers also found ready Anglo-American markets for their surplus feathers (Dunaway 1996; Inscoe 1989), and it is likely that itinerant middlemen purchased Cherokee commodities such as feathers, hides, honey, and beeswax for transport to Piedmont and Low Country markets.

Stored Crops

The majority of farm produce listed in the spoliation claims, such as beans, peas, and fruit, represent household food resources (for human consumption) and cannot be strictly classified as producers' perishable goods. Only two products, corn and fodder, appear to represent producers' commodities, inasmuch as both were sold to local markets or were used as livestock feed. Stored maize is documented by 185 claims, with reported losses ranging from one to 500 bushels (at $.50 to $1.00 per bushel). The prevalence of maize in the claims reflects its preeminent role in the Cherokee economy as a dietary staple, livestock feed, and marketable product that served as a medium of exchange. Most claims report less than 20 bushels of corn; these most likely represent food stores for human consumption and should be considered as consumers' perishable goods. Sixty-nine households reported more than 20 bushels of stored maize, with surplus amounts ranging from two to 480 bushels. These Cherokee producers found markets for their surplus corn by direct sales to Anglo-American drovers, or by sales or trade of corn to stock stands along regional thoroughfares. One-fifth of the account payments at Hunter's store consisted of corn, a commodity that Hunter resold to hog drovers at his stand. Such payments cluster during November and December, after the fall harvest and at the height of the hog drives; this seasonal pattern may account for the

relative scarcity of surplus corn in Cherokee households at the time of Removal. In addition, recurrent crop failures in 1836 and 1837 occasioned widespread food shortages in the Valley Towns region, and only the largest and most efficient producers boasted surpluses.

Ten households reported losses of stacks or bundles of fodder, livestock forage consisting of maize leaves stripped from stalks after the ears mature. Fodder was typically gathered in the fall before the first killing frost and stored in bundles or stacks as winter feed for horses and cattle. Stock stands provided local outlets for Cherokee farmers to sell surplus fodder, and Hunter's accounts document 37 instances of Cherokee customers paying debts with fodder. *Oogetutla* of Hanging Dog reported the largest loss of fodder, with 1500 bundles worth $22.50. *Cauleche* lost seven fodderstacks worth $21.00, and *Caulahhah* lost three stacks worth $15.00. It is likely that the rare incidence of fodder in the claims reflects both its low unit value, and the general depletion of fodder stores after the passage of the winter feeding season.

Consumers' Goods

Much of the equipment and supplies reported in Cherokee spoliation claims consists of items used in the maintenance and comfort of the household; such consumers' goods did not contribute directly to the generation of household subsistence or commercial income. These consumers' goods include a wide array of mass-produced wares purchased from commercial outlets as well as goods produced within the home or by neighbors engaged in craft production for limited local markets. Consumers' durable goods include household furniture and equipment such as bedding and lighting devices, cookware and tableware, clothing, personal paraphernalia and equipment for leisure activities, and tack or equipment for horseback riding. Perishable or expendable consumers' goods include foodstuffs and beverages for human consumption as well as household supplies such as soap. Although distinguished as a separate class of goods for purposes of this study, most of the native technologies (e.g., baskets, ceramic vessels, hominy mortars) reported in the spoliation claims may also be considered as consumers' goods.

Although consumers' goods constituted a relatively small proportion of the chattel wealth owned by Cherokee households in the study sample, such items were particularly important denominators of socioeconomic status and cultural identity. While producers' goods embody the differential assimilation of new economic modes and skills by Cherokee families, these technologies and supplies seldom constituted effective fields for the nuanced communication of values or symbolization of ethnic affinity. Cherokee families and individuals exercised broader latitudes of choice in the material construction of domestic environments and personae, and consumers' goods, both store-bought and homemade,

formed the primary visual media for demarcating Western or traditional identities. By choosing to wear a shawl turban and blanket or a felt hat and tailored coat, the Cherokee consumer effectively communicated his social, cultural, and even political affinities. By serving foods from matched sets of tableware, Cherokee families participated in the individualizing discipline that pervades modern Western culture; conversely, when Cherokees shared communal meals from native vessels, they celebrated and reified the corporacy of traditional society. Consumer's goods were the omnipresent physical media of social transactions, and in these settings served to communicate and reinforce the contrastive value structures key to ethnic identity and differentiation.

Household Furnishings and Equipment

The spoliation claims are replete with accounts of household furniture and ancillary equipment, articles that few Cherokee families were able to transport under the duress of military removal. These claims reveal the widely varied living standards that Cherokee families developed based upon either Western models or traditional sensibilities about the use of interior space. Some of the wealthier Cherokee families reported large assemblages of beds and bedding, chairs, tables, cupboards, mirrors, and fireplace equipment similar to the Anglo-American yeoman households represented in the comparative sample of McMinn County probate inventories. However, most claims reflect sparse furnishings and spare household equipment, a pattern similar to both eighteenth century Cherokee antecedents (Adair 1930; Becker 1977; Steiner and deSchweinitz 1799; Timberlake 1765) and many contemporary frontier Anglo-American households (Featherstonaugh 1847; Olmstead 1860). Contemporary narrative accounts suggest that such minimalism was prevalent. Missionary Samuel Worchester noted:

> Their [the Cherokees] houses are not generally well furnished, many have scarcely any furniture, though a few are furnished even elegantly, and many decently. Improvement in the furniture of their houses appears to follow after improvement in dress, but at present is making rapid progress (Worchester 1830).

An 1830 memorial on the condition of the Cherokee people by an assembly of missionaries observed: "In the furniture of their houses, perhaps, the mass of people suffer more than in almost any other respect by comparison with their white neighbors" (Byhan, et al. 1830). S.W. Woodhouse, a surveyor in the western Cherokee Nation in 1849, described the interior of a typical Cherokee cabin:

> ... the cabin was a small one about 10 by 12 feet plastered inside and out with mud, having a large fireplace at one end in which there was a fire– this was the only light they had... in one corner of the room there was a dresser containing a few cups and saucers & other house keeping articles– two trunks and a few chairs was all that the room contained (Woodhouse 1992:152).

Sixty years after the Removal, Federal Agent J.C. Hart, made similar generalizations about eastern Cherokee household equipment:

> ... The furniture is simple and cheap. An iron pot, a bake kettle, a coffeepot and mill, small table, and a few cups, knives, and spoons are all that is needed. These, with one or two bedsteads, homemade, a few pillows and quilts, with feather mattresses for winter covering, as well as for the usual purpose, constitute the principal house possessions (Mooney 1900:219).

Westernized Anglo-Cherokee families maintained more complex and diverse household equipment like that Woodhouse observed at the home of Elijah Hicks, a wealthy *métis* slaveholder:

> ...So I took a glance around the room– in three of the corners were larg[e] double bedsteads of a rude kind but the cloathing [sic] was very neat & clean– on the east side of the room was a large fireplace just above it in the corner was a small pine table and on the side a trunk. The north side of this room over the table was pinned to the wall [a] pictorial brother Jonathan July 4th [18]49 and a small looking glass (Woodhouse 1992:133).

The Hicks family's dining table, chairs, and cupboard were likely contained in the other pen of their dogtrot house. Hitchcock [1841] noted that Lewis Ross, the wealthiest man in the Cherokee Nation, maintained furnishings comparable to wealthy Anglo-American merchants and planters:

> ...his floor carpetted, his furniture elegant, cane bottomed cherries, of high finish, mahogany sofa, two superior Boston rocking chairs, mahogany ladies work table with drawers, a very superior Chickering piano... (Hitchcock 1930:44).

Most Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina lived in homes that were "not generally well furnished" or which had "scarcely any furniture." Only 247 claims (46%) indicate any losses of furniture; one quarter of these claims report single pieces of furniture. Most of these claims list dining tables (n=198) and chairs (n=606) among their household goods. Tables figure in 178 claims; only 19 cases include more than one table. Most of these were probably simple, homemade harvest tables, with a rectangular plank top supported by a boxskirt frame attached to four stationary legs. A few claims indicate table materials (e.g., pine, walnut, poplar), but neither dimensions nor design are documented. Values assigned to tables range from $.50 to $8.00, with a median value of $3.00.

Straight chairs are reported in 156 claims, with losses from one to 12 chairs per household (median=4) at values ranging from $.25 to $1.65 each (median=$.50). Most of these chairs were probably simple, locally made ladderbacks with woven seats; one set of seven chairs is described as constructed of cherrywood. While most chairs were probably constructed from riven and hand-planed standards and rungs, the presence of lathes and chairmaking tools in a few claims indicates local production of more refined, turned-wood chairs as well. Elizabeth McDaniel claimed a single rocking chair worth $3.50. Other seating documented by the spoliation claims includes stools (n=32) and benches (n=11) constructed from riven slabs with legs fixed in auger holes. The incidence of 10 of these benches in the household of *Tsuwautsuckah*, a Baptist preacher, suggests seating for larger assemblies such as a church congregation. Nimrod Jarrett's account of a visit to a Cherokee dwelling in

Nantahala (Lanman 1849) indicates benches as seating and bed platforms, and it is likely that puncheon benches were much more common than the spoliation claims suggest.

Bedsteads (n=119), the next most commonly reported class of furniture, appear in only 78 claims. These simple ropebeds constructed of pine, poplar or walnut correspond to the "bedsteads of a rude kind" noted by Woodhouse. Values assigned to bedsteads range from $.50 to $6.00 (median $2.00). Most households claimed only one bedstead, but 31 families reported two or more bed frames. Anne Reed, the *métis* wife of N.B. Hyatt, a white storekeeper and stand owner, claimed six bedsteads, along with featherbeds and bedclothes. These probably represent hostelry furnishings for the convenience of drovers and other travelers on the Unicoi Turnpike. Seven households, including four slaveholding families (Robert Muskrat, Richard Walker, George Blair, Ned Christie) claimed losses of three bedsteads each. The distribution of bedsteads differed markedly between English- speaking and non-English-speaking sectors of the population. Among 45 English-speaking Cherokee families who reported losses of ten or more items, 21 (47%) claimed bedsteads, while only 54 (15%) of the 370 non-English-speaking households reported bedsteads. Chi-square tests indicate X^2 value of 11.57, with a P value of .0007. The incidence of bedsteads among 46% of the Anglo-Cherokee cases appears more comparable with bedstead incidence among Anglo-American farm households (76%) documented in McMinn County, Tennessee probate lists for the same period. The relatively low incidence of bedsteads in spoliation claims filed by non-English-speaking fullblood families may reflect prevalent patterns of sleeping on floors or wooden benches. Hitchcock [1841] observed that many families constructed elevated sleeping platforms similar to those depicted in eighteenth century accounts:

> There was a bedstead in the room made by boring a couple of auger holes in one of the logs of the building two or three feet from the floor in which are placed horizontal pieces projecting two or two and one-half feet; the ends are supported by crotched sticks, driven into the ground and these form the framework (Hitchcock 1930:154).
>
> ...I slept last night on a pallet of blankets & a coverlet upon some boards raised the usual height of a bedstead -- no sheets, or sheet even (Hitchcock 1930:204).

An anonymous white traveler in the eastern Cherokee enclave at Cartoogechaye in 1852 found similar accommodations at the home of *Eonah-con-a-heite*:

> ...The bed, however, consisted of two upright forks, from which other pieces of timber went into holes bored into the wall, and on which were placed boards, instead of a cord. Few feathers and less straw sufficed, and the covering was very scanty (Alexis 1852:117).

Mooney (1891:332) noted that: "...the greater part of the year whole families [of eastern Cherokees] sleep outside upon the ground, rolled up in an old blanket."

Thirty-three households reported loss of 40 looking glasses or wall mirrors valued at $.25 to $5.00 each (median=$1.50). Wall mirrors functioned as grooming aids and as reflecting devices to amplify the dim lighting in house interiors, but were, perhaps, most

significant in Anglo-American contexts as one of the necessary accouterments of household refinement. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, large, wall-mounted looking glasses were clearly luxury items that functioned as class denominators in British and Anglo-American society (Carr and Walsh 1994; Carson 1994). By the nineteenth century, mass-produced mirrors were more generally widespread as Anglo-American families of all social and economic standings gained access to the trappings of gentility. Within Cherokee contexts, wall mounted mirrors probably bore more general connotations of 'civilized' Western lifestyles, and Cherokee families acquired large looking glasses as evidence that they were "well-informed" and fashionable.

Twenty-four percent of the English-speaking families in the study sample reported looking glasses among their property losses, comparable to the 29% representation among Anglo-American households included in the McMinn County sample. By contrast, only 5.7% of the non-English-speaking Cherokee majority reported wall mirrors. It is noteworthy that Walker family households (Richard Walker, Anna Walker, Betsy Walker, Jo Walker, Nancy Walker Muskrat), all westernized fullbloods, account for a substantial proportion of claims for looking glasses, as do claims by native Baptist preachers (John Wickliff, *Chuleowah*, *Tsutanae*, *Chusawallee*, *Tsulawee*) who generally cultivated western lifestyles.

Sixteen families reported losses of wooden cupboards (n=16) valued from $.50 to $7.00 each. Such cupboards were typically used to store food service wares and cookwares; the scarcity of these storage cabinets indicates that most families kept cookware and service ware on hearths, in chests, under beds, or in hearth front cellars when not in use. By contrast, 45% (n=13) of contemporary McMinn County probate inventories list cupboards among household furnishings. Clothes, bedclothes, personal paraphernalia, and other valuables were stored in dressers (n=3), bureaus (n=1), trunks (n=34) or chests (n=21), and canisters (n=8). The wooden "blanket" chests were valued from $.50 to $12.00 each (median=$3.00); store-bought trunks were worth between $.75 and $10.00. A number of the less expensive trunks are described as "tin" and may represent smaller, table top boxes used for storing cash and jewelry; japanned tinware canisters saw similar uses. Larger, more expensive trunks are described as "hair" or leather units with integral locks. *Alkinney*, John Owl, and *Chununah* claimed wooden dressers valued from $1.00 to $4.00; these were probably simple chests of drawers. Anne Reed's $7.00 bureau was the single instance of this furniture type among North Carolina spoliation claims; by contrast, one third of the contemporary McMinn County probate inventories (Works Progress Administration 1937) list bureaus.

Spoliation inventories also document an array of other household equipment that cannot be strictly defined as furniture, such as bedding and linens, fireplace equipment, lighting

fixtures, clocks, wash basins, smoothing irons, and laundry equipment. Bedding includes mattresses (n=90), quilts (n=95), blankets (n=50), sheets (n=25), counterpanes (n=12), coverlets (n=8), bedspreads or bedcovers (n=7), and pillows (n=5). Mattresses, or beds (73 claims), typically consisted of sewn ticking covers stuffed with duck feathers, goose feathers, cornshucks, or straw. Such beds served not only as mattresses, but also as comforters in cold weather. Claimants assigned values ranging from $2.00 to $30.00 each (median=$10.00) to their featherbeds, and these mattresses were the most valuable household articles reported in the claims. Forty-four families reported patchwork quilts worth $.50 to $12.00 each (median=$5.00). These were probably similar to the quilts produced by Anglo-American and African-American craftspeople throughout the South, consisting of tops pieced from commercially made cloth, backs made from large pieces of domestic, and central insulation of cotton (or occasionally wool) batting assembled by tacking or quilting through the three layers. It is not known whether Removal Period Cherokee quilters produced distinctively native geometric or representational designs on their patchwork quilts, but later Cherokee quilts are indistinguishable from those made by Anglo-Americans. Most of the claims listed one or two quilts, but Anne Reed reported 10 quilts used at Hyatt's Stand, and Peggy Balltown (widow of Anglo-American William Jones and fullblood chief Balltown George) claimed six quilts. Commercially made woolen blankets appear in 34 claims, at values ranging from $1.00 to $9.00 each (median=$3.5). In many instances, blankets doubled as personal outerware, and it is likely that most blankets were retained as clothing at the time of removal. Counterpanes, coverlets, and bedspreads reported by 11 households were probably elaborate loom woven bed covers; values assigned to these covers range from $3.00 to $10.00 each. Sixteen households claimed cotton or linen sheets worth $.50 to $3.00 each. Betsy Walker, John Tucker, and *Oogersquawtee* reported losses of feather-filled pillows worth $1.00 to $1.50.

The scarcity of bedding and bedclothing in Cherokee claims contrasts with abundant bed furniture represented in contemporary Anglo-American probate lists from McMinn County, which indicate bedding in over 75% of farm households. Over half of the Anglo-American households owned two or more beds with requisite sheets, pillows, coverlets, and quilts. By contrast, less than one quarter of the Cherokee households reported bedding, and 70% of these claims reflect losses of only one or two articles of bedding. Only the most extensive claims for bedding, such as those filed by Anne Reed, Wilson Christie, Peggy Jones Balltown, and Young Duck, resemble the assemblages reported in Anglo-American probate inventories. The rather limited incidence of bedding and bedclothes in the claims records reflects a combination of factors. Many, if not most, Cherokees in the study area slept on their house

floors or outside without the benefit of bedding other than blankets. It is also likely that many families that owned bedding took along their bedclothes at the time of their arrest in anticipation of extended incarceration and deportation.

Thirteen households reported losses of fireplace equipment, including andirons or firedogs (n=12) and fireshovels and tongs (n=12). These accouterments appear to have been particularly concentrated in the homes of Anglo-Cherokees (i.e., Elizabeth McDaniel, Anne Reed, Jeremiah Tucker, Isaac Tucker, John Christie, Edward Christie) and among more westernized bilingual fullbloods (i.e., Anna Walker, *Tsutanae*). These types of formal hearth equipage appear to have been part of the requisite trappings of respectable Anglo-American homes; more than 40% of contemporary probate inventories from McMinn County, Tennessee include such equipment. The low incidence of hearth tools in Cherokee contexts suggests that most Cherokee families tended their homefires with *ad hoc* equipment.

Few Cherokee households possessed any lighting paraphernalia, and it can be assumed that most households illuminated their cabin interiors only with firelight from the hearth. Only six spoliation claims (i.e., John Wickliff, Betsy Walker, *Chusawallee*, Elizabeth McDaniel, Anne Reed, and Peggy Jones Balltown) list candlesticks, candlestands, candlemolds or candle snuffers. In the culture of "improvement" touted as the white agrarian ideal, lighting fixtures were important elements which extended the workday, or allowed household members to read in order to become "well informed." Interior lighting served as a class denominator in Anglo-American society; well-lit homes were the prerogative of the upper classes and came to symbolize "civilized" and genteel life. Despite such connotations, only 20% of the households represented in contemporary McMinn County probate lists possessed lighting equipment, and Anglo-American travel accounts (e.g., Lanman 1849; Olmstead 1859) indicate that interior lighting was an exception in all but the wealthiest Anglo-American households in the southern mountains. It is noteworthy that all of the Cherokee claimants to lighting equipment had close linkages to Anglo-Americans or Anglo-American institutions. Anne Reed and Peggy Jones Balltown had white spouses; Elizabeth McDaniel was the Anglo-American widow of *métis* Thomas McDaniel. John Walker (husband of Betsy Walker) was brother to Richard Walker, an English-speaking fullblood slaveholder who served as a judge of the Cherokee Supreme Court. Both John Wickliff (*Kaneeda*) and *Chusawallee* were native Baptist preachers who adopted many of the forms and appearances of their white mentors at Peachtree mission. The "gospel candlestick" was a recurrent rhetorical image in the writings of the missionary Evan B. Jones; Wickliff's and *Chusawallee*'s candlesticks may have seen specific ritual use.

John Wickliff also reported the only clock indicated in spoliation claims from the region. This $25.00 wood-cased clock was probably a mantle timepiece with brass movements. Such clocks were common elements in Anglo-American farm households, and more than half of the McMinn County probate inventories list clocks among the property of decedents. The scarcity of clocks in Cherokee contexts is not surprising, inasmuch as such timepieces connote the linear segmentation and regularization of time, and the strict regimentation and scheduling of work activities; such concepts and practices were alien to traditional Cherokee constructions of time and temporal organization. Furthermore, clocks were prohibitively expensive and generally unavailable at local commercial outlets. The incidence of a clock in Wickliff's claim suggests both functional and symbolic connotations relative to Wickliff's role as a Baptist minister. John Wickliff probably needed to synchronize execution of his ministerial duties with the activities of Western missionaries and with the schedule of the Baptist mission at Peachtree. In addition, Wickliff's clock symbolized the inexorable, linear passage of time important to eschatological Christian belief; clocks mark the need to attend to spiritual as well as temporal matters before time runs out.

Laundry equipment, including washpots (n=4), tubs (n=12), washboards (n=3), and flatirons (n=13) were reported by 21 households, about 4% of the study sample. By contrast, almost 28% of contemporary Anglo-American probate lists from McMinn County include laundry equipment. It is likely that most Cherokee households laundered clothing at area streams using a minimum of equipment or washed their clothes in more generalized containers such as wooden keelers. Almost half of the claims for laundry equipment issued from Anglo-Cherokee families (George Blair, Charles Buffington, Edward Christie, James Hawkins, Jerry Tucker, Elizabeth McDaniel) or highly westernized fullblood families (e.g., Betsy Walker, Robert Muskrat, Aikey Bearpaw), a pattern that reflects the proliferation of task specific equipment sets in more westernized households.

General purpose containers, such as buckets (n=249), pails (n=736), keelers (n=163), and piggins (n=16) were essential elements of household equipment, and are equally represented in claims from every sector of Cherokee society. Buckets typically denote one to three gallon capacity tinware containers with carrying bails, valued at $.25 to $2.00 each (median=$1.00). Hunter's store offered such containers at $.63 to $1.50 each, but the limited purchases of these articles indicate that most Cherokees procured their buckets from other outlets. Tinware buckets were particularly useful as receptacles for cows' milk; the metal surfaces could be scrubbed or even sterilized between milkings. Pails were coopered wooden vessels (one to two gallon capacity) with rope bails, and were used primarily for hauling and holding household water. Values assigned to pails range from $ .25 to $2.00 each

(median=$.50); none are documented in Hunter's store accounts and it is likely that most pails were produced by local artisans. Keelers were small (3-5 gallons) coopered wooden tubs which served in a variety of food processing and clothes or dish washing capacities. Piggins were small (≈1 gallon) coopered vessels with integral wooden handles; these were typically used for drawing drinking water.

While most Cherokee families used general purpose vessels such as buckets and pails for personal ablutions, a few households reported more specialized vessels such as wash basins and chamber pots. Six Cherokees (*Sataka*, *Cajlahseegeeskee*, *Lawlo*, *Santoola*, Lucy Muskrat, Aiky Bearpaw) from the study area filed claims for pewter wash basins (n=10), containers valued from $.50 to $3.00 each. *Ahcooah* reported a chamber pot worth $.50. Although such specialized containers would appear to be a western innovation, the exclusive incidence of these forms in the claims of fullblood households suggests broader dissemination.

Larger general purpose storage containers documented in the spoliation claims include barrels (n=38), kegs (n=31), and hogsheads (n=32). These larger coopered containers served a variety of household storage and processing functions, but appear to have been particularly associated with the production, storage and transport of whiskey and other spirits. Other documented uses include storage of sugar, flour, lard, and soft soap. Edward Christie, who operated an 80-gallon still at the mouth of the Valley River, reported loss of 19 hogsheads and six barrels worth $25.00. Another distiller, Toonanailah, lost 13 hogsheads worth $13.00 and two brass spigots worth $1.00.

By comparison to contemporary Anglo-American households from McMinn County, most Cherokee households in the study sample appear poorly furnished and ill-equipped. Many of the items common to Anglo-American homes in McMinn County (e.g., clocks, lighting devices, fireplace equipment) occur only sporadically in the Cherokee inventories, and a number of household goods, such as washing machines, carpets, linen presses, sideboards, and secretaries, are completely absent from the Cherokee claims. The best equipped Cherokee households represented in the study sample included the basic furnishings essential to Anglo-American homes (e.g., beds and bedsteads, tables, chairs, cupboards, chests, trunks, mirrors, andirons, laundry equipment), but few embellishments. Although half of the claims in the study sample reported losses of furniture, most indicate four or fewer articles of furniture of only one or two types. Only 16 households reported losses of ten or more pieces of furniture; these include all of the westernized slaveholders (i.e., Edward Christie, Richard Walker, George Blair, Robert Muskrat, Charles Buffington) in the sample, as well as more westernized householders such as Betsy Walker, Anna Walker, Anne Reed Hyatt, and Elizabeth McDaniel. The distinct concentration of furniture among wealthier

and more westernized families suggests emulation of Anglo-American standards, which prescribed dining tables, individualized seating, free-standing bedsteads, wall mirrors, and an array of other equipment as prerequisite to gentile agrarian life (see Bushman 1991). By equipping their domestic interiors with the trappings of Anglo-American yeoman households, a few Cherokee families signaled their willingness to have their success and propriety judged by the material standards of Anglo-American society. They communicated these values to their children in the home environment, and used household furnishings to project their western identity to any visitors who came indoors. It is probably not coincidental that the most well furnished Cherokee homes were situated along the Unicoi Turnpike and other wagon roads, where Anglo-American travelers frequented homes as paying guests.

By contrast, the general paucity of furniture and ancillary equipment in most Cherokee homes may reflect continuity of aboriginal patterns prevalent during the eighteenth century, when fixed benchlines or platforms arrayed around the walls of *asi* served as multipurpose seating, bedding, and tables, and no freestanding furniture cluttered cramped living spaces. The scarcity of furniture and other household equipage in most Cherokee homes suggests that many Cherokee families did not embrace Western norms concerning organization and allocation of interior space, nor did they commit resources to acquire the emblematic "appointments" of the proper Anglo-American household.

Food Storage, Preparation, and Service Equipment

Commercially manufactured kitchenwares used in the storage, preparation and service of foodstuffs were a major component of Cherokee spoliation claims, and constitute a substantial proportion of the household goods lost by Cherokee families at the time of removal. Practically all spoliation claims (n=413; 95%) list such goods; total losses of ktchenwares ($6,138.82) account for almost half the value of all consumers' durable goods. Commercially manufactured kitchen goods evident in the spoliation claims include cast iron, sheet brass and sheet iron cookware, stoneware and coarse earthenware vessels for food storage and processing, refined earthenwares, pewterware and flatware (e.g., forks, spoons, and knives) for food service, and glasswares for beverage storage, service, and consumption.

Cookware reported in the claims includes a variety of cast iron vessels, such as kettles (termed 'dinner pots'), Dutch ovens with lids, frying pans, and spiders, as well as brass kettles and tinware kettles and pans. Cast iron cookware is reported in 390 spoliation claims, the most common class of items reported by Cherokee households; total losses of cast iron wares by study area households exceeded $3,900.00. Such cookware included iron kettles or dinner pots (n≈1205), Dutch ovens with lids (n=136), frying pans or skillets (n=101), and spiders or griddles (n=18). Cast iron dinner pots figure in 372 claims, with from one to 13 kettles per

claim at values ranging from $.75 to $6.50 each. These appear to have been the primary, all-purpose cookware in Cherokee households, and are, in many instances, the only cooking vessels reported by Cherokee families. Cast iron kettles were typically used in the preparation of soups, stews, beans and other liquid based pottage; the ubiquity of these vessels suggests that such foods were a central component of Cherokee diets. The cast iron Dutch ovens reported in 91 claims were used for enclosed dry cookery, such as bread baking. These flat-based, flaring-walled vessels are typically described as "bake ovens" in big, small, or "common" sizes; estimated values range from $.75 to $5.00 each. Frying pans, skillets, and spiders are reported in 92 claims; these wares were used for frying foods in oil, sautéing or searing foods, and griddle baking.

Brass kettles (n=31) are reported in 27 claims; estimated values range from $1.00 to $10.00 each (median=$4.00). Although most claims list only one such kettle, Lucy Muskrat of Shooting Creek reported four brass kettles worth $30.00; this may represent a specialized assemblage for sugar production or other large scale food processing. Brass kettles were among the first commercially manufactured goods that British traders introduced into Cherokee homes in the early eighteenth century, and Colonial Period trade inventories indicate a steady demand for sheet brass vessels throughout the period. Native customers particularly valued brass kettles for their durability, portability, and ease of use in direct heat cooking. After cheap, cast iron wares achieved widespread availability in the early nineteenth century, brass kettles declined in popularity, but remained current in the Indian trade. The U.S. War Department offered brass kettles (along with rifles and blankets) as premium incentives to induce poorer Cherokees to emigrate to Arkansas in 1817, 1819, 1828, and 1832.

Tinware cooking vessels were a popular and inexpensive alternative to brass and cast iron wares. Tin pans (n=254) were reported by 102 claims; most of these were probably low walled, tinned sheet iron baking pans worth $.125 to $1.33 each (median =$.50). Hunter offered such pans at $.38 to $.50 each. Tin kettles (n=8) are clearly indicated in only five claims, but it is likely that many of the lower valued pots (~$1.00) were sheet metal containers. The relative prominence of such tinwares in nineteenth century Cherokee kitchen assemblages is indicated by Cherokee Agent R.J. Meigs' observation that, "the Cherokees now pay a great deal of money for tinware, it being useful in every family" (Meigs 1816).

Coffee consumption is indicated by 53 claims for tinware coffee pots ($.25 to $2.00 each) and 11 claims for handcranked coffee mills. Evarts [ca.1822] indicated that coffee was popular among the Cherokees, "Some Indians... procure...foreign articles of luxury, particularly sugar and coffee, of which they are immoderately fond" (Morse 1822). Seventy

years later, Hart noted that, among the eastern Cherokees "The usual food is bean bread, with coffee" (Mooney 1900:179). Mooney, however, indicates that many older conservative Cherokees avoided coffee, which they regarded as poisonous (1900:214). This attitude may reflect similarity between coffee and the traditional black drink or physic and a perception that use of coffee negated the beneficial ritual effects of the black drink. Mooney's contention is bolstered by Hunter's store accounts, which indicate 28 purchases of coffee by Anglo-Cherokee customers but only three such transactions by fullbloods. However, spoliation claims for coffee pots exhibit no such trend, and no clear ethnic patterns of coffee use are indicated.

Cherokee cooks used sets of wrought or heavy iron wire pothooks (n=165) to suspend iron pots during cooking and for moving heated vessels. Nine claimants (Dick Henson, Jr., Anne Reed, Jeremiah Tucker, Isaac Tucker, Betsy Walker, Nancy Muskrat, Jackson Muskrat, Nancy, *Chusawallee*) reported iron potracks or trammels, adjustable frames for suspending multiple cooking vessels within fireplaces. Trammels were relatively common in Anglo-American kitchens, and one-quarter of the contemporary McMinn County probates list such devices.

Milk processing equipment, including churns (n=32), strainers (n=24), and milk pans (n=17), is listed in 48 spoliation claims from the study area. In view of the widespread incidence of dairy cattle among Cherokee households, the low incidence of special milk processing equipment is somewhat surprising, but it is likely that most families handled milk in multipurpose containers and strained milk through cloth or fine cane sieves. The churns, used to separate milkfat and consolidate butter, were probably locally made coopered vessels with wooden dashers; churn values range from $.25 to $2.50 per unit (median=$1.00). Although Webster (1838a) indicates that butter was available at reasonable rates in the Valley Towns, earlier travelers' accounts, such as Norton and Featherstonaugh, suggest that butter production was restricted to the more westernized Cherokee families. This is supported by the distribution of churns indicated in the spoliation claims; English-speaking households owned 42% of the churns represented. Pierced tinned sheet iron strainers were used to filter straw and other unwanted content from fresh milk; ceramic milk pans, also termed coolers, were broad, shallow containers that facilitated the rapid cooling of fresh milk, a processing step necessary to preserve sweet milk for drinking.

Other ceramic vessels for food and beverage storage and processing (i.e., jugs, crocks, and jars) appear in only 52 claims from the study area. Archaeological evidence (Riggs 1996; this volume, Chapter 6) indicates that these were alkaline glazed stoneware vessels comparable to the wares produced in the Edgefield District of South Carolina. Thirty-one households

reported a total of 63 stoneware jugs at values ranging from $.25 for a small container to $2.00 for a large demijohn. Crocks (n= 53) and jars (n=3) were reported by only 21 households. The low incidence of stoneware vessels among Cherokee households contrasts with the incidence of such vessels in 48% of the Anglo-American probate lists from McMinn County for the 1836–1841 period. This discrepancy probably reflects Cherokee reluctance to adopt certain aspects of western foodways and the processing and storage equipment essential to such food technologies. There is little evidence that Cherokee families undertook pickling or other food preservation methods that involved crockery. The limited incidence of large stoneware vessels among study area households may also reflect the difficulties in transporting such wares into the Valley Towns; Cherokees in the study area probably used native made earthenwares for many of the same functions as commercially made coarse stonewares and earthenwares.

Fifty-three households reported losses of a total of 202 glass bottles, six flasks, and five vials used for storage (and in some cases, consumption) of liquids. Most of these were probably blown, dark olive green "wine" bottles, which several claims describe as black glass bottles. The vials reported by *Tsutanae* were likely small, light gray tinted pharmaceutical bottles. Most bottles were valued at $.25, although one large bottle was valued at $1.00. Claims for bottles indicate that these containers were regarded as commodities quite distinct from their content, and glass bottles were retained for varied household uses long after their original contents were exhausted. This use pattern is illustrated by Hunter's accounts, which indicate that Ned Christie's wife purchased molasses and a bottle for $.75, while John Welch bought a quart of whiskey and a bottle for $.75.

The spoliation claims report relatively few kitchen utensils other than cookware and storage containers. *Takalessutleska* reported a single tinware funnel worth $.25, and 13 households claimed losses of tin water dippers valued at $.25 to $.50 each. The Muskrat, *Gahddahguskee*, Edward Christie, Richard Walker, and Anna Walker families reported losses of wood framed, brass wire sifters worth $1.00 each. Although butcher knives (n=45) were certainly basic kitchen equipment, only twelve knives are listed in sequences of kitchen goods, and it is clear that butcher knives were not restricted to kitchen settings but functioned as multipurpose tools. It is likely that Cherokee kitchens also included an array of homemade wooden utensils, such as paddles, stirring sticks, spatulas, and ladles, that their owners deemed too insignificant to report.

Commercially manufactured food service wares, documented in 336 spoliation claims, account for $1481.87 in property losses. These wares include refined earthenware vessels (i.e., plates, teawares, pitchers, bowls), tinware vessels, pewter vessels, glass decanters, glass

tumblers, knives, forks, and spoons as well as salt cellars, sugar dishes, pepper boxes, casters, and glass butter plates. Refined earthenwares for table service are reported in 311 claims, 71% of the study sample. Plates (n≈2400), which appear in 231 claims, are the most commonly reported forms. Teacups (n≈1000) and saucers are reported by 118 claimants. Other vessel types listed in the claims include bowls (n=259), pitchers (n=98), large serving dishes (n=105), mugs (n=17), castors, pepperboxes, and salt cellars. Fifty-nine spoliation claims lump refined earthenwares into more inclusive categories such as "1 lot of crockeryware," "1 sett of Queensware," or "delfware." Plates are broadly described as either white or "delf" (a generic vernacular term referring to all blue decorated white ceramics); both large (10 inch) "dinner" plates and small (8 inch) plates are indicated. Reported values for plates range from $0.08 to $0.25 each (median=$.125), and plates are generally indicated in sets of eight. Numbers of plates per household vary widely, with claims ranging from one to 48 plates (i.e., six sets). Although many of the wealthiest slaveholding families (e.g., Edward Christie, Robert Muskrat, George Blair, Richard Walker) claimed large numbers of plates, the quantity of such tablewares in households appears to bear little relationship to overall wealth or household size. In certain instances, large collections of plates appear to reflect extrafamilial food service. Anne Reed, probably fed Hyatt's stand customers from her collection of two dozen plates. Peter *Oganaya*, a native preacher, purchased 24 plates and 24 knives and forks at Hunter's store; these likely represent equipment for communal dining by his congregation.

Teacups and saucers are valued from $0.08 to $0.125 per unit, prices similar to those indicated in Hunter's accounts. The spoliation claims do not offer descriptions of these wares, but it is likely that most conformed to the polychrome handpainted, London-style cups evident in the archaeological record (see Chapter 6, this volume). Few ceramic teapots (n=3) were reported in the spoliation claims, and the lack of tea sales at Hunter's store suggests that such teacups did not figure in regular tea consumption by Cherokee households but served more general functions in beverage or liquid food (e.g., soup, stews) service.

Claims for teacups list as few as two to as many as two dozen (median=8). Like plates, the numbers of teacups claimed by households appear to bear little relationship to overall wealth or family size, yet the two largest collections of teawares belonged to Ned Christie and Richard Walker, both westernized slaveholders who also maintained large numbers of plates and other service wares.

Other vessel forms are less widely distributed. Fifty-nine households claimed whiteware bowls (n=259) that probably functioned in food preparation, bulk food service, and individual portioning and consumption. Values assigned to bowls range from $.125 to $1.25

each (median=$.25). Bowls are described as "white" or "delf"; six bowls had handles. Refined earthenware pitchers (n=97) appear in 53 claims, with values ranging from $.125 to $2.00. Claims describe "flowered" and "gilt" pitchers, presumably handpainted and gilded forms. Three of these pitchers were small creamers or cream mugs. Dishes (n=105), presumably large serving platters and broad shallow bowls, are represented in 41 claims. These probably resembled the edge decorated or transfer printed plates common in Cherokee homes. The 17 mugs claimed by seven families were probably annular or Mocha decorated wares. Four households (Ayosta, *Tsulaawwee*, Luiza, John Love) claimed ceramic pepperboxes; Anne Reed reported two ceramic castors. Seven families (Ned Christie, Wilson Christie, George Blair, Isaac Tucker, Rachael, *Keelahdooh*, Logfish) reported losses of ceramic sugar bowls or sugar dishes valued at $.50 to $1.50 each.

Pewter service wares, including plates, tumblers, and dishes, are indicated in 22 claims. Ten families claimed a total of 31 pewter plates; 13 households claimed 27 dishes, and one household claimed a single pewter tumbler. Pewterware was more durable than refined earthenwares, and could be melted and recycled into other forms, but was markedly more expensive than whiteware. No differential patterns of pewterware ownership are evident, and selection and acquisition of pewterware over refined earthenware appears to have been idiosyncratic.

Glasswares documented by claims from the study area include tumblers (n=45), decanters (n=5), a glass pitcher, two glass butter plates, and two glass salt cellars. Nine families reported losses of molded, leaded glass tumblers valued from $.125 to $.50 each. More than half of these tumblers were reported by Anne Reed (n=12) and her close neighbor, George Blair (n=12); these may represent wares for the entertainment of paying guests who stopped at their houses along the Unicoi Turnpike. Anne Reed also listed a glass pitcher valued at $1.00. *Takalessutleska*, *Ootyiah*, John Muskrat, and Harry Colson reported losses of glass decanters, containers presumably used for storage and service of alcoholic spirits. The Robert Muskrat and Will households lost pressed glass butter plates; *Chewtoni* lost two glass salt cellars.

Among the cheapest and most commonly reported food service wares were tinware cups (n=~900) in half-pint, pint, and quart sizes. Values assigned to tin cups ranged from $.06 for small (one cup) containers to $.25 for quart sized containers. Cherokees often carried such cups as part of their personal equipage, as indicated by Payne's observation of a Cherokee contingent at Red Clay: "The party, entering, loosened the blankets which were loosely rolled and flung over their backs and hung them, with their tin cups and other paraphernalia attached, upon the fences" (Payne 1835). Although only 165 households claimed losses of

tin cups, it is likely that every family in the study area owned one or more of these drink containers. Four families (Polly, Black Fox, Walter Christie, Luther Rice) reported losses of tin cup and saucer sets, and *Ahyuhgee* and *Duhsahwohlatah* indicated japanned tinware tumblers.

Table cutlery, or flatware, such as forks, table knives, and spoons, is reported in 187 claims. Forks (142 claims) and table knives (151 claims) are frequently listed in sets of four or more place settings. Most forks were probably two-tined, tin plated iron forks with rattail tangs set in bone handles; table knives had comparable handles and haft elements. Values assigned to knives and forks range from $.25 to $.50 per pair. Because the values of knife and fork sets range between $.50 and $4.50, it is difficult to establish exact numbers of forks and table knives represented. Most claims report single sets of four to six place settings, although nine (Ballsticks, *Caulahhah*, John Christie, Walter Christie, Nancy, Polly, Anne Reed, *Takee*, Richard Walker) households claimed two sets of knives and forks, and Edward Christie reported loss of four sets of knives and forks.

Metal teaspoons and tablespoons are reported in 107 claims from the study area, with households listing from one to fifteen spoons each. Most of these spoons were lightweight tin-plated iron forms; Anne Reed claimed a set of silver spoons. Spoons frequently are listed independently of knives and forks, and the largest numbers of spoons were reported by families that claimed neither table knives nor forks (e.g., *Eyosista*, Stop), an indication that spoons were conceptually distinct from knife and fork sets. Unlike forks, metal spoons were closely analogous to native forms and were readily substituted into traditional patterns of food consumption.

The high incidence of commercially manufactured food service wares among Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina indicates the rapid and widespread adoption of western dining technologies throughout all sectors of Cherokee society. It is unclear, however, the degree to which food service wares functioned similarly (or bore similar meanings) in Cherokee and Anglo-American contexts. John Ridge, a leading *métis* apologist of the period, indicates that among Anglo-Cherokees,

> ... the same rule and etiquette is observed at table as in the first families of the whites (they have their regular meals as the whites ... and the tables are usually covered with a clean cloth -- & furnished with the usual plates -- knives & forks, etc.) (Sturtevant 1981:81).

Contemporary Anglo-American belief held Western table etiquette and its associated equipage highly emblematic of "civilized" behavior, and Ridge's assertion that Cherokees observed Western food consumption rituals was key to his argument that the Cherokees were "civilized" and thereby worthy of equal consideration under American law and policy. As Deetz (1977), Leone and Shackel (1987), and others (Carr and Walsh 1994; Carson 1994;

Shackel 1992b; Zuckerman 1991) have observed, modern Western dining behaviors and equipage developed during the eighteenth century as part of a "Georgian" or "Anglicizing" discipline that paralleled the emergence of the British dominated world system. This code emphasized the concepts of personal discipline, institutional control, order, symmetry, standardization, cleanliness and purity, all justified as "natural order" defined by the Enlightenment philosophy of classical Rationalism. This discipline and its paraphernalia emerged as a high style reaction to sumptuary encroachments by the lower and middle classes, but rapidly diffused throughout British and Anglo-American societies in a "vernacularization of gentility" (Bushman 1991).

While some English-speaking Cherokees may have assimilated the more nuanced codes of meaning associated with commercial tablewares, it is likely that most Cherokees understood only the more inherent meanings of Western tablewares that are communicated and reinforced in use contexts. For instance, matched sets of mass-produced tablewares promote (and even enforce) the regimentation of food service and consumption through segmentation of individual servings. This individualized food service was a major departure from traditional Cherokee corporate dining patterns, which another *métis*, Elizabeth Taylor, described in 1828:

> [In] The unenlightened parts of this nation [i.e., North Carolina]...their dishes are made by themselves of clay ... eight or ten will often get around one of these on the ground with one wooden spoon, one will take a mouthful and pass it on to the other (Taylor 1828).

The emphasis of these traditional meals was the intimate sharing of food within the corporate group; foodstuffs were not apportioned and allocated by servers, but rather consumed equally in a continuously revolving pattern. Those Cherokees who purchased and habitually used mass-produced tablewares effectively rejected such corporate rituals of food sharing in favor of connotations of modernity and cleanliness associated with refined white earthenwares and plated utensils. The contrast between individualized Western food service and traditional communal dining embodies the traditional-modern continuum, emphasizing in metaphor and practice a shift from corporate based world view to individually focused world view.

Commercial tablewares also connote a regimentation of dining schedule, the "regular meals" to which Ridge alluded. While Anglo-Americans were accustomed to three meals a day at fixed times, Cherokee meals were markedly spontaneous; Evans [ca. 1835] notes that the North Carolina Cherokees believed one should "eat when you are hungry" (Evans 1979). Similarly, Washburn (1971) observed (ca. 1820) that the Cherokee leader *Ta-kah-to-kuk* disliked the Anglo-American practice of scheduled meals, believing that hospitality required that food always be readily available. While traditional Cherokee meals consisted of foodstuffs that could remain ready to consume throughout the day, Western meals were sit-down affairs with definite progressions from fixed commencement to conclusion. Such time

regimentation is basic to the modern Western discipline, but antithetical to traditional Cherokee concepts of time and daily progressions. If Cherokee consumers used commercially produced tablewares to seat scheduled meals, they established temporal pivots that determined work and leisure schedules in patterns that approached Western modes.

The ubiquity of Western tablewares in Cherokee homes suggests that Cherokee consumers either accepted aspects of the individualizing discipline and time management or that they recast plates, cups, knives, and forks into more explicitly native frames of meaning and use. Cherokee consumers may also have employed Western tablewares selectively and situationally, alternating between individual and corporate service as occasion demanded. Discriminating such differences in meaning is problematic, but these emphases may be reflected by variation in the overall size, value, and diversity of food service assemblages. Reported losses of tablewares vary substantially, ranging from Rising Fawn's claim for three teacups worth $.20 to Edward Christie's $42.00 assemblage of china and utensils. The median value reported for food service wares is $3.00, and only 10% of the tableware assemblages exceed $10.00 in value. In most households, tablewares were limited to a few plates, some cups and saucers, and a set of knives and forks, enough utensils for basic dining purposes but insufficient to equip a table to Anglo-American standards. This suggests that most Cherokee families used commercially manufactured tablewares in a workaday fashion without concern for the nuanced dining codes of Anglo-Americans. It is, perhaps, significant that English-speaking Cherokee households claimed significantly larger and more diverse assemblages that their non-English-speaking counterparts. Among 37 English-speaking households that filed claims for tablewares, losses ranged from $1.25 to $42.00, with a mean value of $12.36 and median value of $8.75. Non-English-speaking claimants (n=291) reported collections of tablewares worth from $.20 to $33.00 (mean=$3.78; median=$2.75). Wilcoxon rank sums comparison of these distributions reveals a significant difference (Z=3.71; $p>|t|$ .001) between the values of tablewares claimed by English-speaking and non-English-speaking households. English-speaking households claimed an average of four types of tablewares (range: 1-12), while non-English-speaking households averaged only two types (range:1-12). A Chi-square comparison of the distribution of tableware types indicates a significant difference between English-speaking and non-English-speaking households (X^2=37.17; p>.0001). The generally greater size and diversity of tableware assemblages reported by English-speaking households suggest a pattern of consumption more clearly informed by Western values. Some of the largest and most diverse collections of tablewares were reported by wealthy Anglo-Cherokees who lived along the region's wagon roads, where they frequently hosted Anglo-American travelers at Western-styled tables. For example, Edward

Christie, a wealthy slaveholder who lived at the intersection of the new state road and the Unicoi Turnpike, reported 18 bowls, 24 cups and saucers, 16 knives and forks, 16 spoons, 48 plates, 12 tin cups, and two sugar bowls. These wares were sufficient to serve his family of ten and three black slaves plus a number of visitors. George Blair, another slaveholder who lived along the Unicoi Turnpike, lost servicewares including two sets of plates, two sets of cups and saucers, a teapot, eight bowls, two dishes, six pitchers, a dozen tumblers, two sugar bowls, three salt cellars, a set of knives and forks, a set of tablespoons, and a set of teaspoons. Blair's neighbor along the Unicoi Turnpike, stand matron Anne Reed, claimed two dozen plates, a dozen bowls, a set of cups and saucers, eight dishes, six pitchers, two sets of knives and forks, a set of silver spoons, three salt cellars, two castors, two tinware cups, and a dozen tumblers.

Clothing

Although all members of the study population owned personal wardrobes of clothing, spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households from southwestern North Carolina document surprisingly few clothes. The paucity of clothing in the claims suggests that most Cherokee detainees hurriedly gathered their clothes at the time of their arrest, viewing clothing as the most essential possessions for any eventuality that developed from the mass detentions. It is also likely that many individuals wore their entire wardrobes to the concentration camps and on to Oklahoma. Because only 75 of the claims from the study area reported losses of clothing, it is difficult to evaluate the relationship between types and quantity of clothing, wealth, and household ethnicity. This is an unfortunate gap in the data set, because clothing frequently serves as a highly visible, proximate marker of ethnicity and socioeconomic class and in many cases acts as the primary material denominator of identity (Eicher 1995, Nash 1989, Roach-Higgins 1992, Wobst 1977). Nevertheless, the clothing documented in spoliation claims from the study area serves to illustrate the variety of personal garb prevalent among Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina.

Contemporary observers indicate a high degree of interethnic and intergenerational variation in the dress of Cherokee males. Norton's account of his 1809 tour of the Cherokee Nation describes both *métis* dressed in Western styled clothing and the traditional costume prevalent among Cherokee males:

> ...The dress of the men consists of mocassins, leggins, generally of deer leather, which reach to the top of the thigh, a quarter of a yard of broad-cloth which passes between the thighs, and is fastened by a belt round the waist, the two extremities falling down behind and before; a shirt, and frock which reaches below the knee, a cap or hat, or a shawl tied round the head (Klink and Talman 1970:134).

Similarly, Cornelius distinguished Westernized *métis* planters from fullblood chiefs who were:

> ...less civilized in their exterior. Their ears were slitted, after the Indian manner, and pieces of silver attached to them. Their dress was the hunting shirt, vest, turban, deer-skin leggins, with silk or other garters, and moccasons... (Cornelius 1817, in Edwards 1833:75).

In a reversal of emphasis, Worchester (1830) stresses the prevalence of Western costume among Cherokee males, but notes the persistence of an "Indian style" of dress:

> ...At the last session of the General Council, I scarcely recollect having seen any members who were not clothed in the same manner as the white inhabitants of the neighboring States; and those very few,...who were partially clothed in Indian styles, were, nevertheless very decently attired... Among the elderly men there is yet a considerable portion... who retain the Indian dress in part. The younger men almost all dress like the whites around them, except that the greater number wear a turban instead of a hat, and in cold weather a blanket frequently serves for a cloak (Worchester 1830).

George Featherstonhaugh, who attended the Red Clay council in 1837, indicates both ethnic and regional trends in Cherokee dress:

> ... they (the Cherokees) were not to be confounded with the wild savages of the West, being decently dressed after the manner of white people, with shirts, trousers, shoes and stockings, whilst the half-breeds and their descendants conformed in every thing to the custom of the whites.... The pure bloods had red and blue cotton handkerchiefs folded on their heads in the manner of turbans, and some of these, who were mountaineers from the elevated districts of North Carolina wore also deer-skin leggings and embroidered hunting shirts... (Featherstonhaugh 1847:232).

When Featherstonhaugh traveled through the Valley River region, he noted Cherokee men distinguished by their "...swarthy Tartar countenances with turbans and striped calico hunting shirts" (Featherstonhaugh 1847:283). J.P. Evans [ca. 1835], provides a more detailed description of Cherokee dress in southwestern North Carolina:

> The dress of the men, consists of a short gown, generally called hunting shirt; in the construction of which, considerable taste is sometimes displayed. A beaded belt, (especially in winter) is worn around the waist. Coarse homespun pantaloons are the most common; but some old men disdain their use and wear deer skin leggings. Moscassins [sic] are yet extensively used by both men and women; but shoes are coming into use. The blanket, like the highland plaid of Scotland, serves as a cloak by day and a bed at night (Evans 1979:12).

Cherokee males continued to use distinctive modes of dress to denote ethnic affinity and socioeconomic status in post-Removal Indian Territory. Hitchcock and Gregg made special note of these distinctions:

> ...The dress and general deportment of the prosperous correspond very nearly to those of a white population. Shoes are almost universally in use; cloth coats and pantaloons are extensively worn, and hats are common, though many prefer a shawl turban in place of a hat... The common people wear leggings of dressed deer skins, and sometimes coats of the same material, while some continue to wear the blanket as their principal covering... (Hitchcock 1930:7).
>
> ...great numbers... dress according to the American fashion... but the ruder portions... wear the hunting-shirt, sometimes of buckskin, but now more commonly of calico, cotton plaid or linsey. Instead of using hats, they wreathe about their heads a fancy-colored shawl or handkerchief... (Gregg 1844:318).

The contrasts and variety in Cherokee male costume are well illustrated by a number of contemporary portraits by Western artists. Contemporary portraits of John Ross, Joseph Vann, John Ridge, and Jesse Bushyhead show elegant broadcloth suits, complete with linen shirts, vests, and neckstocks (Figure 5.2). More traditional costumes are depicted in the portraits of Dutch, Spring Frog, George Lowery, and *Tsolocha* (Figure 5.3). These portraits and narrative

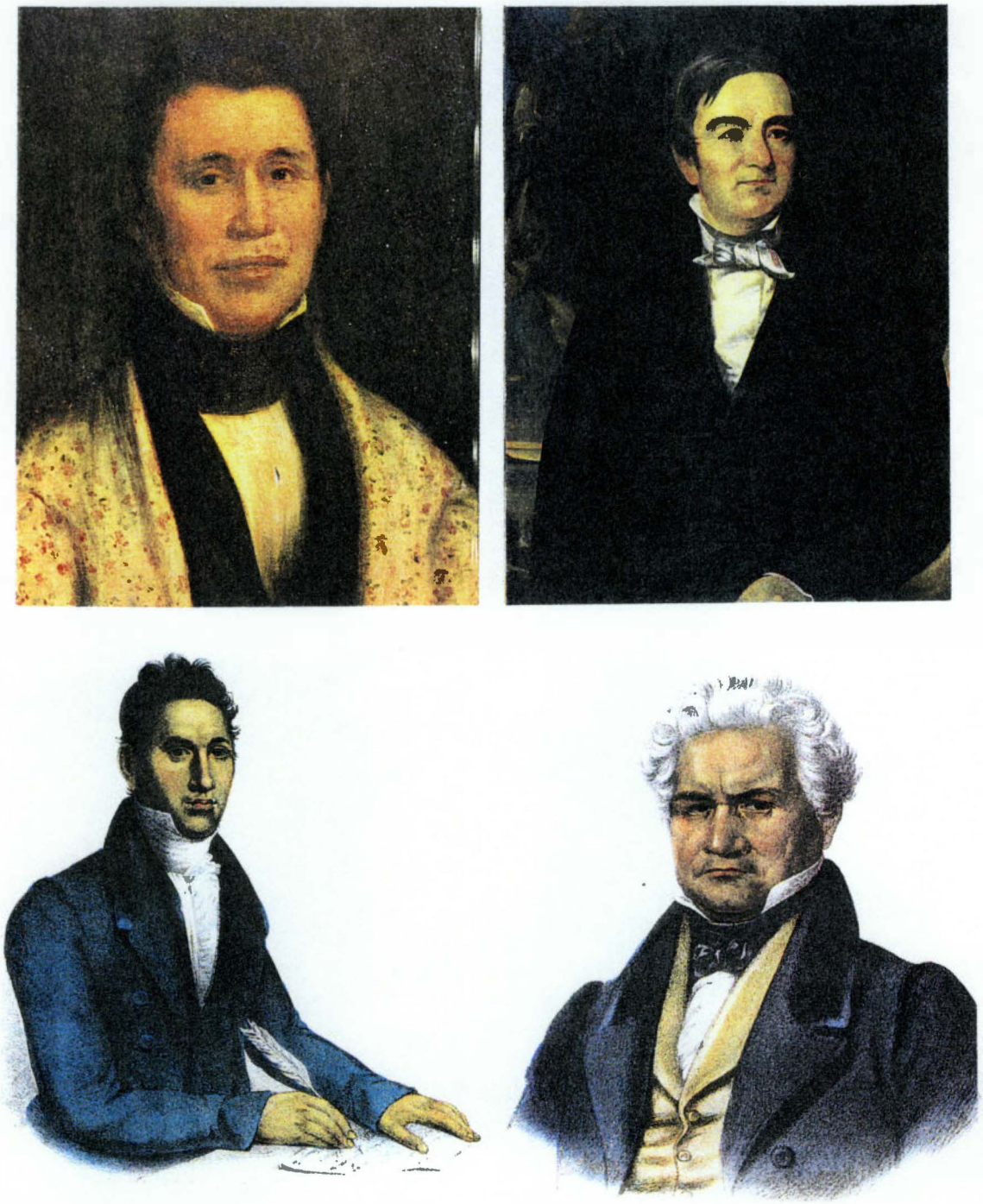


Figure 5.2. Western modes of dress used by nineteenth century Cherokee males.
top left: Jesse Bushyhead,1828 portrait by Charles Bird King (Cherokee National Museum, Tahlequah, Oklahoma); top right: John Ross, 1846 portrait by John Neagle (Oklahoma Historical Society); bottom left: John Ridge (McKenney and Hall 1835-1836); bottom right: Major Ridge (McKenney and Hall 1835-1836).

Figure 5.3. Traditional modes of dress for Cherokee males. left: *Tsolocha*, 1833 portrait by Karl Bodmer (Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska); top right: George Lowrey, 1844 portrait by John Mix Stanley (Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma); bottom left: *Tahchee* (McKenney and Hall 1835-1836).

accounts suggest at least two distinct modes of dress, "European" and "Indian," current among the Cherokees in the pre-Removal era. Anglo-American observers described those *métis* and few fullbloods who wore suit coats, pantaloons, stockings, shirts, suspenders, neckstocks, hats and hard soled shoes as "civilized," "refined," and "well informed," following the dictum that "the clothes make the man." The Cherokees who emulated Western dress signaled a clear affinity for Western lifestyles and values and marked their break with traditional corporate society; they were no longer "Indian," but considered themselves "civilized" or "improving." The great majority of Cherokee males clothed themselves in hunting shirts, turbans, and moccasins, and wore beaded sashes and bandolier bags to mark their "Indian" identity in a pan-tribal style shared by many native groups east of the Mississippi. Hitchcock, who traveled extensively in the Indian Territory in 1841, observed the "Indian" mode of dress and its denotation of native identity among the Muskogees:

> These Indians are quite primitive in their appearance and I am told by white men that some of the towns this way are so hostile to the whites ... that they will not wear pantaloons. Why they make a difference and wear coats and vests I do not see.... He is a tall well made Indian over 45, perhaps 50 years of age. Had on a blue frock coat of good cloth, but wore deerskin leggings. Several of the chiefs today were dressed in cloth coats or overcoats & skin leggings, some had turbans on, nearly all had moccasins instead of shoes. Some common Indians had blankets, worn in the usual Indian style (Hitchcock 1930:112).
>
> ...There were some forty-odd Indians in and about the room nearly all dressed in Indian costumes; I mean with but very few indications of a disposition to wear clothing from white ingenuity....Some of these people as I am informed and believe, will not wear a white man's dress, such is their bitterness of feeling on account of the wrongs inflicted upon them. Most of those I saw yesterday had on a turban, a shirt of calico bound with a beaded belt, buckskin leggings and moccasins; some of them had on overcoats, but the most had a blanket over them...(Hitchcock 1930:144).

The dichotomy between western and native costume assumed tremendous significance in the dialogue over assimilation, and eventually, Cherokee patriotism. During the 1811–1812 nativistic movement, Cherokee prophets exhorted their followers to "put aside everything that is similar to the white people" in anticipation of an apocalypse in which "all the white people would be snatched away as well as Indians who had any clothing ... of the whiteman's kind" (Mauleshagen 1964). The contrasts between the costumes of the *métis* and fullbloods that Featherstonhaugh observed at Red Clay were not accidental; they symbolized the opposing cultural factions that negotiated political accommodations, and both constituencies dressed to actively project their identities in a highly charged, affect-laden situation. The symbolic significance of clothing and self presentation in such settings is illustrated by Cherokee national councilman Thomas Foreman's public criticism of the Treaty faction at the Red Clay council ground: "...these men have good clothes on- why could they not be satisfied with their property and not try to suck for more in the veins of their country?" (Curry 1834).

This criticism was later actualized when Foreman took part in the assassinations of several well-dressed Treaty Party members.

Although spoliation claims from the study area indicate relatively few losses of men's clothing, they document men's pantaloons, shirts, hunting shirts, vests, dress coats, hats, and neckstocks, as well as cloaks, capes, shoes, moccasins, stockings, and shawls, which may represent either men's or women's wear. Fourteen households filed claims for losses of pantaloons valued from $1.00 to $3.00 per pair, prices comparable to Hunter's rates of $1.00 to $8.00 for ready-made pants. It is somewhat surprising that the claims document pantaloons or breeches to the exclusion of deerskin leggings, in view of Evans' assertion that "Coarse homespun pantaloons are the most common; but some old men disdain their use and wear deer skin leggings" and Featherstonhaugh's observation that "The pure bloods...who were mountaineers from the elevated districts of North Carolina wore also deer-skin leggings." Hitchcock (1930:7) differentiated "the prosperous" among whom "pantaloons are extensively worn" from "the common people" who "wear leggings of dressed deer skins." Earlier in the nineteenth century, Cherokees regarded tailored, broadfall pantaloons as particularly symbolic of the white man; *Ta-kah-to-kuk*, an elder leader of the Arkansas Cherokees, derided *métis* who favored western lifestyles as "the Pantaloon party" (Washburn 1971:177). Nevertheless, cloth pantaloons apparently grew in popularity among the Cherokees, and were in general use by the 1830s. The majority of claims for pantaloons in the study sample emanated from fullblood households of modest means, and an association with western behaviors and lifestyles is not indicated.

Choice of headgear appears to have been more indicative of identity and affiliation. The fullbloods' use of turbans at Red Clay and in other public settings distinguished them as "Indians", distinct from Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Cherokees who wore brimmed felt hats. John Howard Payne observed at a similar gathering at Red Clay in 1835: "Their dress was neat and picturesque: all wore turbans; excepting four or five, with hats" (Payne 1835). *Métis* Elizabeth Taylor wrote that the less "civilized" Cherokees "dress in Indian manner with ... handkerchiefs round their heads for turbans" (Taylor 1828). Worchester (1830) noted that "The younger men all dress like the whites around them, except that the greater number wear a turban instead of a hat," while Hitchcock (1930:7) observed that "many prefer a shawl turban in place of a hat"; Gregg indicates "Instead of using hats, they wreathe about their heads a fancy-colored shawl or handkerchief" (Gregg [1844] 1962:318).

Turbans emerged as a dominant pan-Indian style around the end of the eighteenth century, when the development of native alliances against Anglo-American hegemony dictated new, unifying modes of dress among native groups from the Great Lakes to the Gulf

of Mexico. Together with the long hunting shirt and bandolier bag, turbans came to embody the male Indian identity for most groups east of the Great Plains, and many nineteenth century portraits of Cherokees, Muskogees, Shawnees, Seminoles, and Delawares depict a common mode of dress with minor tribal variations. The role of the turban as a symbol of native identity and conservatism is further indicated by Mooney's description of the old Cherokee shaman, Swimmer: "He spoke no English, and to the day of his death, clung to the moccasin and turban, together with the rattle, his badge of authority" (Mooney 1900:236).

The preference for turbans among Cherokee males during the 1830s partially accounts for incidence of shawls (n= 8) and large handkerchiefs (n=12) in 12 spoliation claims. Hunter's ledger documents sales of 78 large handkerchiefs and five shawls worth a total of $59.43 to Cherokee customers between October 1836 and May 1838. Many of these handkerchiefs and shawls were silk; the preferred color was black.

By contrast, many Cherokees regarded brimmed felt hats as particularly emblematic of the southern Anglo-American males who oppressed them on every front. In the nineteenth century, brimmed hats were *de rigueur* or Anglo-American males and were a mark of propriety for southern gentlemen and aspirant yeomen. Many Anglo-Cherokees adopted such headgear to advertise their affinity for southern Anglo-American culture and its values. When Cherokee prophets in the 1811–1812 movement instructed their followers to abandon western fashions in favor of native garb, young men sacrificed their hats to townhouse fires, divesting themselves of Western affectations (Meigs 1812).

Only nine households from the study area reported losses of brimmed felt hats; three of these claims (Spunk, John Christie, Walter Christie) were filed by English-speaking *métis*. Hunter's accounts note sales of brimmed felt or silk hats to Allen Christie, Charlie Buffington, Elijah Sourjohn, Tom *Suwaga*, Alex Raper, and Jackson Raper (all *métis*), *Jocena*, and the native preacher Peter *Oganaya*. Peter's adoption of western style dress may relate to his activities as a Baptist preacher or his role as a Cherokee national councilman and member of a Cherokee diplomatic delegation to the U.S. Congress . Hunter also sold numerous straw and Panama palm leaf hats to native customers, who presumably used the hats for shade while working in their agricultural fields.

Other elements of male dress listed in the claims include shirts, neckstocks, hunting shirts, vests, a beaded belt and a beaded garter. Tailored cloth shirts had been a popular trade item among the Cherokees throughout the eighteenth century, and were standard attire for all Cherokee males during the Removal Period. Despite the likely incidence of shirts in all men's wardrobes, only five claims (John Owl, *Oogersquawtee*, Logfish, *Wadeyoohee*, Anna Walker) report men's shirts, at values ranging from $1.00 to $3.00 each. *Takalesutleska* and John Owl

claimed neckstocks, or cravats used to close high throated shirts (see Figure 5.2). Hunter sold neckstocks to four *métis* customers: John Welch, Allen Christie, Edmund Fallen, and George Owens, Jr., sales which suggests cultivation of more Westernized costume. Five claims (John Owl, *Oogersquawtee*, Logfish, Wadeyoohee, Nancy) indicate men's vests or waistcoats valued at $1.00-$3.00 each. Ready-made vests were available at Hunter's at costs between $.38 and $5.00; Hunter also sold vest patterns to Cherokee customers and accepted homemade vests in trade.

Native modes of dress are indicated by only a few items reported in spoliation claims from the study area. *Oowayderyauhee*, Scraper, and Charles Fox listed cloth hunting shirts ($1.00-$1.50), the large tunic-like shirts that Evans described as "a short gown, generally called hunting shirt; in the construction of which, considerable taste is sometimes displayed." Payne (1835) described Cherokee men wearing such "tunics with sashes," and Featherstonhaugh notes the "embroidered hunting shirts" of the North Carolina Cherokee delegation at Red Clay. Bodmer's 1833 painting of *Tsolocha* (Figure 5.3) depicts one of these belted shirts. Nancy Muskrat (widow of John Muskrat) reported the loss of a man's beaded belt worth $5.00, probably a beaded sash of the type used to cinch hunting shirts. *Wahnenauhi* recalled that her grandmother and other Cherokee craft specialists produced such belts for sale in pre-removal times (Kilpatrick 1966). Beadwork specialists probably also made beaded knee garters like the one *Cheinanna* claimed as a loss of $.50. Cherokee males wore such garters to gather leggings or breeches, as illustrated in Stanley's painting of the intertribal council at Tahlequah (Figure 5.4).

In contrast to the dichotomous representations of male dress in nineteenth century accounts, narratives suggest that Cherokee women uniformly adopted Western costume. Norton observed in 1809 that "The women wear the European dress with that variety which their circumstances in life may admit" (Klink and Talman 1970:134) and "all the women in this country dress like Europeans" (Klink and Talman 1970:51). More than two decades later, Evans [ca. 1835] noted that "The dress of the females both young & old, is copied from the whites" (Evans 1979:12), and Hitchcock [1841] observed that "The women, nearly all, dress comfortably well, and would not be singled out in our cities for a departure from our customs or fashions" (Hitchcock 1930:7).

Cherokee women adopted Western modes of dress much earlier and more thoroughly than their male counterparts. During the eighteenth century, Cherokee women apparently opted for the functional convenience of generic cloth frocks for work around the home and fields. By contrast, native modes of dress were functionally superior to Western clothing for men's traditional pursuits, hunting and warfare. By the end of the eighteenth century, generic

Figure 5.4. Detail of "Indian Council of 1843 at Tahlequah", painting by John Mix Stanley. Original in the National Musuem of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Western styled clothing for women was universally integrated into the Cherokee material repertoire and served no diacritical marking function.

Differing symbolic functions of Cherokee male and female dress may reflect the public versus private arenas within which males and females operated. Although Cherokee women were more fully empowered than their Anglo-American counterparts by law, tradition, and common usage, Cherokee males dominated politics and were at the forefront in most public assemblies. As "front men," it was far more critical for Cherokee males to project their identities in visible, clearly interpretable media; symbolic missteps could twist political deliberations or even expose the wearer to retributive acts such as political assassination. Cherokee women, who were legally barred from direct participation in national politics, and who rarely sat as principals in local councils, did not find it as necessary to project their ethnic and cultural identity through clothing. Women's identity and affinities may have been far more certain (and less susceptible to challenge) by virtue of their pivotal positions in matrilineages. This does not indicate that women were by any means passive actors in the definition of ethnic affinity; to the contrary, women took the leading role in the maintenance and perpetuation of identity by controlling domestic environments and through their dominant roles in the early enculturation of Cherokee children.

Women's clothing dominates the claims for apparel, with 88 dresses and five waistbands reported in 27 inventories. The relative abundance of dresses, as compared to men's pantaloons (n=24) and shirts (n=12), suggests that Cherokee women maintained larger wardrobes than men. Claimants reported losses from one to 12 dresses per household (median=2); estimated values were $1.00 to $4.00 each. Wilson Christie reported the loss of 12 dresses; his neighbors Nancy and Jane claimed seven and ten dresses, respectively. Ann Hyatt listed seven dresses, including a fine silk frock. Hunter's store accounts do not include ready-made dresses, and it is likely that the majority of women's frocks were produced at home from store-bought dry goods. Sales of cloth for dresses, including calico, domestic, muslin, linen, silk, nankeen, cassinet, and circassian, were brisk at Hunter's store, and both fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees purchased a wide range of material for frocks. Waistbands, or ladies' ribbon belts, figure in the claims of *Julidaskee* and *Tahtiah*; Hunter sold such waistbands at $.50-$.75 each.

In addition to gender specific articles of clothing, the spoliation claims list footgear and outerwear used by both sexes, including shoes, stockings, coats, and cloaks . Spoliation claims from the study area document losses of 24 pairs of western style hard soled shoes valued at $.50-$2.25 per pair, as well as three pairs of moccasins at $.25 per pair. Contemporary accounts offer conflicting views regarding Cherokee preferences for western or traditional

footwear. The *Cherokee Phoenix* [1828] reported that "Shoes are almost universally in use" among the Cherokees, while Evans [ca. 1835] observed that "Moscassins are yet extensively used by both men and women; but shoes are coming into use" in the mountainous region of the Cherokee Nation. Bodmer's portrait of *Tsolocha* (Figure 5.3) suggests that many Cherokees went barefoot for much of the year.

Cherokees in the study area probably obtained Western-style hard soled shoes from both local native cobblers and commercial outlets. Hunter's accounts indicate that ready-made leather shoes were popular among both fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee customers; sales of shoes ranked second only to piece goods at Hunter's outlet. Hunter sold a variety of shoes priced between $.50 and $2.00 per pair, including sealskin pumps, Moroccan leather shoes, Panella shoes, and Jackson patent shoes. Hunter also dealt in locally made moccasins, and sold one pair for $.25 and another, apparently decorated, pair for $2.00.

Stockings, socks, and hose are listed in ten spoliation claims from southwestern North Carolina. Stockings or hose, valued at $.50-$2.00 per pair, were most likely commercially made garments, while the single pair of socks ($.25) claimed by *Takalessutleska* were probably home-knit. Hunter's ledger documents sales of commercially produced hose, socks, and stockings, often in conjunction with sales of shoes. Hunter's accounts also record one instance of a Cherokee customer who paid against her balance with two pairs of homemade socks.

Men's and women's outerware, including coats, overcoats, capes, and cloaks, is reported in ten claims. Nancy Hawkins, Sr., lost a cloak worth $16.00, the most expensive piece of clothing documented in spoliation claims from the study region. Charlie Buffington claimed loss of a plaid cloak valued at $12.00; *Cauleche* and Nancy claimed cloaks worth $10.00 and $12.00. *Oogersquawtee* reported four capes, together worth $6.00; these probably paired with three dress coats valued at $23.00. Hunter sold similar tamberd capes for $1.50 and dress frock coats for $4.00 to $5.00. John Wayne, Anna Walker, and *Oowayderyauhee* lost less expensive coats worth $1.00-$5.00. Jo Walker claimed an overcoat worth $13.00, a price comparable to the $15.00 to $20.00 that Hunter charged for the ready-made overcoats sold to *métis* Elijah Sourjohn and Edmund Fallen.

The scarcity of coats, cloaks, and capes reflects the Cherokees' prevalent use of blankets as outerware. Samuel Worchester (1830) noted that among Cherokees "a blanket frequently serves for a cloak" and Evans [ca. 1835] observed: "The blanket, like the highland plaid of Scotland, serves as a cloak by day and a bed at night" (Evans 1979:12). Although 36 claims from the study area report losses of blankets, it is impossible to determine whether these

blankets were used for outerware. In most instances, blankets were reported in sequences of bedclothes rather than with garments, and a use as bedcoverings is indicated.

Most of the spoliation claims report single articles or single classes of clothing, but a few claims reflect larger assemblages, which may approach household wardrobes. For example, Anna Walker, who lost all her house contents when an Anglo-American arsonist burned her cabin, reported two coats, four dresses, three pairs of pants, three shirts and one pair of shoes worth a total of $32.00. John Owl reported losses of two dresses, two shirts, a pair of pantaloons, a pair of shoes, a vest, a handkerchief, and a neckstock worth a total of $17.75. *Oogersquawtee* filed the most extensive claim for clothing, listing 28 children's garments, three dresses, three pairs of pantaloons, two shirts, four vests, three dress coats, and four capes worth a total of $79.50. Logfish indicated losses of clothes that included two frocks, a pair of pantaloons, a shirt, a vest, and four pairs of socks. These larger claims probably approximate the total inventories of clothing in many Cherokee households in the study area; it is likely that wealthier Anglo-Cherokee families maintained much more extensive wardrobes, which they managed to retain through the removal operations. Such extensive wardrobes are suggested by Hunter's accounts of sales to *métis* customers. For example, between October 1836 and June 1838, Charlie Buffington purchased a cloak, four hats, a vest, ten handkerchiefs, 14 pairs of shoes, and more than 200 yards of cloth at Hunter's. During the same period, Edmund Falling bought four pairs of shoes, a handkerchief, a shirt busom and collar, a pair of suspenders, a vest, a fur cap, a pair of cassinet pants, and an overcoat. The newly widowed Elizabeth McDaniel bought two pairs of women's gloves, a veil, a pair of hose, a pair of shoes, a waistband, and eight yards of gingham. Such records suggest that the clothing reported in the spoliation claims is a only a small proportion of the garb actually owned by Cherokee households in the study area.

Personal Paraphernalia and Leisure Equipment

The spoliation claims seldom report losses of personal ornaments, grooming paraphernalia, or other small personal accouterments, probably for the same reasons that clothing is poorly represented. Cherokee detainees likely assembled such small, easily transported valuables in anticipation of future needs for cash or to preserve some mementos. It is also likely that many Cherokees carried such personal effects on their persons or in bandolier bags at the time of their arrest. Because personal items are reported in relatively few claims, it is not possible to draw conclusions concerning the differential distribution of these goods, but the claims do document much of the range of personal goods maintained by the Cherokee inhabitants of southwestern North Carolina. These goods include a variety of

jewelry, combs, razors, watches and watch chains, umbrellas, money purses, eyeglasses, paint, and musical instruments.

Jewelry documented by the spoliation claims includes silver earrings (n=17), three silver broaches, two silver hatbands, and one gold ring. Earrings or earbobs were valued at $.50 to $1.00 per pair, prices comparable to Hunter's rate of $.50 per pair. Some of these were probably commercially made ball-and-cone dangles; others were probably pierced disk dangles made by native silversmiths (see Figures 5.3, 5.4). The silver hatbands reported by Charlotte Muskrat and Wally were probably locally made circlets similar to those illustrated in Stanley's view of the Tahlequah council (Figure 5.4). *Cheinanna* reported loss of a silver broach worth $3.00; this was probably a heavy ornament cast by a Cherokee smith. Thomas *Askaquah* declared two silver breast pins worth $4.00 and a gold ring worth $10.00.

As indicated in the previous discussion of silversmithing equipment, Cherokee use of silver jewelry peaked during the late eighteenth century, then declined in the early nineteenth century when "the Cherokee began to drop their silver ornaments and go to work." Colonel Ethan Hitchcock, who toured the western Cherokee Nation in 1841 observed "The merchants...sell scarcely any ornaments; these latter having been almost universally dispensed with, as have many of the customs of the 'old nation'" (Hitchcock 1930). Despite such disclaimers, Cherokee leaders like George Lowery (Figure 5.3) occasionally wore elaborate jewelry to reinforce their images as warrior elders and native patriots, and it is likely that silver jewelry continued to function as a situational marker of native identity among Cherokee males.

Glass beads are documented by 15 claims; amounts reported range from three strands worth $.38 to a canister full of loose beads worth $10.00. Some of these were probably larger wound or faceted necklace beads, but most were small embroidery "seed" beads used for appliqué ornamentation of bandolier bags, sashes, garters, and belts. Several claims (Lucy Muskrat, Ahleegee, Nancy Hawkins, *Chyukah*) list large quantities of beads which probably represent the supply inventories of craft specialists who produced beaded belts and other articles. Hunter's store accounts indicate 15 purchases of beads by Cherokee customers at prices ranging from $.10 to $.25 per strand.

Jackson Muskrat and *Cauleche* reported losses of ostrich feathers worth $4.00 and $1.50 (respectively). Contemporary portraits illustrate ostrich plume panaches on the turbans of most Muscogee and Seminole males, and the McKenny and Hall portrait of the Western Cherokee leader Dutch (Figure 5.3) indicates a similar use by Cherokee males. The adoption of ostrich plumes as a component of native ornament illustrates the transformative capacity of

Cherokee culture, whereby exotic materials acquired from commercial sources were recontextualized and assigned new meanings within native frameworks.

Two households (*Oogerswawtee*, *Guhnahsoskee*) reported losses of vermilion, powdered or caked mercuric sulfide used as a cosmetic. Vermilion was an especially popular trade item during the eighteenth century, when Cherokee males required red body paint as part of their ritual preparation for warfare because traditional Cherokee belief associated the color red with success and well-being. Louis-Philippe [1799] reports more restrained use of vermilion cosmetic by Cherokee women, who used the paint to highlight their hair parts and cheeks (Becker 1977). The continued use of pigments for both cosmetic and ritual purposes during the nineteenth century is indicated by accounts of eastern Cherokee soldiers who painted themselves "in good old-time fashion" during the Civil War (Mooney 1900:170).

Five households reported tuck combs, the high crested, coarse toothed combs that women used to restrain their hair in buns or coils. These bone or tortoiseshell combs were current in Anglo-American women's fashion, and are the only uniquely female ornaments represented in the spoliation claims. Mooney collected similar, native made combs of rhododendron wood among the eastern Cherokees during the 1880s.

Personal grooming articles are documented by 16 claims for combs, one claim for a brush and one claim for a straight razor. The combs, which were valued from $.25 to $.50 each, were probably similar to the finetoothed tortoiseshell and bone combs that Hunter sold for $.18 to $.50 each. *Chyukah*'s $2.00 brush probably consisted of boar bristles set in a bone handle. *Utsutaky*'s razor appears to have been a rare instance; Hunter's accounts list no razors and only one shaving box, sold to John Christie. Cherokee men typically rid themselves of sparse facial hair by depilatory plucking rather than shaving.

Pigeon of Cheoah reported the only personal timepiece from the study area, a silver watch worth $10.00. *Tsulawee* claimed the loss of a safeguard, or pocketwatch chain, worth $1.10, a value comparable to the $1.50 that Jesse Christie and Elijah Sourjohn paid for watch chains at Hunter's. The significance of Pigeon's timepiece is unclear. In Anglo-American contexts, the pocketwatch was an essential element of gentleman's equipage, and the refined gentleman marked the passage of time with a precision that symbolized his control over nature through scientific rationalism (Leone and Shackel 1987). The precise segmentation of time was probably useless to Pigeon because few of his associates had the means or cultural motivation to observe exact appointments.

Will of Stecoa claimed a single pair of spectacles worth $.38. Will, who lived next to the Cherokee preacher Arch, may have become familiar with eyeglasses through the itinerating activities of Evan Jones, the bespectacled missionary who occasionally visited Stecoa.

Eyeglasses were available in many dry goods establishments, and Hunter sold spectacles at his Huntington store for $.63 per pair to Cherokee customers such as Charley Buffington, George Owens, Sr., and *Sickowee*. The rare incidence of spectacles in spoliation claims suggests that Cherokee detainees frequently assembled their immediate personal effects upon arrest and carried or wore items such as spectacles into internment camps.

This "carry along" pattern is further indicated by the sole instance of one tobacco pipe among spoliation claims from the study area. Pathkiller's $.50 pipe was probably one of thousands in use in the study area, and brisk sales of smoking tobacco and pipes at Hunter's store indicate that tobacco consumption was nearly universal. It is not indicated whether Pathkiller's pipe was a commercially made molded ceramic pipe (which Hunter sold at $.25) or a locally produced, carved stone pipe. Archaeological evidence (see Chapter 6, this volume) indicates that both types were ubiquitous in Cherokee contexts. Native made stone pipes were the products of a long-standing craft tradition, and Cherokee pipemaking continued uninterrupted well into the twentieth century (Witthoft 1949). Hunter's store records indicate that Cherokee customers traded stone tobacco pipes for commercially made goods, and Hunter sold such pipes to Anglo-American middlemen for $.125 and $.25 each.

Three claims (*Ahyuhgee*, *Alkinna*, Harry Coulson) report losses of umbrellas valued from $.50 to $3.00 each. Such umbrellas were available at Hunter's for $1.50 to $2.00, and accounts indicate four Cherokee purchasers (*Waletah* Riley, John Wickliff, John Wayne, Edmund Fallen). It is not indicated whether these umbrellas were bumbershoots for rain, sunshades, or simply novelties used to affect a cultivated or dandified appearance.

Fifteen claims for musical instruments are the only indicators of recreational activities evident in the study sample. All of these claims list commercially manufactured musical instruments such as fiddles, trumpets and fifes; there are no claims for traditional instruments, such as drums, rattles, dance shackles, whistles, and flageolets. Although such traditional instruments figured prominently in Cherokee ritual and were emblematic of native identity, they had no recognized commercial value, and Cherokee claimants must have known that they could not expect compensation for such losses.

Three claims (i.e., Six, Dry, *Cotalstah*) document four fiddles valued from $4.00 to $6.00 each, prices comparable to the $6.00 violin that Hunter sold to *métis* Jackson Raper in 1838 (Hunter 1836–1838). Returns for Cherokee property sold by government agents indicate that *Wachacha* also owned a fiddle (Returns of Cherokee Properties 1838); local tradition contends that his brother, *Junaluska*, was a fiddler as well (Wayne Martin, personal communication 1998). The incidence of fiddles in Cherokee spoliation claims reflects native adoption of Anglo-American style dance and accompaniment during the late eighteenth

century, and the accommodation of these forms within the native tradition. Major John Norton, who toured the Cherokee nation in 1809, observed fiddles, fiddling, and dancing on a number of occasions:

> Afterwards an English Dance was struck up in the house. They now begin to be very fond of these dances, but for want of skilful teachers, none have yet acquired any proficiency in music; the fiddlers seem only to imitate their own simple notes (Klinck and Talman 1970:42).
>
> ...I saw an elderly man, who seemed to have something of a mechanical genius for he had nearly completed several fiddles, which he shewed me with no small air of self approbation (Klinck and Talman 1970:120).

Hitchcock, during a visit to the Cherokee Nation in 1841 noted that an acquaintance attended:

> ...a Cherokee ball...there were about 40 ladies and as many Cherokee gentlemen with some white men; says the ladies were well dressed and that all behaved well; they danced a certain reel incessantly, more complicated than the old Virginia Reel. He was there but a few hours of the night, but says that the dance began yesterday at 3 P.M. and continued till after 1 P.M. today, 22 hours without intermission except for breakfast this morning, which occupied only about ten minutes. They broke down two fiddlers and ended with a third, negroes, who sung occasionally to their music...(Hitchcock 1930:79-89).

Hitchcock's friend described an event of the Anglo-Cherokee gentry; like their Anglo-American planter counterparts, they employed black slaves as musicians. Woodhouse, who traversed the western Cherokee Nation in 1849, observed a smaller, less formal event:

> ... They were very bashfull and it took much coaxing to get them to play on the violin there being three there that could after their manner... at last the fiddle scraping commenced and men chose their partners and they shuffled off a reel... One of the Fiddle strings broke and they made one out of silk thread (Woodhouse 1992:154).

House dances and balls like those described by Woodhouse and Hitchcock indicate a westernized context for fiddles and Anglo-American dance styles; performance of Anglo-American derived dances along with traditional dances in community townhouses (as indicated by Norton's account) also suggests that Cherokees recontextualized nonnative music and dance and integrated these forms into traditional recreation and ritual. There is no evidence, however, that syncretic musical or dance forms developed from this accommodation, and Cherokee fiddle music probably developed as a compartmentalized, Anglo-American derived performance style, as illustrated by the music of Manco Sneed (Owen 1980), a descendant of the Anglo-Cherokee Raper family from the study area. Sneed's repertoire, although archaic and seemingly idiosyncratic, was patently British in derivation, and may echo the performances of *métis* fiddlers Alex and Jackson Raper.

Betsy Walker, the widow of John Walker, reported loss of a fife, a high pitched, side-blown wooden flute. Fifes were popular military instruments in Anglo-America through the period of the Civil War, and fifes were often used to accompany fiddles before the string ensemble tradition developed in the American South. The Walkers, who were purportedly reared by whites, may have been familiar with the fiddle-fife duets. On the other hand, this

single fife may have been a direct analog to the native flageolet, and could simply have been a substitutive adoption into a native tradition.

Eleven households reported losses of trumpets, which probably functioned more as noisemakers and signaling devices rather than musical instruments. Several trumpets are described as 'tin', and were probably "tinhorns" of sheet iron construction. The average value of these trumpets was only $.50 ($.25-$1.00). While some families probably used trumpets within household contexts for purposes such as calling livestock or summoning farmhands to dinner, other families used trumpets to issue public calls for assembly. Three native preachers, *Tsuwautsuckah*, *Chusawallah*, and *Chuleowah* reported losses of trumpets, an indication of the trumpet's role in church contexts. An account of daily activities at the Peachtree mission notes: "In the morning, at sunrise, the horn is blown for worship" (Roberts 1822). This function is also indicated by missionary Evan B. Jones, who noted a trumpet blast from Johnson's house on Valley River: "as we approached Taloney at the top of the valley, we heard the horn blown to give notice of worship" (Jones 1830b). Use of the trumpet for church summons symbolized the archangel Gabriel's trumpet call on Resurrection Day for the righteous dead to be raised "in the flesh incorruptible" to join Christ. As a military instrument, the trumpet directed Christian soldiers, the "warriors of God," in their righteous struggle and emblemized the more militant and eschatological aspects of Protestant Christianity that may have appealed to Cherokee converts.

Although the study area population boasted high rates of Sequoyan literacy and more limited literacy in English, only two households reported losses of reading or writing materials. Luther Rice, a fullblood Cherokee convert with an English baptismal name, claimed the loss of a New Testament, the only book documented among spoliation claims from the study area. It is not noted whether this text was in English or Cherokee, but Rice signed his name in English and was, presumably, English literate. *Tsutanae* (English: Ragged Man), a Baptist preacher from Hiwassee, reported $0.64 worth of writing paper; census records indicate that *Tsutanae*'s household included three persons literate in Sequoyan and one literate in English. Sales of reading and writing materials were similarly limited at Hunter's store; accounts indicate only five purchases of paper, two purchases of memorandum books, and one purchase of an almanac by Cherokee customers; all were *métis* or intermarried whites. The scarcity of reading and writing materials in the Cherokee spoliation claims contrasts with the consistent incidence of books and newspapers among contemporary Anglo-American probate inventories from McMinn County, Tennessee. Reading matter, particularly religious treatises and Bibles, was present in over 50% of McMinn County homes. Emphasis

on literacy for business purposes and religious edification was a characteristic of the southern agrarian lifestyle, and reading materials marked the "well informed" farmer.

Riding Equipment

Riding equipment or tack is represented in 117 claims from the study area. It is likely that such hardware was far more prevalent in Cherokee households, but most of this equipment was probably retained at the time of removal to facilitate emigration, and does not, therefore appear among household losses. Saddles (n=92), which figure in 73 spoliation claims, are the most commonly reported riding gear. These include both men's English styled saddles (n=73) and women's sidesaddles (n=19); assigned values range from $1.00 to $25.00 (median=$12.00). Hunter offered saddles from $7.00 for a basic model to $18.00 for more elaborate, silver mounted saddles. Spoliation claims for bridles (n=87) generally correspond with instances of saddles, as do spurs (n=5), stirrup irons (n=2), belly girths (n=2), saddle blankets (n=1), saddle bags (n=4), halters (n=3), and halter chains (n=4). Neither the absolute incidence nor relative abundance of riding gear exhibits any patterning related to cultural/ethnic affinity, absolute wealth, or geographic location. It must be assumed that, like horses, Western styled riding gear was almost universally distributed throughout Cherokee society and bore no particular cultural connotations or identity marking capacity. The generally limited incidence of such hardware in the study sample suggests that many Cherokee families retained riding horses complete with tack at the time of their arrest.

Foodstuffs

Two hundred forty-five households reported losses of stored foodstuffs, including maize, beans, peas, potatoes, fresh and preserved meat, dried fruits, flour, honey, lard, bear's oil, chestnuts, and whiskey. It is almost certain that all Cherokee families arrested by removal troops lost household stores of food, but it is likely that many families did not consider their stored foods to be of sufficient quantity or value to warrant reporting. By the late spring date of removal, many households had depleted their winter food supplies and relied largely upon early garden produce and foraged resources for sustenance.

Stored maize is documented by 185 claims, with reported losses ranging from one to 500 bushels valued at $.50-$1.00 per bushel. Maize constituted over 50% of most Cherokees' caloric intake, and pre-eminence of maize in the Cherokee diet is reflected in contemporary comments like Evans' [ca. 1835] assertion that "Their living consists chiefly of pounded hommony." As late as 1888, Mooney contended that "...the Indian [i.e., Cherokee] cuisine is extremely limited, ... heavy, sodden cornmeal dumplings and bean bread ... form his principal food" (Mooney 1891:330).

Other reported foodstuffs more clearly represent subsistence resources. Ninety-eight households reported dried beans valued from $.50 to $1.00 per bushel; amounts reported range from .5 to 10 bushels. These are probably the small black, red, or brown native *Phaseolus* beans used in production of traditional bean bread, a Cherokee staple food. Other legumes are represented by two claims for dried cowpeas and one claim for dried English peas. Stored sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes are represented in 37 claims. Households reported from one to 350 bushels of potatoes at values of $.50 or $1.00 per bushel. Claims for potatoes are particularly concentrated among households that remained in the east after removal; this may reflect W.H. Thomas' particular checklist in recording Cherokee claims. It is likely that potatoes, like many other foodstuffs, are grossly underrepresented in the overall sample.

Relatively few households reported losses of meat, in part because most families didn't maintain stores of meat through the warm, late spring season of the Removal. Twenty-one claims document approximately 1855 pounds of salt cured bacon, at values of $.10-$.15 per pound. In some cases, these are clearly pork middlings, but the term bacon was sometimes applied to any cured pork. Other records of meats are two claims for 600 pounds of beef (*Oogetutla*, Cloud), one claim for dried venison (*Oogetutla*) and two other claims for unspecified meats (*Unnetonaugh*, Ballsticks). The prevalence of bacon reflects not only the pre-eminence of pork in the diet, but also the relative ease of preserving bacon, and the general marketability of bacon as compared with other meats.

Other foodstuffs, such as dried fruit, honey, flour, lard, chestnuts, and whiskey are documented by only a few claims each. Three families (*Cunnantiska*, *Esuttahee*, *Tequarlequartaky*) reported dried peaches; *Chyukah* claimed loss of dried fruit. These records are a scant representation of the thousands of peachtrees and hundreds of apple trees documented by Welch and Jarrett's valuations; it is likely that the majority of Cherokee households had exhausted their winter stores of dried fruit on by the springtime removal. Although 67 families reported losses of beehives, only *Dickageeska* reported losing honey, with one gallon valued at $1.50. Wheat flour is represented by five claims (Elizabeth McDaniel, *Nakee*, Jenny, Celia, Susannah); Barrow claimed 20 bushels of unmilled wheat. The paucity of wheat flour in Cherokee claims is not unusual; nineteenth century northern travelers in the upland south rarely encountered leavened breads or even shortening breads in Anglo-American contexts, and regularly complained of the omnipresent cornbread (Featherstonhaugh 1847; Hilliard 1972; Lanman 1849; Olmstead 1860).

Four households (Elizabeth McDaniel, *Utsutaky*, Winny, Aiky Bearpaw) reported losses of 12 to 100 pounds of lard, rendered fat that was presumably used in cooking. Given the

abundance of hogs in the region, and the prevalence of pork in the Cherokee diet, it is likely that many more families produced and maintained supplies of lard than the claims would suggest. *Tsuwautsuckah* reported the loss of four bottles of bear's oil worth $2.00. It is not indicated whether this oil was considered a comestible or a lubricant, but eighteenth century accounts document multiple uses of bear's oil as a food sauce, general lubricant, and grooming oil (Adair 1930, Timberlake 1765).

Wild plant foods are represented by a single instance of stored chestnuts, an occurrence that belies the importance of chestnuts, a mainstay of in eastern Cherokee diet until the Eurasian chestnut blight eliminated the trees in the early twentieth century (Mooney 1900:179). Hart (Mooney 1900) noted that chestnut bread was one of the principal fall foods enjoyed by eastern Cherokees at the end of the nineteenth century.

Nickajack Snail and Dry reported losses of small kegs of whiskey worth $3.00 each. Although narrative accounts suggest that Cherokees in the study area consumed whiskey and other spirits on a regular basis, it is likely that most alcohol was purchased for immediate consumption, and few households kept supplies of whiskey on hand.

The foodstuffs reported in spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households from southwestern North Carolina present a very narrow view of Cherokee subsistence, and scope of Cherokee diet is better reflected in claims for garden crops and livestock. None of the reported foodstuffs exhibit differential patterns of distribution indicative of ethnic or socioeconomic affiliation.

Native Technologies (Consumers' Equipment)

Although mass-produced consumer goods dominate the spoliation claims, traditional native technologies are also well represented among the losses suffered by Cherokee households from the study area. These locally produced goods, including low-fired traditional earthenware, woven cane baskets, wooden hominy mortars, and carved wooden spoons and ladles, are the clearest material denominators of native identity represented in the claims records. They not only reflect continuity in the production and use of traditional technologies by Cherokee households, but also constitute assertions of the value, both monetary and symbolic, of native goods, and statements of the moral equivalency of such goods with commercially made analogs. The differential representation of traditional technologies among spoliation claims from the study area reflects both the variable incidence of such goods and differential reporting indicative of the varying degrees of importance that families attached to native technologies.

Many of the native manufactures documented by the spoliation claims were tools used in traditional modes of processing maize for human consumption. Cherokee diet revolved

around dishes prepared from lye-processed hominy (see Evans 1979; Klink and Talman 1970; Mooney 1891), and the technologies involved in the production and consumption of hominy and its derivatives were essential to the maintenance of traditional foodways. Because food habits are typically one of the most important material aspects in the definition and preservation of ethnic identities, technologies involved in the production of distinct ethnic foods frequently function in diacritic modes. The log mortars, cane basket sifters and fanners, and low-fired earthenwares that most Cherokees used to prepare hominy and meal represent an ancient technological complex that dates back to early Mississippian times (ca. A.D. 1000) and which was widespread among the Southeastern native groups. This complex assumed particular significance as an ethnic marker when Anglo-Cherokees and Anglo-Americans introduced mechanized grain milling into the study area. In addition, many westernized Cherokees adopted more diversified diets and de-emphasized the role of maize in household subsistence, a dietary apostasy in a society that held corn at the center of its ceremonial cycle.

The traditional lye-processing techniques used by the Cherokees and other Southeastern tribes were developed as a means to remove the tough and indigestible pericarp from flint corn kernels, facilitating mass transformation of hard grain into edible starch products. Cherokee cooks boiled hominy corn in a wood-ash derived alkali solution to break the pericarp and soften and expand the endosperm. This lye bath was typically performed in native-made earthenwares. In order to flush caustic lye from the food product, cooks repeatedly rinsed the swollen corn with fresh water, using coarsely woven split cane riddles to contain the hominy. The broken and loosened pericarps were then hulled by hand, or removed by crushing in a wooden hominy mortar. The hulls or bran were separated from the grain by winnowing the hominy in broad, shallow woven cane fanners or hulling baskets. Cleaned hominy could be further processed into grits or meal by pounding in a wooden mortar; meal was sorted through woven cane sieves or sifters. Moravian missionary David Schneider described in Cherokee corn processing in 1788:

> ...they boil the Indian Corn first a little & then pound it. The richer [?] people cleanse it still thro' a fine sieve of reed, whereby they produce as fine flour as any miller, but they can scarce prepare as much in a forenoon as they consume the rest of the day (Williams 1928:257).

Hominy and meal preparation, and the composite toolkit of earthenware pots, log mortars, and baskets used to process corn, figured in the daily lives of traditionally oriented Cherokees, and pervaded Cherokee myth and legend. Corn processing tools symbolized women's roles and responsibilities in traditional Cherokee society, just as spinning wheels and brooms emblemized the domestic cult of rural Anglo-American women.

Native-made earthenware vessels, including forms used in maize processing, are documented by 40 spoliation claims which list approximately 198 vessels. Such wares are

variously characterized as "clay," "dirt," "local," or "Indian" vessels; vessel forms include bowls (n=55), pots (n=45), crocks (n=23), and pans (n=71). Claimants assigned values ranging from $.125 for a 'dirt pan' to $2.00 for a 'large earthenware jar'; over 50% of the vessels were valued at $.50 each. Most claims report only one or two coarse earthenware vessels; three claims (Feather in the Water, Winny, Nelly) that list 10 or more vessels may represent specialized assemblages or inventories of craft specialists. The incidence of native ceramics in the spoliation claims, and the standardization of values for such ceramics suggests a commercial context for native vessels which may have supported specialists' production for local, internal markets.

The distribution of traditional ceramics reflected by spoliation claims from the study area suggests a nativistic association for these wares. Only four *métis* claimants (Punk, Dave Christie, George Cherokee, Aggy Downing) reported native earthenwares, and none of the large landholders or westernized slaveowners represented in the sample reported losses of such vessels. It should be noted, however, that archaeological evidence (see Chapter 6, this volume) indicates that native ceramics are ubiquitous in Removal Period Cherokee contexts in southwestern North Carolina, and appear to be grossly underrepresented in the spoliation claims of all socioeconomic grades or ethnic classes. The apparent underreporting of native ceramics may reflect variable perceptions of the worth of such wares, as well as masking, or de-emphasis of native technologies reported by more westernized Cherokees to a critical Anglo-American audience (the claims commission boards).

The role of native ceramics in pre-Removal Cherokee households is documented by a number of ethnohistoric accounts from the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Norton, who toured the Cherokee Nation in 1809, indicated that native ceramics were widespread, noting: "Pots and pans, of their own manufacture, made of clay which will endure the heat of the fire, are the most generally used among the Cherokee" (Klink and Talman 1970:134). Elizabeth Taylor, a Cherokee *métis*, suggests that native ceramics were more restricted to "the unenlightened parts of the nation" (ca. 1828):

> Their dishes are made by themselves of clay, first hardened by burning, then glazed by the smoke of meal bran; eight or ten will often get around one of these on the ground, with one wooden spoon, one will take a mouthful and pass it on to the other (Taylor 1828).

Another *métis*, Rebecca Neugin, implied that traditional ceramics were not commonly used at the time of Removal, but that pottery production was an arcane craft resurrected to fill the place of commercially manufactured vessels abandoned during Removal:

> Very few of the Indians had been able to bring any of their household effects or kitchen utensils with them [to Oklahoma] and the old people who knew how, made what they called dirt pots and dirt bowls. To make them they took clay and formed it in the shape desired and turned these bowls over the fire and smoked them and when they were done they would hold water and were very useful. We could cook in them and use them to hold food. In the same way they made

> dishes to eat out of and then they made wooden spoons and for a number of years after we arrived we had to use these crude utensils. After a while as we were able, we gradually picked up glazed china ware...(Foreman 1934:283).

Contrary to Neugin's account, the incidence of native ceramics among spoliation claims from the study area, and within contemporaneous archaeological contexts, indicates that traditional ceramic technology was current and widespread at the time of the Removal (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842).

The continued production and use of traditional ceramics by nineteenth century Cherokee households reflects the maintenance of native foodways that required specialized technologies. For example, aboriginal ceramics were probably preferred over commercially available wares for production of traditional maize dishes such as lye-processed hominy and sour corn mush, both staples of the Cherokee diet. Metal vessels, while superior to native ceramics for direct heat cooking, were corroded by the strongly alkaline conditions of lye processing and by the acidic conditions created by sour corn mush fermentation. This leaching of metals disflavored and discolored the resulting product. In addition, the semiporous native earthenwares used for fermentation of sour corn mush, or *kanohena*, harbored appropriate yeast cultures that facilitated the process of fermentation. Impervious glazed stoneware or metal vessels could not harbor these cultures, and *kanohena* prepared in such vessels was subject to rot rather than fermentation. Spoliation claims refer to native-produced "homminy" pots, and some of the vessels collected by Mooney and Palmer in the late nineteenth century are specifically identified as pots "for fermenting *Conna whana*." The particular association of native ceramics with maize processing and consumption, the foundation of traditional Cherokee subsistence, was probably significant in the survival of the ceramic tradition throughout the nineteenth century.

The close association of native ceramics with traditional foodways rendered such wares particularly evocative of native identity. Because Cherokee belief held that the traditional maize intensive diet conferred an Indian "nature" upon its adherents, native ceramics used to prepare and serve foods like *kanohena* played a crucial role in the creation, renewal, and maintenance of native identity. In addition, the role of native ceramics in corporate food service reinforced patterns of communalism and ritualized hospitality in Cherokee communities. Steiner and deSchweinitz described such communal dining at the end of the eighteenth century:

> In the mealtime, the women had prepared a supper for us. In a large earthen vessel, made by themselves, a cold soup of honey-locust pods and in another sour corn-broth were served. The whole company used a large wooden spoon, which was passed down the row. The procedure was very informal (Steiner and deSchweinitz [1799] 1928:479).

Although the Moravian missionaries perceived the meal as informal by Western standards, such dining constituted an important ritual of the corporate ethic. This contrasts with the highly segmented and individuating dining habits of Westernized Anglo-Cherokees, who "have their regular meals as the whites ... and the tables are usually covered with a clean cloth -- & furnished with the usual plates -- knives & forks, etc." (Ridge 1826 in Sturtevant 1981:81). Within such communal dining contexts, native vessels became a focal element in the informal ritual of corporate food consumption, an activity that reinforced the corporate nature of traditional Cherokee society. Generosity with food was central to the Cherokee ethos, and corporate consumption of *kanohena* from a single vessel reified the act of hospitality. The role of native vessels in ritualized hospitality is supported by Mooney's observation:

> A large earthen jar of *kanahe'na*, with a wooden spoon upright in it, is always upon a bench just inside the cabin door, for every visitor to help himself (1900:453).

The native wares represented in spoliation claims from the study area almost certainly conformed to the Qualla ceramic series (Egloff 1967; Keel 1976) documented in historic era Cherokee archaeological assemblages from the study area (see this volume, Chapter 6; Dorwin n.d., Egloff 1967, Riggs 1996, Riggs and Kimball 1996, Riggs, et al. 1996, Setzler and Jennings 1941) and ethnological collections from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Figure 5.5). Qualla series ceramics are characterized by grit tempered bodies, stamped surface treatments effected with carved wooden paddles, burnished, smudged interior surfaces, and rim elaborations such as appliqué notched or plain rimstrips. Although there appears to have been considerable temporal and subregional variation in Qualla ceramics, Removal Period wares maintained the formal and stylistic continuity of a distinct native tradition that spanned nearly four centuries. Nineteenth century Cherokee potters incorporated few formal and no stylistic elements from Anglo-American commercial or folk ceramics or metal cookware. The only nontraditional form represented among Removal Period ceramics was the flat based pan, a formal analog of English milkpans that Cherokee potters began producing in the second half of the eighteenth century. The formal and stylistic conservatism of Qualla series ceramics runs counter to Ferguson's (1992) general observations on Southeastern native ceramics:

> From colonial times into the twentieth century, Native American potters have shown the influence of European ceramics in shapes ranging from plates to three-legged pots that resembled cast-iron cooking vessels...dramatic examples of ethnic interaction encoded in Colono Ware (1992:20).

The degree to which nineteenth century Cherokee potters maintained distinctive forms and styles suggests that native and commercially made vessels operated in separate functional and symbolic realms. Spoliation claims that list aboriginal ceramics also include a wide array

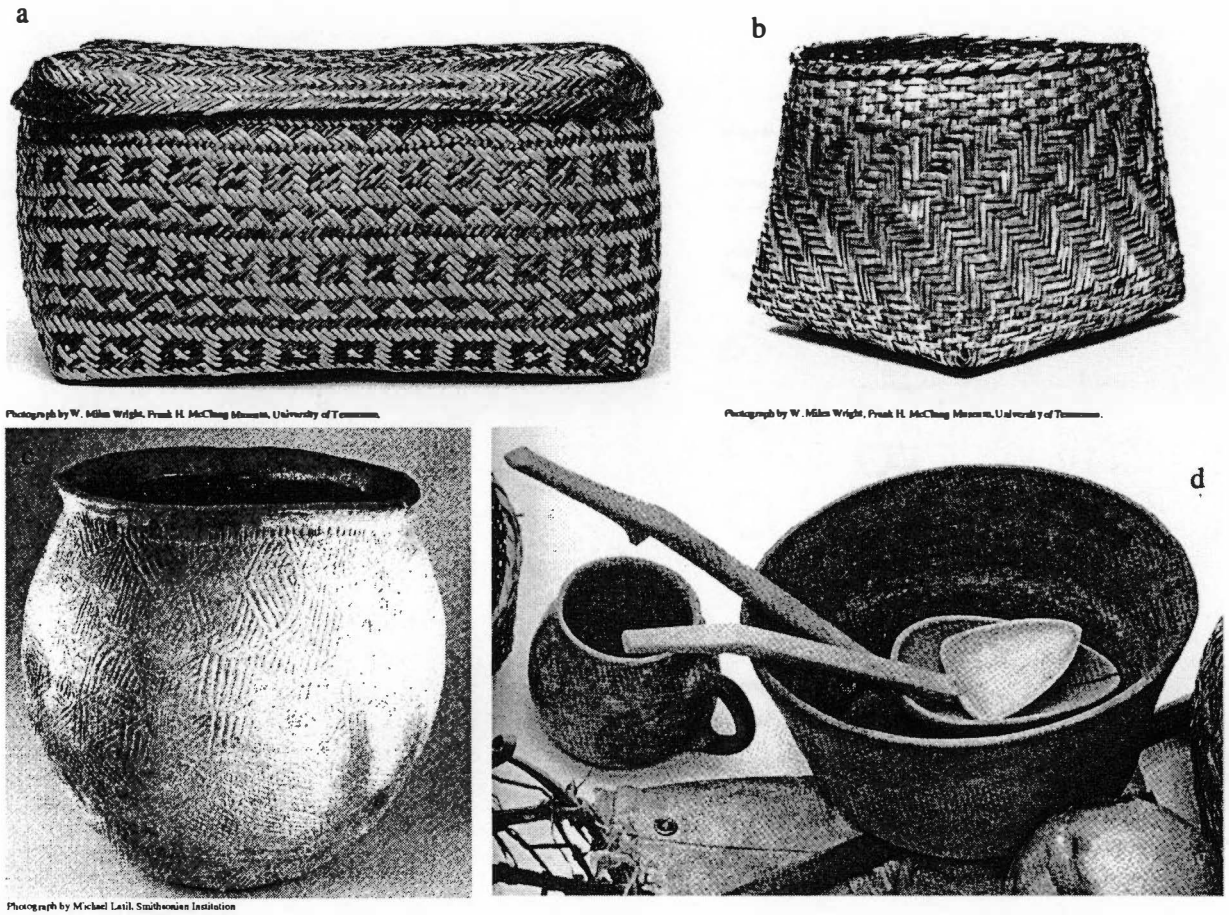


Figure 5.5. Traditional Cherokee technologies. a: doubleweave cane basket; b: singleweave cane basket; c: Qualla series hominy jar; d: carved wooden ladles in Qualla series deep pan.

of buckets, cast iron cooking vessels, and refined earthenwares, and it is evident that native ceramics and commercially manufactured wares were neither mutually exclusive in their distribution nor were they regarded as functional equivalents. The formal, stylistic, and probably functional distinctions drawn between native wares and commercial wares by Cherokee consumers in the nineteenth century is a material example of compartmentalization (Dozier 1961; Spicer 1954), an identity preserving response to increasing contact with whites. Cherokee consumers purchased commercially manufactured wares for reasons of functional convenience and expediency, and in some instances probably displayed commercial wares as one means of demonstrating their parity with whites as a "civilized" people. These commercially produced vessels generally functioned in Cherokee households within adopted Western frameworks of meaning (although certain tablewares probably suffered breaches of intended etiquette). By contrast, native produced wares were reserved for native functional (and symbolic) contexts, such as traditional modes of maize processing. Many Cherokee households probably maintained both classes of vessels as discrete, nonanalogous entities, thereby allowing commercial wares and native wares to coexist without any significant transfer of formal or stylistic attributes or symbolic content. Such compartmentalization allowed Cherokees to adopt many of the elements of Western material culture while maintaining their Cherokee identity and its material markers.

Wooden hominy mortars and pestles, tools used to pound and dehusk lye-processed corn to produce corn meal, are represented in 70 claims from the study area. Cherokee mortars, also known as hominy blocks, consisted of three foot long sections of hardwood (usually black gum) logs with grinding surfaces in conical depressions in one end (Figure 5.6). Pestles were hardwood poles approximately two inches in diameter with large (four inch dia.) counterweights. Mortars and pestles were typically valued at $.50 to $1.00 apiece, although some claims assign values as high as $4.00.

As a central element of the traditional corn processing toolkit, hominy mortars and pestles were particularly emblematic of native identity. During the 1811–1813 nativistic revivals, Cherokee prophets exhorted their followers to "plant Indian corn and pound it in the manner of your forefathers; do away with mills" (Mauleshagen 1964). One prophet, Laughing Molly, predicted that all the whites would be destroyed by a storm of hailstones the size of hominy blocks, a juxtaposition of imagery that was probably not coincidental. Mortars and pestles were especially representative of women's roles in traditional society. For example, Mooney relates that Cherokees believed that small birds greeted the birth of girls for their anticipated use of the mortar and pestle:

Figure 5.6. Photographs by M.R. Harrington (1908) illustrating traditional Cherokee corn processing equipment (National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution). a: rinsing lye-swollen corn in a cane riddle (neg. no. 2734); b: pounding corn with mortar and pestle (neg. no. 2724); c: separating bran and meal with fanner (neg. no. 2731); d: sifting meal with cane sifter (neg. no. 2735).

> "Thanks! the sound of the pestle! At her home I shall surely be able to scratch where she sweeps," because they know that after a while they will be able to pick up stray grains where she beats the corn into meal (Mooney 1900:401).

Speck and Broom (1951:20) note that the Eastern Cherokees considered the mortar to be a symbol of abundance and economic well-being, and used mortars in a number of ritual contexts. Fogelson and Bell suggest that the corn mortars which Cherokee dancers used to mark the centers of interior dance spaces were symbolic substitutes for the "ceremonial fire ... as a central axis around which performers danced" (1983:49). The formal similarity between the conical depression in hominy mortars and the central basins of traditional prepared clay hearths may not be coincidental.

It is likely that the spoliation claims grossly underrepresent the incidence of hominy mortars and pestles in Cherokee households. Most households in the study area probably kept mortars and pestles for daily or occasional use, and the limited incidence of these implements in the claims may reflect a perception that such simple tools lacked monetary value. While probable underreporting of mortars and pestles renders any distributional patterns tentative, the lack of such tools in the inventories of wealthier slaveholders (i.e., Edward Christie, Richard Walker, Robert Muskrat, George Blair, Charlie Buffington) and most *métis* households may reflect departures from traditional foodways by more westernized families.

Twelve households reported water powered pounding mills; these were automated, trip-action hominy mortars and pestles. These automated "samp mills" were first devised by frontier Anglo-Americans in lieu of rotary action gristmills; diffusion of this form into Cherokee contexts was straightforward inasmuch as the core mechanism involved traditional technologies. Pounding mills were particularly concentrated in the northern half of the study area, with three mills in Cheoah, three in Stecoa, one in Alarka, and one in Nantahala.

Woven cane or oak splint baskets used for washing hominy, winnowing corn bran, and sifting corn meal are represented in 135 claims. Riddles, the low-walled, coarse sieves used for rinsing hominy, are reported in 32 claims (Figure 5.6). Finer meshed sieves and sifters (Figure 5.6) used for sorting pounded corn meal are documented in 106 claims, and fanners or winnowing trays (Figure 5.6) are reported in 21 claims. Although corn processing baskets are well represented in the spoliation claims (24% of claims with more than 10 items), relatively few were reported by Anglo-Cherokee families and none were indicated by westernized slaveholders or large landholders. This suggests that wealthier and more westernized households did not own such equipment or did not consider such equipment worthy of note. By contrast, many of the poorer fullblood families reported eight to ten corn processing baskets each, an indication of the importance that more traditionally oriented

households accorded this toolkit. *Wadeyoohee* reported loss of 20 fanners, sifters, and riddles, and Nanney *Wahyehutta* lost 52 such baskets. These large claims probably reflect craft inventories for market disposal, an indication that these baskets may have been traded within the local economy.

Accounts by Mooney (1900:453), Steiner and deSchweinitz (1799), and Taylor (1828) indicate that carved wooden spoons and ladles were the primary utensils used in the service and consumption of *kanohena* and other liquid based dishes. Such spoons are documented by 16 spoliation claims, which report 81 spoons valued from $.07 to $.25 each (median $.125). Louis-Philippe [1799] recognized Cherokee wooden spoons as a native form distinct from mass produced equivalents: "Their spoons were wooden and fairly well made. In shape they were more pointed and triangular than ours" (Becker 1977: 84). Ethnographers who worked among the Cherokees during the late nineteenth century regarded the carved spoons and ladles they saw as elements of traditional material culture, and wooden ladles collected by Mooney and Palmer (see Figures 5.5) conform to Louis-Philippe's description, indicating long term continuity in a native stylistic tradition. The documentary record suggests a close association between wooden spoons and aboriginal ceramics in traditional corporate dining patterns; wooden spoons may have been similarly indicative of native identity. However, the incidence of wooden spoons in the spoliation claims is not closely correlated with that of native ceramics, and the relationship of wooden spoons with traditional dining modes is not clearly indicated.

Rivercane storage baskets are the most abundant and widespread of the native technologies represented in Cherokee spoliation claims from southwestern North Carolina. Two hundred forty-five claims reported a minimum of 1423 baskets (many are listed in 'lots' but not enumerated), at values ranging from $.125 for small, single weave baskets to $3.00 for large, elaborate, doubleweave baskets with lids. Most of these baskets are described simply as 'cane,' and probably represent single weave twilled split cane baskets in square and rectangular forms (Figure 5.5). The claims also indicate a number of doubleweave rivercane baskets, finely woven baskets with finished interiors (Figure 5.5). Cherokee households used rivercane storage baskets as containers for practically any form of dry goods, and claims indicate basket contents ranging from clothing and combs to dried fruit to gunpowder. Cloth and clothing were often stored in the more elaborate doubleweave baskets or hampers with lids. Smaller doubleweave "trinket" baskets were used to organize personal items, such as jewelry, combs, and money. One claim reports "finery in a double basket", while another notes a "basketful of gunstocking tools." One claim indicates the loss of a basket filled with

gunpowder, flints, and lead. Baskets were also used for storing cotton, wool, yarn, and feathers as well as foodstuffs such as shelled corn, dried beans, and dried peaches.

Cherokee families claimed from one to 30 storage baskets each (median=4), a range of variation that probably reflects both the relative emphasis that families placed upon this form of storage and organization and the overall quantity of dry goods that families held in storage. A few (i.e., Adam, *Tiana*, Nancy, *Toonih*, *Sahwache*, John Owl and Nanney *Wayehutta*) claims for especially large numbers of baskets (>20) may reflect craft production for market disposal, and it is likely that baskets were traded in local internal markets and to Anglo-Americans outside the study area. An external trade in Cherokee baskets developed early in the eighteenth century, when British traders transported "nests" of doublewoven baskets from the Cherokee country to buyers in the coastal British settlements (Adair 1930, Duggan and Riggs 1991, Hill 1997). British trader James Adair [1775] observed:

> They make the handsomest clothes baskets I ever saw... A large nest consists of eight or ten baskets, contained within each other... those baskets which the Cheerake [sic] made, were so highly esteemed even in South Carolina, the politest of our colonies, for domestic usefulness, beauty, and skilful variety, that a large nest of them cost upwards of a moidore (Adair 1930:424).

After the Revolutionary Period, Cherokees began itinerant peddling of baskets in American settlements on the borders of the Cherokee Nation, a pattern that continued through the Removal Period and well into the twentieth century. Drury Armstrong, a citizen of Knoxville, Tennessee, noted this trade in 1842:

> ... In the evening [Feb. 27, 1842] walked down the bank of the river [Holston] about a mile to an encampment of Cherokee Indians, in number ten. Found them making cane baskets. Had on hand and for sale perhaps 100 baskets. They seem civil and well disposed and rather inclined to myrth [sic] than sadness (Armstrong 1842).

Although rivercane storage baskets were numerous and widespread among Cherokees in the study area, the spoliation claims reveal significant differences in the ownership (or reporting) of such baskets among fullblood and *métis* households. Almost 63% of the fullblood claimants reported baskets, as compared to only 37% of Anglo-Cherokee claimants. The significance of this pattern is unclear. Although rivercane storage baskets were obviously representative of a native technological tradition, possession of such wares was not necessarily indicative of native identity. Many Anglo-American consumers found Cherokee baskets indispensable, and these native manufactures were widespread in Anglo-American contexts on the borders of the Cherokee Nation. It can be inferred that Anglo-Cherokees found baskets similarly useful, and whether *métis* families produced their own baskets or bought the wares of specialists, it is likely that every Cherokee family owned rivercane storage baskets. The apparent underreporting of baskets by Anglo-Cherokee families may reflect unconscious omissions of lower valued goods by wealthier households, or may reflect the conscious masking of any native associations in representations to Anglo-American audiences.

Spoliation claims indicate one additional class of baskets, the pack basket or *iti* (n=71) used for carrying loads with a tumpline (Figure 5.7). These large, funnel shaped baskets were frequently used in agricultural tasks, such as gathering corn, or were used in gathering wild foods, such as chestnuts. Pack baskets listed in the claims are valued from $.25 to $1.50 each (median=$.75). Most families that reported pack baskets owned two to four such containers; Nanney *Wayehutta*, a craft specialist, reported 12 pack baskets.

Use of carrying or burden baskets was a distinctly aboriginal characteristic; whites regarded bearing such loads as demeaning tasks fit for beasts of burden, and frequently commented on the 'uncivilized' Cherokee women who carried heavy loads on their backs. Significantly, all but two claims (Punk, Arch Christie) for pack baskets issue from fullblood households, and the lack of pack baskets among losses suffered by wealthier Anglo-Cherokee families may indicate adoption of Anglo-American attitudes toward pack burdening. However, pack baskets are probably underrepresented throughout the study sample, and it is likely that many families gathered clothing and other necessities into pack baskets for transport at the time of arrest by removal troops.

Three types of clothing reported in the claims records, moccasins (n=3), beaded belts (n=2), and beaded garters (n=1) are also products of the native tradition. These articles are considered in preceding discussions of clothing. The rare instance of native clothing in the claims suggests that families and individuals managed to gather and carry most of their clothing at the time of arrest.

Locally manufactured goods produced in native technological traditions are probably the clearest material denominators of native allegiance and identity represented in the spoliation claims records, and it is expected that the incidence and abundance of such goods denotes cultural conservatism on the part of claimants. Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, almost every category of traditional technology appears to be markedly underreported, and the incidence of native manufactures cannot be considered a uniform gauge of native affinity. However, the high frequency and diversity of native goods in particular claims probably does denote strong traditional affinities, while the near absence of these goods in the claims of select groups such as English-speaking slaveowners probably reflects more western orientations and conscious distancing from native associations.

Liquid Assets

Although most Cherokee families probably retained their limited cash reserves and other liquid assets at the time of their arrest and removal, 35 study sample claims report losses of bank notes, specie, or unrefined gold amounting to $1007.75. Thirty households reported cash losses ranging from $.25 to $200.00; five families indicated losses in gold from $10.00

Figure 5.7. Cherokee woman with pack basket. 1908 photograph by M.R. Harrington; National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, neg. no. 2733.

(10 drams) to $76.40 (80 pennyweights). Almost 22% of the liquid assets evident in the study sample are listed in the claim of *Juhnuhootah*, a fullblood from the Valley River Valley, who reported losses of $200.00 in cash and $20.00 in gold. It is likely that cash was generally scarce in the study area, and its incidence in Cherokee homes was probably seasonal, related to fall sales of corn, fodder, and livestock and winter sales of peltry.

Analysis of Spoliation Claims Data

As illustrated by the preceding narrative overview of chattel property reported in spoliation claims, the scope of Cherokee material life in southwestern North Carolina was surprisingly rich and diverse, encompassing everything from clocks to blowguns to ostrich feathers to spectacles and whiskey distilleries. The property losses reported by individual households vary tremendously in scale and content. Some of this variation undoubtedly reflects situation loss and reporting of property; this largely stochastic component of variation cannot be reliably accounted in analysis. In other instances, however, patterns of interassemblage variation more clearly correspond with familial affiliations or linguistic and bioracial diversity in the study population; these trends appear to reflect the differential Westernization of individuals and households and are significant to the present study. The remainder of this chapter attempts to define and explain patterns of intergroup and interhousehold variability in wealthholding and assemblage composition in an effort to determine whether ethnic or cultural differentiation were significant factors that structured the material lives of Cherokee people at the time of removal. Specific questions to be addressed in these analyses are:

1) Do cultural/ethnic subsets of the study population differ significantly in absolute wealthholding of chattel property, and what is the scale or extent of difference?; (i.e., did different cultural/ethnic groups within Cherokee society maintain different attitudes toward accumulation of wealth, as indicated by patterns of wealthholding evident in chattel property?).
2) Do the material assemblages of English-speaking Cherokees and monolingual Cherokees differ significantly in composition? Which material elements or categories differ in their incidence and distributions and best differentiate cultural/ethnic subsets of the population?
3) Are differences in wealthholding and assemblage composition between English-speaking Cherokees and monolingual Cherokees interpretable by comparison to the McMinn County Anglo-American control group? Are differences in the scale and composition of material assemblages referable to relative degrees of similarity to western or traditional models?
4) Does material assemblage patterning, when considered independently of *a priori* defined cultural/ethnic groups in the study population, effectively differentiate those same cultural/ethnic groups?

To address these questions, the spoliation claims data are explored through univariate (Wilcoxon Rank Sums; Welch's ANOVA) and multivariate statistical comparisons (hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis) as well as simple descriptive univariate measures.

Groupwise comparisons of bilingual English-Cherokee speakers (predominantly Anglo-Cherokee *métis*) and monolingual Cherokee speakers (predominantly fullbloods) are conducted to determine material vectors of similarity and difference between these *a priori* groups. The extent and direction of differences between these groups are gauged by comparison to the control group of contemporaneous McMinn County Anglo-American probate inventories. Univariate groupwise comparisons consider relative incidence (presence-absence) of particular items and classes of items as well as the monetary value distributions of assemblages and functional subgroups of assemblages. Cluster analysis is employed to define types or classes of assemblages based upon intercase variability in wealthholding and assemblage composition without regard to predefined ethnic/cultural categories. This allows the characterization of socioeconomic classes (or grades) within the study sample which may have formed independently of ethnic/cultural affinity. Such comparison gauges the applicability of an ethnic differentiation model to understanding variation in wealthholding and material assemblage composition.

Certain overarching patterns of assemblage composition are immediately coherent upon casual inspection of the claims data (see Table 5.1). A suite of recurrent items evident in more than 30% (an arbitrary threshold) of the sample claims can be defined as a core "typical" assemblage that characterized most Cherokee households of the 1830s. These prevalent elements include hogs (80%), chickens (79%), horses (65%), beef cattle (54%), and dairy cattle (35%), hoes (85%), mattocks (52%), plows (78%) and plow harness (55%), axes (78%), firearms (50%), cane storage baskets (59%), wool and cotton cards (47%) and spinning wheels (46%), stored corn (44%), tables (42%) and chairs (37%), cast iron pots (86%), refined earthenware plates (55%), tin cups (34%) knives and forks (33%), wooden pails (70%) and sheet metal buckets (31%). In most respects (with the exception of the cane baskets and stored corn), the commonly reported elements of Cherokee inventories represent introduced western technologies already firmly integrated into Cherokee lifeways; the omnipresence of such goods indicates the extent of material acculturation throughout Cherokee society. The prosaic character of this core assemblage suggests a material lifestyle that substantially resembled that of rural southern Anglo-Americans of lesser means. Indeed, the "typical" Cherokee assemblage of the 1830s incorporated many of the same core elements evident in contemporary McMinn County, Tennessee, probate inventories, which include horses (79%), hogs (75%), dairy cattle (57%), and beef cattle (75%), axes (71%), plows (71%) and plow harness (50%), hoes (46%), mattocks (39%), firearms (32%), cast iron pots (61%), spinning wheels (57%), and chairs (61%) and tables (54%). However, the McMinn County records also indicate a much broader central repertoire among Anglo-American families, with key

elements such as frying pans (57%) and Dutch ovens (50%), bedsteads (57%), featherbeds (75%), and bedclothing (71%), cupboards (46%) and bureaus (32%), chests (36%), clocks (46%), andirons (32%), churns (32%), crockeryware (36%), coffee mills (39%), barrels (57%), saws (50%), scythes (50%), stilliards (46%), books (46%), cutting knives (43%), looms (39%), augers (36%), drawknives (36%), and planes (32%), sheep (46%) and geese (36%), wagons (39%), singletrees (36%), and saddles (82%). Although these items occur in the Cherokee claims, their much higher incidence in Anglo-American inventories denotes far more complex material lifestyles in which the pursuit of material "improvement" through consumerism drove the intensification and diversification of agrarian production strategies.

Core assemblages of goods reported by the smaller subset of bilingual (predominantly *métis*) Cherokees (n=45) are generally similar in content to those listed by fullblood claimants, but also include a number of items more characteristic of Anglo-American households. Assemblages reported by bilingual Cherokees included hogs (87%), horses (71%), beef cattle (62%), dairy cattle (49%), chickens (78%) and ducks (40%), hoes (84%), plows (82%) and plow harness (60%), mattocks (58%), axes (76%), drawknives (38%), iron cleaving wedges (31%), spinning wheels (62%) and cards (58%), firearms (51%) cast iron pots (82%), Dutch ovens (36%) and frying pans (36%), bedsteads (47%) and featherbeds (31%), tables (69%) and chairs (67%), plates (64%), cups and saucers (44%), ceramic pitchers (36%), tin cups (36%), knives and forks (49%), pails (60%) and tin buckets (38%), stored corn (42%), and cane storage baskets (31%). It is also noteworthy that English-speaking Cherokee families reported many of the items common to Anglo-American agrarian assemblages at more than twice the rate of monolingual Cherokee families. These include geese, guinea fowls, ducks, froes, grindstones, hatchets, carpenters' squares, iron wedges, check reels, scythes, reaphooks, wagons, barrels, whiskey stills, crosscut saws, blacksmith's tools, log chains, cowhides and leather, fodder, feathers, pistols, spurs, looking glasses, trunks and chests, stools, chairs, benches, bedsteads and featherbeds, pillows, coverlets, bedclothes, quilts, blankets, candlemolds and candlestands, wash tubs, washpots, smoothing irons, andirons and hearth tools, pewter basins, pot racks, frying pans, wire sieves, coffee mills, serving trays, milk pans, flasks, pans, churns, milk strainers, jars, salt cellars, pepper boxes, sugar dishes, butter plates, knife boxes, pitchers, teapots, glass tumblers and decanters, dishes, pewter dishes and plates, bowls, lard, bacon, flour, hats, vests, coats, cloaks, stockings, shawls, and umbrellas.

The broader core assemblages of bilingual Cherokees and the greater relative incidence of a wide range of western consumer goods in these claims generally connotes much more detailed assimilation of western domestic lifeways on the part of bilingual Cherokees than among their monolingual Cherokee counterparts. The substantially greater incidence of items

such as candlestands, washpots, smoothing irons, and butter plates in the homes of English-speaking Cherokees indicates a lifestyle well informed by and directly emulative of Anglo-American households. This is consistent with the expectation that Anglo-Cherokees, through both linguistic and social affinities, maintained more direct and sustained relations with Anglo-Americans.

By contrast, the core arrays of producers' goods and equipment reported by bilingual households do not appear significantly expanded beyond those evident in the claims of monolingual fullbloods. This suggests that most bilingual Cherokees did not adopt the more diversified modes of agrarian production (e.g., small grain and hay production) prevalent among Anglo-American farm families in the upland South. These patterns correspond to one of the dominant trends evident among Cherokee real properties, the coupling of substantial, highly valued dwellings with small, subsistence scale agricultural improvements. One possible interpretation for this pattern is that other modes of income generation, such as market-scale livestock production, were effectively substituted for row crop production.

Monolingual fullblood Cherokee families reported relatively few items at substantially higher rates than their English-speaking counterparts. Cane storage baskets, cane sifters, mortars and pestles, blowguns, butcher knives and side knives, shears and scissors, steel files, goats, and glass bottles are all more than twice as likely to appear in the claims of monolingual fullbloods as those of English-speaking Cherokees. The greater relative incidence of native technologies in the claims of monolingual fullbloods presumably reflects a higher degree of cultural conservatism on the part of majority sector of the study population. These higher incidence of such low valued goods in the claims poorer monolingual Cherokees may also reflect more thorough reporting than among wealthier English-speaking Cherokees, who may have considered such low valued items as incidental losses.

Material comparisons and contrasts between the English-speaking and monolingual sectors of the study group are amplified by examination of the distributions of the monetary values of reported assemblages and their constituent functional categories (Tables 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). These comparisons are made using Wilcoxon's Rank Sums and Welch's ANOVA statistics to assay differences in the central tendencies and variances of chattel property distributions between the two groups. These nonparametric approximations are used tocompensate for the marked discrepancies in variance between the two groups. Use of assigned monetary values, as opposed to the various measures of frequency, quantity, and volume evident in the claims, transforms the claims data into consistent units that can be more readily combined and manipulated for analysis. This obviates the dilemma of counting "a

Table 5.2. Summary statistics for chattel property among monolingual Cherokees, bilingual Cherokees, and McMinn County, Tennessee whites.

	monolingual Cherokees (n=370)			bilingual Cherokees (n=45)			McMinn Co. whites (n=28)*		
Material class	**range**	**mean**	**s.d.**	**range**	**mean**	**s.d.**	**range**	**mean**	**s.d.**
inventory totals	$18.40-$2177.20	$323.69	$314.63	$48.80-$3703.20	$556.76	$615.68	$107.70-$2427.00	$722.19	$612.55
livestock	$0.00-$1814.00	$230.77	$263.07	$0.00-$3195.50	$408.06	$526.88	$0.00-$1640.50	$404.27	$103.50
horses	$0.00-$1000.00	$104.79	$129.77	$0.00-$560.00	$129.82	$145.30	$0.00-$1092.00	$202.12	$218.24
cattle	$0.00-$630.00	$41.19	$62.33	$0.00-$1775.00	$126.64	$279.70	$0.00-$342.00	$91.38	$98.02
swine	$0.00-$1210.00	$74.50	$134.56	$0.00-$924.00	$132.01	$183.24	$0.00-$281.93	$88.54	$82.48
other stock	$0.00-$110.00	$10.29	$17.30	$0.00-$130.25	$19.58	$30.20	$0.00-$145.78	$22.22	$32.35
producers' durable goods	$0.00-$339.75	$40.50	$35.82	$2.00-283.50	$63.01	$64.24	$3.30-$352.22	$111.52	$103.50
agricultural equipment	$0.00-$57.00	$10.07	$8.08	$0.00-$77.00	$18.58	$18.17	$0.00-$79.65	$22.50	$21.08
woodworking toolkits	$0.00-$55.50	$5.32	$5.64	$0.00-$24.75	$6.68	$5.91	$0.00-$35.31	$12.21	$10.93
specialized production toolkits	$0.00-$143.00	$1.50	$10.60	$0.00-$80.00	$4.49	$17.12	$0.00-$101.34	$17.13	$32.40
extractive technologies	$0.00-$87.75	$13.68	$16.50	$0.00-$83.00	$12.47	$17.01	$0.00-$39.00	$8.96	$12.46
cloth production technologies	$0.00-$77.00	$6.79	$10.41	$0.00-$76.00	$13.20	$17.26	$0.00-$34.54	$8.41	$8.95
vehicles	$0.00-$100.00	$0.90	$8.30	$0.00-$144.00	$3.21	$21.46	$0.00-$170.00	$34.30	$48.75
producers' perishable goods									
crops	$0.00-$380.00	$6.50	$30.11	$0.00-$115.00	$6.80	$21.16	$0.00-$510.06	$54.20	$101.98
raw materials/commodities	$0.00-$78.00	$1.98	$5.70	$0.00-$31.00	$4.39	$7.30	$0.00-$72.00	$8.00	$16.97
consumers' durable goods	$0.00-$171.50	$31.60	$26.83	$3.75-$329.75	$62.28	$58.73	$0.00-$409.15	$114.14	$86.66
furniture	$0.00-$46.00	$3.61	$5.88	$0.00-$107.75	$14.08	$18.92	$0.00-$48.39	$20.50	$14.78
household equipment	$0.00-$165.50	$6.27	$11.60	$0.00-$158.50	$16.81	$27.13	$0.00-$223.58	$47.53	$47.10
cookware	$0.00-$59.75	$9.70	$6.99	$0.00-$54.00	$13.07	$10.99	$0.00-$37.27	$10.39	$10.76
kitchen equipment (other)	$0.00-$14.00	$1.03	$1.91	$0.00-$14.50	$2.27	$3.03	$0.00-$20.13	$4.33	$5.67
food service wares	$0.00-$33.00	$3.07	$3.83	$0.00-$39.38	$9.04	$10.64	$0.00-$37.40	$4.94	$8.62
native technologies	$0.00-$69.75	$3.85	$6.16	$0.00-$20.00	$2.03	$3.73	$0.00		
clothing	$0.00-$77.50	$1.46	$6.06	$0.00-$51.25	$4.54	$10.88	$0.00-$3.00	$0.14	$0.59
personal paraphernalia	$0.00-$15.63	$0.46	$1.71	$0.00-$14.50	$0.31	$0.91	$0.00-$64.25	$5.55	$13.53
tack	$0.00-$116.00	$3.59	$9.88	$0.00-$50.00	$4.69	$10.42	$0.00-$49.92	$20.90	$13.21
consumers' perishable goods									
foodstuffs	$0.00-$234.00	$9.51	$19.81	$0.00-$100.00	$10.95	$17.36	$0.00-$249.47	$13.91	$47.84

* values extrapolated based upon mean values reported in Cherokee spoliation claims.

Table 5.3. Wilcoxon Rank Sums comparisons of chattel property values among monolingual Cherokees, bilingual Cherokees, and McMinn County, Tennessee whites.

	monolingual Cherokees vs bilingual Cherokees		bilingual Cherokees vs McMinn Co. whites		monolingual Cherokees vs McMinn Co. whites	
	Z value	p>|Z|	Z value	p>|Z|	Z value	p>|Z|
inventory totals	3.13859	0.0017	1.58257	0.1135	4.49724	<.0001
livestock	2.63847	0.0083	0.69775	0.4818	3.24928	0.0012
horses	0.9327	0.351	1.83269	0.0668	3.139694	0.0017
cattle	3.01858	0.0025	0.4321	0.6657	3.05897	0.0022
swine	2.83443	0.0046	0.18204	0.8555	1.86414	0.0623
other stock	1.85774	0.0632	0.17146	0.8639	0.81968	0.4124
producers' durable goods	2.22838	0.0262	1.75277	0.0796	3.53463	0.0004
agricultural equipment	2.91632	0.0035	0.62983	0.5288	2.78735	0.0053
woodworking toolkits	1.61644	0.106	2.04414	0.0409	3.42026	0.0006
specialized production toolkits	0.32546	0.7448	4.23873	<.0001	7.87526	<.0001
extractive technologies	0.98458	0.3248	0.52926	0.5966	1.5852	0.1129
cloth production technologies	2.54882	0.0108	0.67434	0.5001	1.20245	0.2292
vehicles	1.10596	0.2687	3.74247	0.0002	8.93089	<.0001
producers' perishable goods						
crops	0.69456	0.4873	3.75625	0.0002	6.20742	<.0001
raw materials/commodities	1.68424	0.0931	0.13132	0.8955	1.30115	0.1932
consumers' durable goods	4.29169	<.0001	3.30154	0.001	6.15689	<.0001
furniture	5.858	<.0001	2.85345	0.0043	6.80554	<.0001
household equipment	3.29591	0.001	3.22047	0.0013	5.45832	<.0001
cookware	1.98486	0.0472	1.49386	0.1352	0.63001	0.5287
kitchen equipment (other)	2.93061	0.0034	1.29718	0.1946	3.70851	0.0002
food service wares	3.70917	0.0002	2.01193	0.0442	0.3332	0.739
native technologies	3.37399	0.0007				
clothing	1.74151	0.0816	2.01583	0.0438	1.34414	0.1789
personal paraphernalia	0.0541	0.9569	3.92505	<.0001	5.79769	<.0001
tack	0.3329	0.7392	5.18248	<.0001	7.70568	<.0001
consumers' perishable goods						
foodstuffs	0.61727	0.5371	1.87601	0.0607	2.17236	0.0298

Table 5.4. Welch's ANOVA comparisons of chattel property values among monolingual Cherokees, bilingual Cherokees, and McMinn County, Tennessee whites.

	monolingual Cherokees vs bilingual Cherokees		bilingual Cherokees vs McMinn Co. whites		monolingual Cherokees vs McMinn Co. whites	
	F ratio	p>F	F ratio	p>F	F ratio	p>F
inventory totals	6.2505	0.016	1.2539	0.2674	11.6183	0.002
livestock	4.9452	0.031	0.0032	0.9549	6.0597	0.02
horses	1.2171	0.2749	2.8924	0.0934	5.4238	0.0272
cattle	4.1751	0.047	0.4117	0.5232	7.1225	0.0124
swine	4.1598	0.0467	1.3939	0.2417	0.6755	0.4162
other stock	4.1006	0.0485	0.1209	0.7294	3.732	0.0635
producers' durable goods	5.3263	0.0254	7.0383	0.0098	13.066	0.0012
agricultural equipment	9.6434	0.0032	0.7092	0.4025	9.6309	0.0044
woodworking toolkits	2.1347	0.1498	7.8886	0.0064	10.9188	0.0026
specialized production toolkits	1.3139	0.2574	4.7495	0.0326	6.4675	0.0169
extractive technologies	0.2049	0.6526	0.8937	0.3477	3.5565	0.0677
cloth production technologies	5.9212	0.0187	1.8258	0.1809	0.8403	0.366
vehicles	0.513	0.4775	14.0241	0.0004	13.1133	0.0012
producers' perishable goods						
crops	0.0073	0.9324	9.1617	0.0034	6.0851	0.0202
raw materials/commodities	4.5604	0.0376	1.5725	0.214	3.4826	0.0727
consumers' durable goods	11.9803	0.0012	11.0602	0.0014	25.2157	<.0001
furniture	13.60664	0.0006	4.6701	0.0341	36.0676	<.0001
household equipment	6.6395	0.0133	11.4355	0.0012	21.3922	<.0001
cookware	4.0086	0.0509	1.0397	0.3114	0.1093	0.7434
kitchen equipment (other)	7.2013	0.0099	4.108	0.0464	9.4326	0.0048
food service wares	13.9273	0.0005	2.943	0.0906	1.2985	0.2642
native technologies	8.088	0.0057	n/a	n/a		
clothing	3.4792	0.0683	4.5365	0.0366	15.4553	0.0001
personal paraphernalia	0.9048	0.3441	6.7613	0.0113	3.953	0.057
tack	0.448	0.0561	33.9687	<.0001	46.146	<.0001
consumers' perishable goods						
foodstuffs	0.2682	0.6065	0.1427	0.7067	0.2337	0.6326

passel [parcel] of young turkeys" or "one lot of Queensware", and places objects within a coherent value hierarchy that serves to weight the relative contributions of disparate items.

The McMinn County probate inventory data are introduced as controls to monitor the directionality of trends in the Cherokee spoliation claims data. Because the values assigned to items at probate or estate sales deviate substantially from the Cherokee data and reflect markedly depressed estimates, it is necessary to adjust the values of goods in the Anglo-American sample to achieve comparability. Therefore, the mean values of particular items in the Cherokee sample are substituted for the values of similar or identical items in the McMinn County sample. This substitution is not universal; the values assigned to horses and stored crops in the McMinn County sample appear to reflect true market value and are retained for analysis.

The spoliation claims illustrate a broad range in wealthholding among Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina. Total values assigned to chattel properties considered in the study sample range from $18.38 to $3703.25 (Figure 5.8), with a median value of $246.40 (mean=$344.73; s.d.=$362.51)(see Appendix III). Wealth distribution appears markedly skewed, with a heavy concentration of values in the $100.00-$400.00 range, but a considerable dispersion of cases at the upper end of the distribution. Eighteen cases (Edward Christie, Mocking Crow, *Toonigh*, *Utsutaky*, Anna *Ahstola*, Catey, Sucker, Richard Walker, Polly, Robert Muskrat, Charles Jones, Nancy Muskrat, John Wayne, Adam, Barrow, *Juhnuhootah*, Nancy Hawkins, Thomas *Askaquah*) lie more than two standard deviations above the mean. The most highly valued inventory, an assemblage reported by Edward Christie, exceeds the next most valuable assemblage (Mocking Crow) by 70%, and Mocking Crow's wealth exceeds that of the third ranking claim (*Toonigh*) by 10%. Most of this wealth consists of livestock, a category that appears to have been quite susceptible to differential loss and reporting. If livestock is excluded from consideration, wealth distribution ranges from $10.50 to $763.00, with a median value of $71.50 (mean=$98.97; s.d.=$93.48). This does not change the shape of the distribution, and the dispersion of cases at the upper end of the distribution remains similar, although the rank order of cases is considerablymodified. By elimination of other categories that were particularly subject to variable loss and reporting (i.e., stored crops, foodstuffs, clothing, personal paraphernalia, liquid assets, vehicles, tack), the range is reduced to $10.50-$448.00 (median=$60.50; mean=$77.32; s.d.=$62.06), yet the shape of the distribution remains similar due to extreme outliers. This suggests that the study sample is relatively homogeneous by most measures of chattel wealth, but a few individuals owned significantly greater amounts of all types of chattel property than did their neighbors

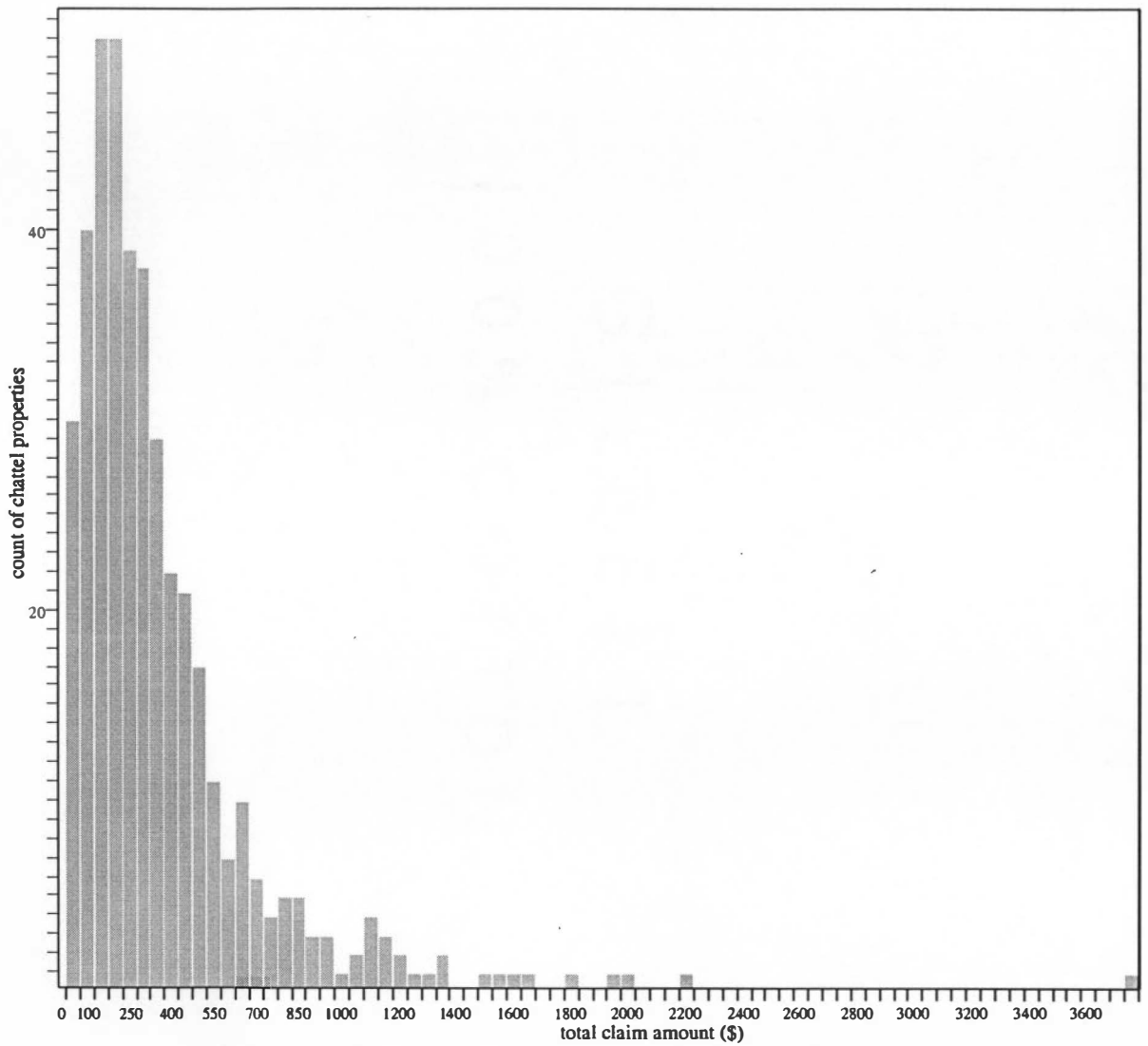


Figure 5.8. Distribution of chattel property values of Cherokee claimants.

Although some of the largest and most valuable assemblages belonged to monolingual fullblood families, wealthholding appears to have been particularly concentrated among a few Westernized Anglo-Cherokees and other English-speaking Cherokee households (Table 5.2). Although the 45 English-speaking families constitute less than 11% of the study sample, these households reported losses totaling $25,054.30, over 17% of the sample total. English-speaking households reported from $48.80 to $3703.20 (median=$355.00; mean=$556.76; s.d.=$615.68) in total losses, while monolingual Cherokee speaking households reported from $18.38 to $2177.20 in losses (median=$236.90; mean=$323.69; s.d.=$314.63). Wilcoxon rank sums comparison of these subsamples yields a Z value of 3.139 (p>|Z|: <.0001); Welch's ANOVA comparizon yields an F ratio of 6.2505 ((p>|F|:<.016) (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). These results indicate that the distribution of wealth among the two subsets is distinct, with English-speaking households tending to report greater losses of absolute wealth than their monolingual counterparts. Because the Edward Christie case constitutes an extreme outlier (at $3703.20) to the small subset of English-speaking households, it is also useful to compare the two distributions while excluding the Edward Christie inventory; this yields a Z value of 2.93132 (p>|Z|= .0034). The distribution of chattel property values among English-speaking Cherokee households appears more comparable to that of Anglo-American agrarian households in the McMinn County sample, which exhibits an adjusted range of total chattel wealth (exclusive of slaves) from $107.72 to $2426.97 (mean=$722.19; median=$531.30). Univariate tests reveal that distributions of chattel wealth among the McMinn County households and English-speaking Cherokee households in the study sample are not statistically distinct (Z=1.58257, p>|Z|= .1135; F=1.2539, p>|F|= .2674), while the McMinn County sample appears to differ markedly from the monolingual Cherokee subset (Z=4.49724, p>|Z|= <.0001; F=11.6183, p>|F|= <.0002). This gross-scale comparison suggests that the distribution of chattel wealth among English-speaking Cherokee households (as a group) more closely resembled that of Anglo-American yeoman agrarian families than that of monolingual Cherokee households. This is consistent with the expectation that English-speaking Cherokees (principally Anglo-Cherokees) were more likely than monolingual Cherokees (assumed to be exclusively fullbloods) to adopt and successfully assert western attitudes prescribing the pursuit and accumulation of wealth.

More discrete patterns are evident upon groupwise comparison of the distributions of monetary values for separate functional classes of chattel property (Tables 5.3 and 5.4). Wilcoxon Rank Sums and Welch's ANOVA comparisons indicate that value distributions of cattle, swine, agricultural equipment, cloth production equipment, kitchenwares, food service wares, furnishings and other household equipment, clothing, and native technologies differ

significantly (at .05 probability levels) between English-speaking (or bilingual) Cherokee households and their monolingual Cherokee counterparts, with the English-speaking subgroup tending to maintain greater wealth in all dimensions other than native technologies. These differences indicate that English-speaking households, on average, lost significantly greater wealth in marketable livestock and equipment for agricultural production than their non-English-speaking counterparts, suggesting that they had placed a greater emphasis on agrarian production. Similarly, markedly higher levels of cloth production equipment among English-speaking households reflect a heightened focus on manufacturing for domestic use and market disposal. It is noteworthy that the English-speaking Cherokee subset does not differ significantly from the McMinn County sample in these measures of productive capacity (Tables 5.3 and 5.4), an indication that the English-speaking Cherokee households and Anglo-American families shared primary production strategies and scales of production. However, the English-speaking Cherokee households and the Anglo-American households differ significantly in their ownership of woodworking toolkits, specialized production or artisan toolkits, and producers' vehicles, with Anglo-American families tending to maintain greater value in all three categories. The differential representation of vehicles may reflect the peculiar circumstances of the Cherokee spoliations, but the greater frequencies of woodworking tools and artisan toolkits in Anglo-American inventories suggests that rural southern whites generally practiced more diversified economic strategies to enhance and amplify household incomes.

The superior economic position of English-speaking Cherokee families (as compared with monolingual Cherokees) is further indicated by their greater ownership of commercially manufactured cookware and other kitchen equipment, food service wares, furniture and other household equipage. This pattern is also evident in comparison of the McMinn County control sample with monolingual households; the Anglo-Americans as a group held significantly more furniture and household goods than either Cherokee subgroup, and more kitchen equipment (other than cookware) than monolingual Cherokees. Bilingual Cherokees maintained larger and more valuable assemblages of food service wares than either monolingual Cherokees or Anglo-Americans; this pattern is partially attributable to inconsistent reporting of such wares in the Anglo-American probate lists.

These results suggest that English-speaking Cherokee households produced substantially greater quantities of disposable wealth than monolingual Cherokee households, and applied this wealth toward attainment (through commercial consumption) of material lifestyles similar to those constructed by Anglo-American agrarian families. On the whole, however, the homes of English-speaking Cherokees appear to have been less well furnished and equipped than

those of their economic counterparts in Anglo-American society, and a mode of domestic life intermediate between that of monolingual Cherokees and Anglo-Americans is suggested.

Monolingual Cherokees reported significantly greater losses of native technologies than English-speaking Cherokees (the Anglo-American sample is omitted from this comparison). This trend indicates that monolingual Cherokees were more likely to produce and maintain articles derived from native traditions than were more westernized bilingual Cherokees. The greater dependence upon traditional technologies by monolingual Cherokees probably reflects combined factors of economic necessity, cultural conservatism, and self-conscious (or group conscious) ethnic marking. However, the incidence of such goods in many English-speaking households suggests that the most prominent classes of native goods either did not serve specific dichotomizing functions, or that some bilingual families maintained strong native affinities.

The two Cherokee subgroups are not distinguished by differential ownership (or reported loss) of horses, small livestock (i.e., goats, sheep, poultry and bees), stored crops, foodstuffs, woodworking toolkits, specialized production toolkits, extractive technologies (e.g., firearms, etc.), producers' vehicles, personal paraphernalia, or tack. Because it is likely that many families retained their vehicles, horses, tack, and personal paraphernalia at the time of their arrest and expulsion, reported losses of these categories may not accurately reflect the actual distribution of such property, and intergroup comparisons are probably invalid. Small livestock (primarily poultry) appears to have served basic subsistence functions common to all Cherokee households; however, English-speaking households appear five times more likely to claim geese, twice as likely to claim ducks, and 1.8 times more likely to claim bees than their monolingual counterparts. Basic and essential functionality also accounts for equivalencies in woodworking assemblages and extractive technologies. Specialized production toolkits (e.g., distilleries, blacksmithing equipment) are rare in Cherokee contexts and comparison of their occurrence among subgroups is relatively uninformative. More telling is the incidence of such artisan toolkits in more than half of the Anglo-American households in the McMinn County sample, an indication that rural southern Anglo-Americans integrated nonfarm manufacturing as a regular part of diversified production strategies, in contrast to the more narrowly focused economic pursuits of most Cherokee households.

Groupwise comparisons indicate that monolingual Cherokees (primarily fullbloods who constituted the vast majority of the study population) differed substantially from both bilingual Cherokees (primarily *métis*) and southern Anglo-Americans in overall wealth, possessing significantly less value in most classes of livestock, producers' durable goods, and

consumers' durable goods. By contrast, comparisons of the distributions of chattel property among bilingual Cherokees and McMinn County whites do not differentiate between the two groups in most dimensions. These findings are consistent with the expectation that more westernized, English-speaking Cherokees adopted Anglo-American values regarding the generation and accumulation of wealth, and cultivated material lifestyles similar to their economic peers in southern Anglo-American society, while more conservative, traditionally oriented Cherokees retained subsistence orientations and placed little social value on wealth acquisition.

Conclusions from such groupwise univariate comparisons should not be overdrawn, however, inasmuch as *a priori* grouping of chattel property data by presumed cultural/ethnic affiliation assumes intragroup cohesion and ignores substantial intragroup variation, thus constraining the interpretation of variability in the dataset to a cultural/ethnic model rather than a socioeconomic model, and potentially yielding an inadequate characterization of the study sample. The extreme skewedness of material distributions associated with the bilingual Cherokees, and the high degree of overlap in the distributions of values associated with bilingual and monolingual households indicate that these do not constitute materially discrete subsets, and that other groupings might more accurately reflect the underlying structure of the claims data. It is useful, therefore, to consider intercase variation in chattel property distributions independent of *a priori* cultural or ethnic categories as a means to define socioeconomic groups of households based upon similarities in material possessions (i.e., assemblage type). The correspondence of these assemblage types with ethnic and cultural categories can then be evaluated to determine whether ethnicity (as defined by bioracial heritage or linguistic affinity) was a significant factor affecting the scale and composition of material assemblages.

Numerical classification of the 415 individual cases into groups reflecting assemblage types was undertaken using hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis (Ward's method), a largely heuristic technique which minimizes within group (Euclidean) distance to create homogeneous clusters. Multiple attempts at achieving hierarchical agglomerative cluster solutions that are interpretable in terms of both overall wealth and assemblage composition revealed the necessity for gross-scale reduction of dimensionality in the original data. Initial attempts at clustering the raw data based upon frequency distributions, value distributions, and presence/absence of individual categories resulted in highly fragmented classifications that unduly reflect the contribution of rare items to the detriment of predominant trends. Such data reduction problems are typically addressed through principal components analysis, yet correlation levels among values and frequencies of most individual categories of chattel

property are so low that principal components proves ineffective. Therefore, the spoliation claims data were arbitrarily combined into monetary value distributions for the composite functional categories considered in the groupwise comparisons. Clustering attempts using these composite categories proved more interpretable, but continued to be plagued by the contributions of poorly filled categories, especially those punctuated by a few high value cases (e.g., specialized production equipment, vehicles). In addition, a number of categories that reflect classes of materials subject to highly differential loss and reporting, such as clothing, personal paraphernalia, crops, foodstuffs, and producers' raw materials, tend to distort the cluster solutions. As a remedy to the problem of uneven representation in analytical categories, the data were further collapsed to a trivariate structure consisting of composite values for livestock, other producers' durable goods, and consumers' durable goods. The livestock component combines values for all horses, cattle, swine, sheep, goats, poultry, and beehives to achieve a single measure that expresses almost 70% of total wealth. This composite category is the primary gauge of actual wealthholding and degree of involvement in the market economy. Producers' durable goods incorporate agricultural equipment, woodworking equipment, specialized "non-farm" production equipment, fiber processing and cloth production equipment, extractive technologies, and producers' vehicles. This component monitors household investment in the tools of economic production and reflects household capacity (and by extension, intent) to generate surplus value. Consumers' durable goods encompass household furnishings and equipment, cookware and kitchen equipment, table service wares, and native technologies related to food processing and household storage functions. Categories of consumers' durable goods that were especially prone to differential loss and reporting (e.g., clothing, personal paraphernalia and recreational equipment) are excluded from consideration. Increased values for assemblages of consumers' durable goods generally reflect heightened consumption of commercially manufactured housewares or incorporation of western furnishings and denote focused construction of westernized domestic lifestyles.

This trivariate scheme also eliminates producers' nondurables (i.e., stored crops, producers' commodities and materials) and consumers' nondurables (i.e., foodstuffs) from the analysis. While all of these categories are informative regarding differential ownership of material goods, demonstrable sampling biases limit the quantitative usefulness of these variables.

Such gross-scale combination of material categories bypasses much of the fine-grained variation in assemblage composition to effect classifications that are primarily socioeconomic in character. Individual cases are grouped in a trivariate space that reflects different types and

levels of wealthholding without regard to the specific composition of wealth within the three analytical categories. This addresses general questions regarding the structure of wealthholding among Cherokee households and allows assessment of the representation of different bioracial and linguistic groups within wealth classes or grades. Because many of the specifics of assemblage composition appear linked to overall wealth, such classification also provides a structure for comparison of the distribution of particular items and classes of items.

The three composite categories used in the analysis exhibit markedly different value ranges, and use of these variables in raw form tends to create cluster solutions which reflect the contribution of livestock values as an overwhelming determinant of group membership. In order to equalize the relative contribution of livestock, producers' durables, and consumers' durables, the distributions of aggregate values for these three components are rescaled (standardized) to a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. This transformation accords relatively greater classificatory weight to the distributions of producers' and consumers' durable goods, categories that may reflect major trends in economic and lifestyle orientations quite independently of livestock values.

Because much of the sample is relatively homogeneous, cluster analysis of the standardized trivariate dataset produces a relatively low number of discrete solutions (Figure 5.9). A plot of intercluster distances (Figure 5.10) exhibits major inflections at the nine group and four group levels, indicating particularly distinct solutions at these partitions (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). Figure 5.11 , which depicts the relationships of the nine clusters and their centroids in three dimensional space, illustrates varying degrees of cluster cohesion or dispersion and separation from other groups. These plots depict dense bunching of cases at the lower ends of the scales in all three dimensions, indicating a high degree of overall homogeneity with the majority of cases exhibiting low total values for livestock, producers' durables, and consumers' durables. This pattern is more clearly discernable in biplots (Figures 5.12, 5.13, and 5.14) which illustrate cluster relationships in two dimensional space. Several clusters (2, 4, and 8) do not appear particularly well differentiated, an indication that the nine cluster solution imposes a somewhat arbitrary segmentation upon a relatively continuous distribution. Two of these adjacent clusters (2, 8) are subsumed into a single group (Cluster B) in the four cluster solution (Table 5.6; Figure 5.15), a configuration that more clearly defines gross level wealth holding patterns within the study sample and achieves better cluster separation between the defined groups. Higher wealth groups and unique cases (Clusters 1, 5, 6, 7, 9) defined in the nine cluster solution appear more discrete but less cohesive than lower wealth groups; the combination of higher wealth cases in the four cluster solution (Cluster A)

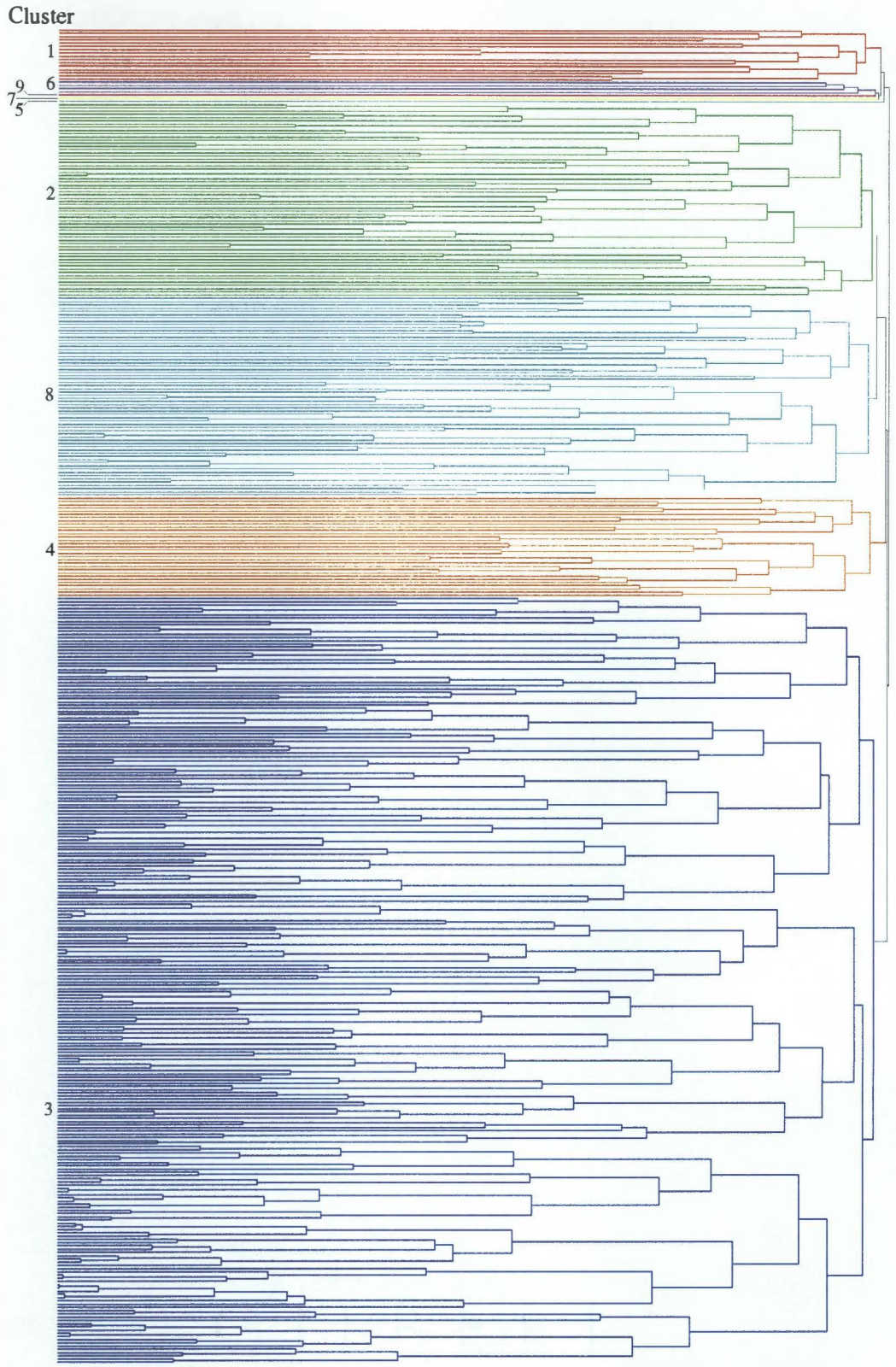


Figure 5.9. Cluster dendrogram illustrating the nine cluster solution of Ward's method cluster analysis for the Cherokee chattel properties data.

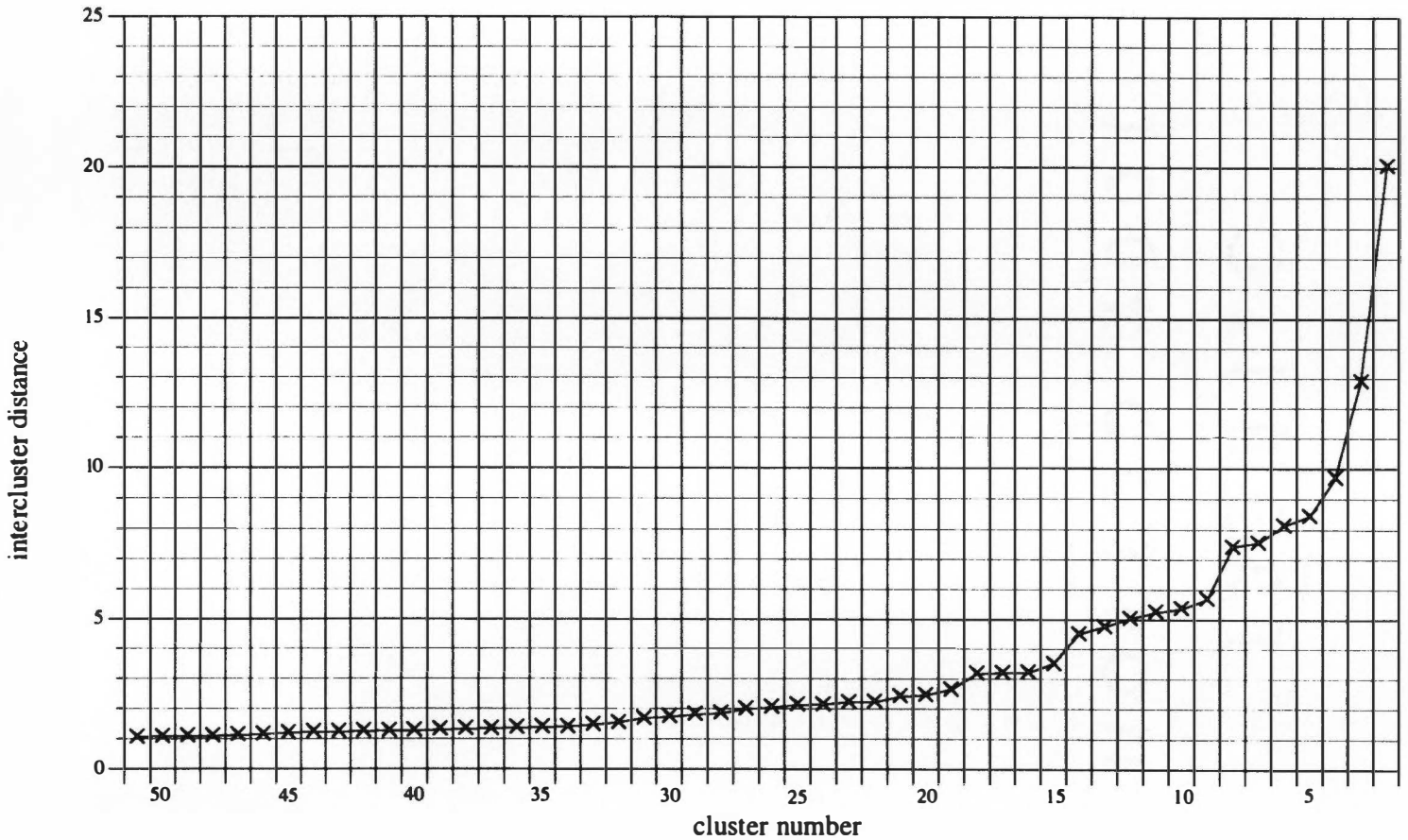


Figure 5.10. Plot of intercluster distances defined by Ward's method cluster analysis of Cherokee chattel property data.

Table 5.5. Descriptive statistics for the nine cluster solution of chattel properties data.

Cluster	Members	Statistics	Livestock	Producers' Durable Goods	Consumers' Durable Goods
total sample	415	range	$0.00-3195.50	$0.00-$354.75	$0.00-$329.75
		median	$160.80	$31.00	$24.00
		mean	$246.74	$41.56	$32.97
		standard deviation	$305.39	$39.38	$31.13
1	16	range	$622.60-$1814.00	$25.00-$157.00	$50.25-$100.50
		median	$1,081.20	$85.88	$73.75
		mean	$1,169.20	$85.29	$73.34
		standard deviation	$377.84	$34.36	$14.62
2	60	range	$0.00-$429.50	$0.00-$85.75	$25.50-$129.63
		median	$206.50	$42.75	$57.75
		mean	$207.64	$46.44	$67.71
		standard deviation	$111.09	$20.42	$24.63
3	239	range	$0.00-$450.00	$0.00-$76.5	$0.00-$41.50
		median	$93.00	$24.75	$16.25
		mean	$108.42	$27.12	$18.03
		standard deviation	$88.93	$17.41	$9.54
4	31	range	$58.25-$657.00	$87.25-$186.00	$0.00-$103.00
		median	$334.75	$104.75	$32.75
		mean	$324.66	$113.72	$42.96
		standard deviation	$161.77	$23.30	$31.02
5	1	value	$442.00	$5.50	$329.75
6	4	range	$563.20-$1122.00	$96.00-$278.00	$121.25-$171.50
		median	$896.70	$167.44	$147.88
		mean	$868.66	$177.22	$147.13
		standard deviation	$291.67	$77.97	$25.43
7	1	value	$3,195.55	$270.75	$177.25
8	62	range	$226.50-817.00	$0.00-74.00	$4.00-$89.00
		median	$428.25	$26.88	$29.75
		mean	$451.78	$28.22	$32.43
		standard deviation	$153.96	$15.30	$18.37
9	1	value	$128.00	$354.75	$30.25

Table 5.6. Descriptive statistics for the four cluster solution for chattel properties data.

Cluster	Members	Statistics	Livestock	Producers' Durable Goods	Consumers' Durable Goods
	415	range	$0.00-3195.50	$0.00-$354.75	$0.00-$329.75
		median	$160.80	$31.00	$24.00
		mean	$246.74	$41.56	$32.97
		standard deviation	$305.39	$39.38	$31.13
A	23	range	$128.00-$3195.55	$5.50-$354.75	$30.25-$329.75
		median	$1,065.00	$97.38	$78.00
		mean	$1,128.32	$117.50	$98.71
		standard deviation	$129.12	$17.70	$62.28
B	122	range	$0.00-$817.00	$0.00-$85.75	$4.00-$129.63
		median	$319.88	$31.69	$47.19
		mean	$331.71	$37.18	$47.32
		standard deviation	$16.44	$20.13	$26.40
C	31	range	$58.25-$657.00	$87.25-$186.00	$0.00-$103.00
		median	$334.75	$104.75	$32.75
		mean	$324.66	$113.72	$42.96
		standard deviation	$161.77	$23.30	$31.02
D	239	range	$0.00-$450.00	$0.00-$76.5	$0.00-$41.50
		median	$93.00	$24.75	$16.25
		mean	$108.42	$27.12	$18.03
		standard deviation	$88.93	$17.41	$9.54

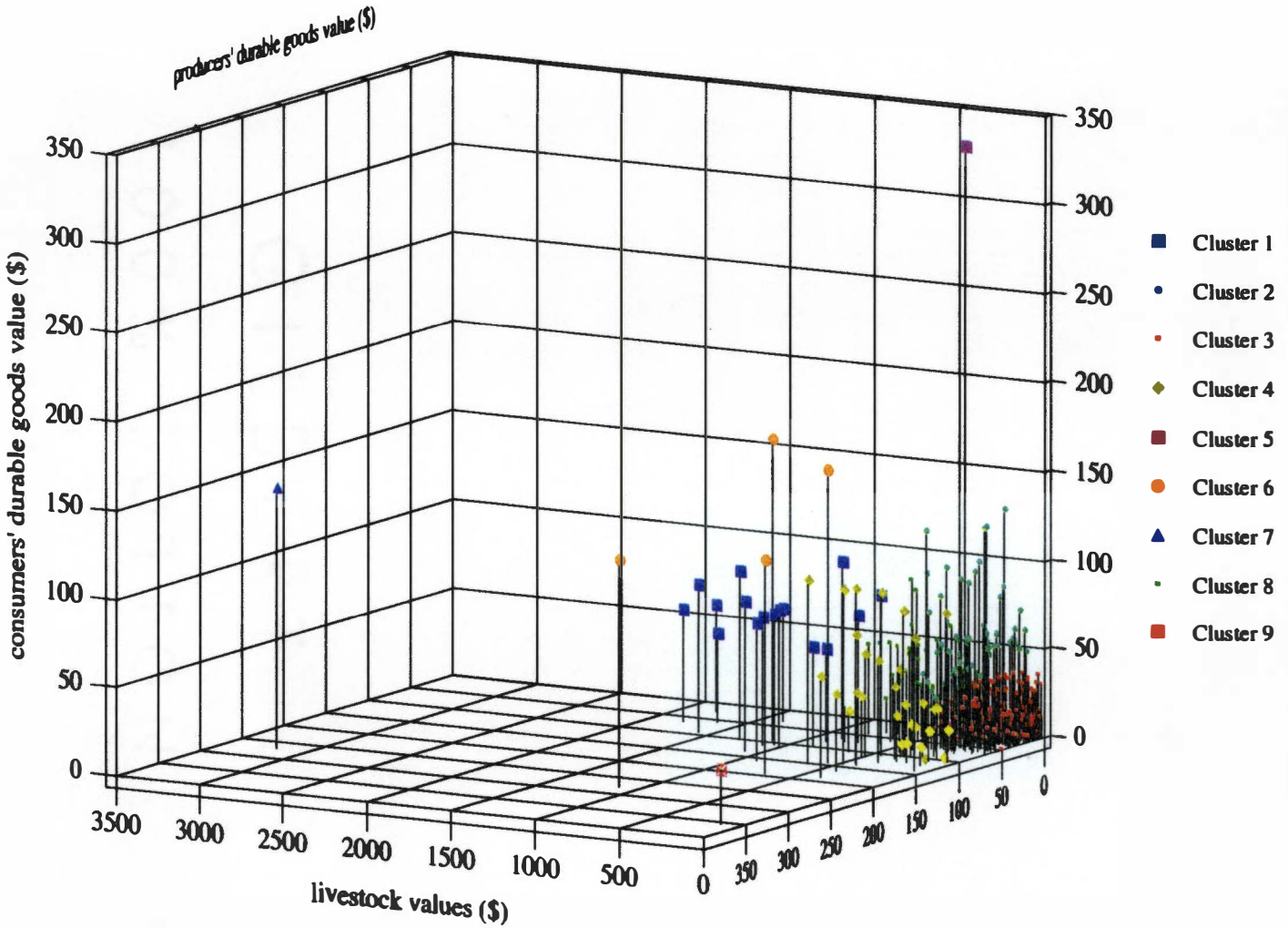


Figure 5.11. Trivariate plot of the nine cluster solution for Cherokee chattel properties data.

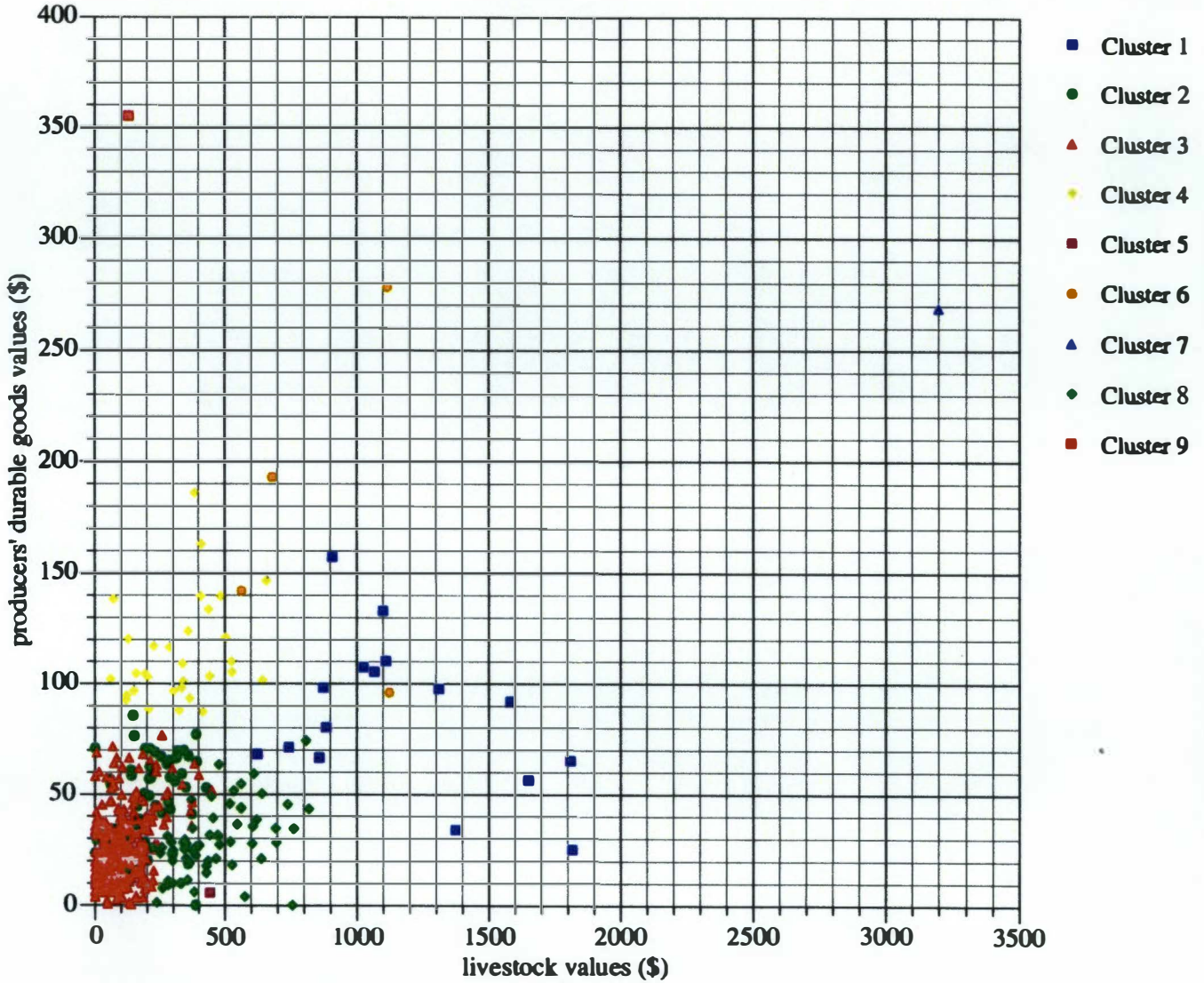


Figure 5.12. Biplot of values for producers' durable goods and livestock.

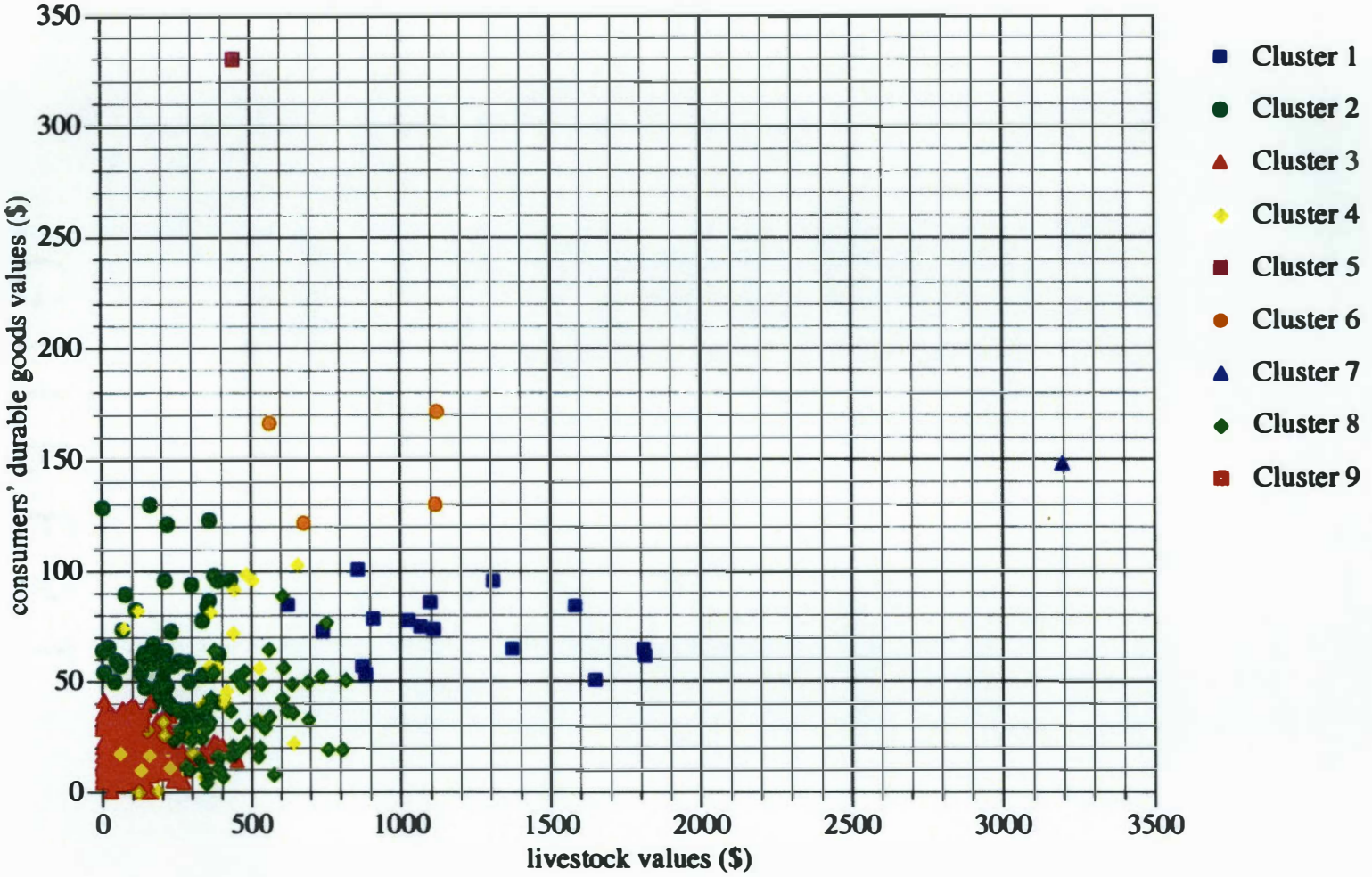


Figure 5.13. Biplot of values for livestock and consumers' durable goods.

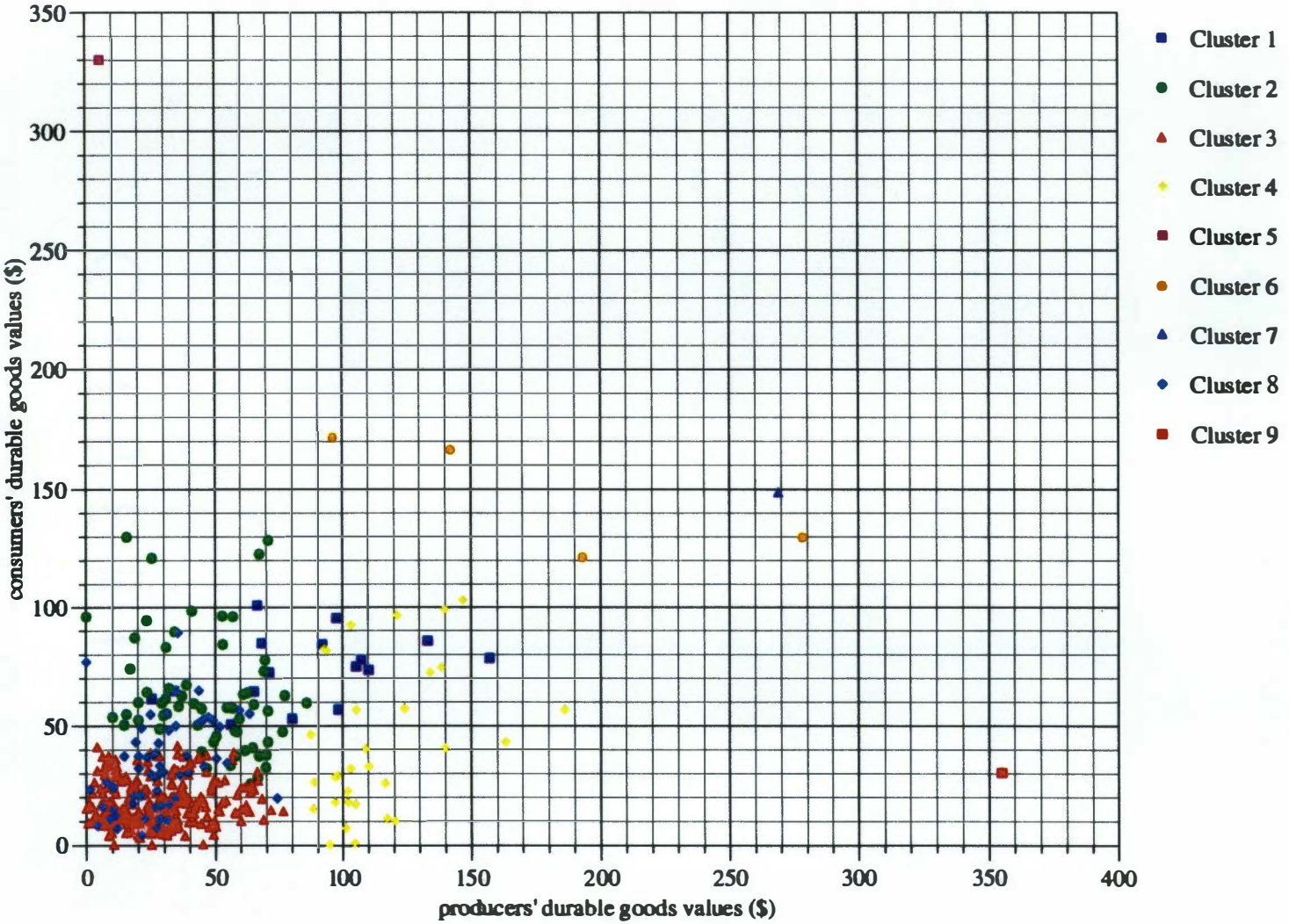


Figure 5.14. Biplot of producers' durable goods and consumers' durable goods values.

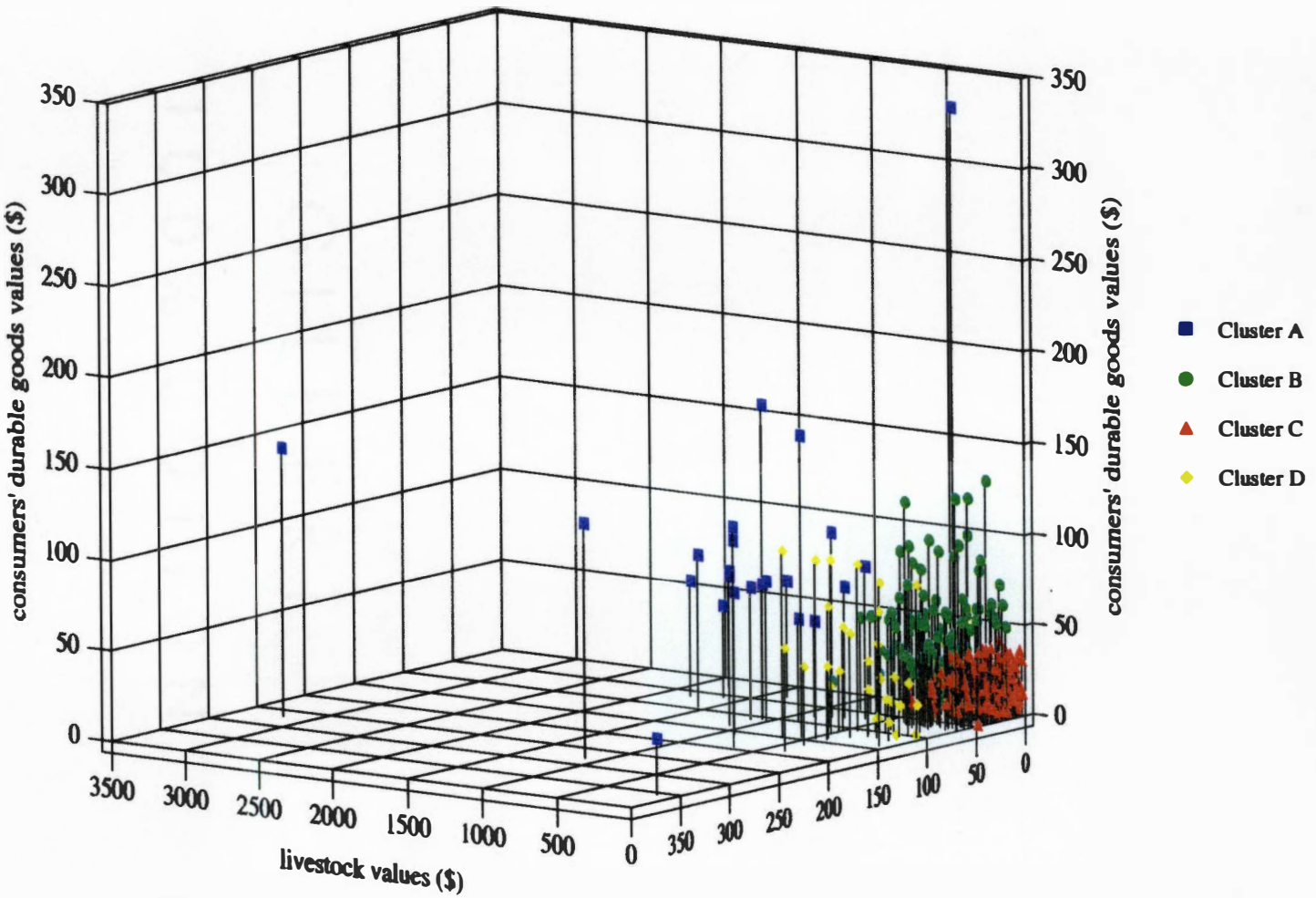


Figure 5.15. Trivariate plot of the four cluster solution for Cherokee chattel properties data.

creates an extremely diffuse group with large intercase distances. These trends indicate that deviation in scale from the majority baseline of small, low valued household assemblages was not characterized by formation of coherent groups of similar high wealth households, but rather by increasingly greater degrees of interhousehold distance among high wealth cases. This pattern initially appears inconsistent with the operation of dichotomous value systems (traditional vs. Western) regarding wealth accumulation. Theoretically, such systems might foster development of discrete low wealth and high wealth groups characterized by high degrees of internal cohesion and marked intergroup distance. In practice, traditional ethics prescribed economic uniformity that was actualized as pervasive material poverty among the conservative majority. Western values regarding wealth generation and accumulation did not require socioeconomic equality or equivalency but rather emphasized personal or familial competition and maximization of attainment. As a result, the small number of Cherokee households that implemented Western values not only deviated from the conservative majority, but were also internally differentiated by highly varying degrees of attainment. These trends are illustrated by more detailed examination of the household groups defined in the nine and four cluster solutions.

The largest group defined in the nine cluster solution (Cluster 3) consists of 239 cases, almost 58% of the total sample population (see Appendix III for membership). As indicated by Figure 5.11, Cluster 3 is quite homogeneous, with few outliers in any dimension; this group remains intact in the four cluster solution (Cluster D). Members of this cluster are characterized by relatively low values in all three dimensions, with livestock values ranging from \$0.00 to \$450.00 (mean= \$93.00), producers' durable goods ranging from \$0.00 to \$76.50 (mean=\$24.75) and consumers' goods ranging from \$0.00 to \$41.50 (mean=\$18.03). Most Cluster 3 livestock inventories appear to represent herds and flocks necessary for basic household subsistence production; marketable surpluses of swine (>20) and cattle (>10) are represented in few cases. Although 166 (69%) Cluster 3 claims list swine among household losses, only 38 (16%) reported twenty or more hogs; nine households reported ten or more cattle. Much of the livestock value among Cluster 3 cases is attributable to losses of horses; among 124 claims for horses, 36 report loss of three or more steeds.

The most valuable arrays of producers' goods evident among Cluster 3 cases (e.g., Jack Christie, *Deesquahnee*) tend to be dominated by single classes (e.g., agricultural implements, cloth production equipment, firearms), indicating monotypic emphases rather than diversified economic strategies. Extractive equipment (primarily firearms) accounts for 42% of total producers' goods values, an indication of the continued importance of extractive strategies (e.g., hunting, fishing) to the subsistence economy of the Cherokee majority. Although 97%

of Cluster 3 households reported agricultural equipment, only eight cases (William, Parch Meal, Susan, Jack Christie, *Cajlahseegeeskee*, Sharlotte, Hungry, *Sulsa*) include farming tools worth $20.00 or more. *Sulsa* of Tusquittee reported the largest inventory of agricultural tools ($51.38), an array which consisted of six plows, five sets of harness, 14 hoes, three mattocks, three reaphooks and a log chain. More typical was *Tsugasatehee*'s claim for a plow, a hoe, and a mattock. While half of the Cluster 3 households reported cloth production equipment, only 11% claimed losses of looms. The most extensive cloth production assemblage was Roman Nose's two looms, two spinning wheels, and two pairs of cards; most Cluster 3 arrays consisted of a spinning wheel and a pair of cards. The comparatively high incidence of fiber processing equipment, as contrasted with the relatively low incidence of actual weaving equipment, suggests that many households produced thread and yarn for use by others, and such products were either redistributed within local social networks or sold for use in external markets.

Cluster 3 inventories of consumers' goods tend to be dominated by cookwares; cast iron vessels account for almost 39% of the total value of consumers' durable goods among Cluster 3 cases. Although three-quarters of Cluster 3 cases reported commercially manufactured tablewares, only 21 inventories evince food service wares worth more than $5.00. Fewer than half of Cluster 3 households reported any furniture, and only five of these families (Benjamin Snail, *Secowey*, *Chununah*, Nedee, Susannah) claimed furniture worth more than $10.00. Cluster 3 household goods consist almost exclusively of bedding, water pails, and padlocks. Sixty-eight percent of Cluster 3 inventories include traditional native manufactures such as baskets and corn processing equipment; these wares account for 13% of the total values of consumers' goods.

The 239 households described by Cluster 3 appear to represent the baseline stratum of the Cherokee socioeconomic spectrum, that majority of subsistence scale farmers that Scudder (1831) characterized as "poor, miserably so." Their small, low diversity assemblages typically reflect minimal household requirements for subsistence-level production; categories of household necessities reported by more than a third of Cluster 3 claimants include only horses, beef cattle, hogs, chickens, plows and harness, hoes, mattocks, axes, rifles, stored corn, cards and spinning wheels, tables, cast iron pots and refined earthenware plates, wooden pails, and cane storage baskets (see Table 5.1). The spoliation claims presented by *Nickajack*'s heirs and by *Cohilloskih* illustrate the limited range of these inventories. *Nickajack* lost two cows and a calf, 22 hogs, a chicken, a beestand, two plows, four hoes, a gun, a hunting knife, an ax, 18 yards of cloth, a dozen plates, a set of teacups, a dish, a tin bucket, two wooden pails, a deerskin, and ten bushels of corn. *Cohilloskih* reported two

horses, three cattle, ten hogs, 20 chickens, five ducks, and six sheep, along with two plows, four hoes, an ax, an auger, a wedge, one rifle, one blowgun, a pair of cards and a spinning wheel. *Cohilloskih*'s household goods included two pots, a tin pan, four tin cups, eight baskets, a tin bucket, two keelers and two pails.

The low socioeconomic position of Cluster 3 households is borne out by comparison of the real properties appraised by Welch and Jarrett. Among 87 Cluster 3 cases that can be correlated with properties documented in 1836–1837, only Jack Christie, William Boling, *Sulsa*, *Esuttahee* and *Scohah* farmed more than 15 acres, and the vast majority can be characterized as subsistence-scale horticulturalists. Most Cluster 3 families resided in the small, simple, round log cabins that J.P. Evans [ca. 1835] deemed "too inconsequential to need description." Only 16 families [18.4%] (William Boling, *Warnenawhee*, Jack Christie, Toostah, *Chunoyaka*, Richard Christie, John *Towee*, *Tsutanae*, Parch Meal, Batt, *Sulsa*, *Nickajack*, *Killistogee*, *Inoque*, John Hog, *Skeetehee*) maintained more formal, hewn log dwellings valued at $30.00 or more, structures that Anglo-Americans might regard as suitable permanent residences. Three Cluster 3 households (i.e., William Boling, Jack Christie, *Sulsa*) maintained both substantial, Western-styled housing and extensive agricultural acreage, consistent indications that these families aspired to the economic prosperity and material lifestyle that characterized their Anglo-American yeoman contemporaries. It appears likely that Boling's, Christie's, and*Sulsa*'s and spoliation claims grossly underrepresent their actual chattel wealth, and reflect diminished inventories. Boling, an intermarried white and former national councilman, reported very limited spoliations with no loss of livestock. This inventory appears inconsistent with Boling's extensive purchases at Hunter's store (Hunter 1836–1838). Jack Christie's claim lacks bedding, tablewares, and cookware, and appears to be a partial recounting. Similarly, *Sulsa*'s inventory lacks all kitchenwares, furniture and housewares, and cloth production equipment. These wares may be represented in the claim of Sealy (a Cluster 2 member), who may have been *Sulsa*'s spouse or other coresident.

Cluster 3 inventories include 56% of the non-English-speaking households in the sample, as compared to 35% of the English-speaking households, an indication that non-English-speaking households were more likely to rank within this lowest socioeconomic bracket. However, the substantial inclusion of both groups in Cluster 3 indicates that gross wealthholding patterns do not neatly dichotomize ethnic subsets of the study sample, and that an appreciable proportion of *métis* and other English-speaking Cherokees maintained impoverished lifestyles similar to the non-English-speaking majority.

Two groups (Clusters 2, 8) that combine in the four cluster solution (Cluster B) are distinguished from Cluster 3 by slightly higher ranges of values in all three dimensions.

Cluster 8 describes 62 cases with moderate values for livestock (range= $226.00–$8817.00; mean=$451.78), low to moderate values for producers' goods (range= $0.00–$74.00; mean= $43.30), and widely ranging values for consumers' goods (range= $4.00–$89.00; mean= $32.43). This group of inventories is particularly distinguished from Clusters 2 and 3 by appreciably higher livestock values (Figures 5.13 and 5.14), and many of the Cluster 8 herds and flocks were sufficiently large that market-scale production is indicated. Fifty-eight Cluster 8 claims list swine, and 39 of these report 20 or more hogs. Nancy Hawkins, Sr. listed 163 swine among her losses; *Yorksey* lost 116, and Sam *Wahcheesee* lost 107 hogs. Fifty-nine families lost cattle, and 17 households (*Guhdahgee*, Nancy Hawkins [Sr.], Sam *Wahcheesee*, Mink, Crow, Crying Bear, *Kenneteh*, *Alkinneh*, *Toonih*, *Chickatoowistugh*, *Coolakoo*, *Teecuhsolahtah*, *Wattatokah*, *Aquallah*, Jesse Christie, Isaac Davis, *Cunnantiska*) reported more than 10 head of kine (including calves). Horses account for 50% of total livestock values; 60 Cluster 8 families reported loss of horses and 44 households indicated three or more steeds. Smaller stock, such as poultry, sheep, goats, and bees, is listed in 49 claims, but contributes little to overall livestock scores except in cases that reported exceptionally large flocks of sheep (e.g., Jesse Christie, Trout, Hog Shooter) or substantial apiaries (e.g., John Wickliff, Jackson Muskrat).

Although Cluster 8 households exhibit a slightly higher range of producers' durables values than Cluster 3, significantly expanded scales of economic production are not indicated by this equipment. Agricultural equipment, present in 56 cases, accounts for 36% of producers' goods. *Alkinneh* reported the largest such inventory, with three plows, three sets of draft harness, and five hoes worth $23.50. Cloth production equipment is indicated in 43 claims, and accounts for only 22% of total producers' equipment (by value). Only Jackson Muskrat, Hog Shooter, and *Seedahnee* reported cloth production equipment and supplies in excess of $20.00, and most claims resembled that of Aquallah, who lost two sets of cotton cards, a slay, a spinning wheel, and a bunch of yarn worth $11.00. Unlike Cluster 2, only a third of Cluster 8 assemblages include firearms, yet extractive equipment accounts for 26% of the total value of producers' equipment.

Arrays of consumers' durables are similarly limited in Cluster 8 cases, and the distributions of most classes of consumers' goods closely resemble those evident in Cluster 3. Cookware accounts for 30% of total producers' durables values, and 54 claimants reported losses ranging from a single cast iron frying pan to a collection of eight kettles, two Dutch ovens, and a skillet. Tablewares contribute 10% to total values, with 50 claimants reporting losses of refined earthenware's and cutlery. *Salcana*'s claim for a dozen plates, four bowls, and eight tin cups appears typical of this group. Only 26 claimants reported losses of

furniture; the largest such loss was John Wickliff's array of two bedsteads, four chairs, a table, and a looking glass. Other household goods (predominantly bedding, buckets, and pails) account for 24% of total consumers' durables. The largest claim for household goods was Crow's inventory of two featherbeds ($30.00), two quilts ($16.00), a set of andirons, and a set of fireplace tools.

Riding tack evident in 18 Cluster 8 claims (29%) constitutes 15% of the total value of consumers' durable goods within this group. By contrast, only 20% of Cluster 3 households reported losses of tack, and riding hardware accounts for only 6% of consumers' durables values. This differential is consistent with the relatively greater incidence of horses in Cluster 8 claims (97%); fewer than half of Cluster 3 claims include steeds. It is unclear whether these differences reflect actual patterns of ownership or simply differential loss at the time of removal.

Cluster 8 households enjoyed a slightly elevated economic status compared to Cluster 3 inventories, but this variation appears continuous rather than discrete, and primarily vested in livestock; no major differences in material lifestyle are indicated. Among the 31 Cluster 8 households that can be correlated with properties valued by Welch and Jarrett, 29 farmed fewer than 15 acres, and 25 lived in houses or cabins valued less than $30.00. Like the real properties associated with Cluster 3 households, most of these properties appear to represent small subsistence farms. A major exception to this pattern is Nancy Hawkins, Sr., a well-to-do *métis* woman married to Anglo-American Andrew Colvard, who lived in a hewn log house worth $55.00 and controlled 61 acres of farmland; this property ranked among the largest in the study area. Hawkins' losses were primarily livestock, and her claim may reflect only partial enumeration of her wealth. Nancy Hawkins avoided removal by special permit, and may have been able to protect much of her chattel property. A measure of Hawkins' actual chattel wealth is reflected in claims for more than $3000.00 in livestock stolen in 1832; these claims for pre-Removal losses were not considered in this analysis.

Cluster 2 consists of 60 cases that exhibit relatively high scores for consumers' durable goods (range= $25.50–$129.63; mean=$67.71), low to moderate values for producers' durable goods (range= $0.00–$85.75; mean=$46.44), and low to moderate (but highly variable) values for livestock (range= $0.00–$429.50; mean=$207.64). The high composite values for consumers' durable goods evident in Cluster 2 reflect several distinct patterns of composition. Household equipment, particularly bedding, contributes approximately 27% to total consumers' durables values. All 60 Cluster 2 cases include household equipment other than kitchen wares and furniture; in 28 instances these goods account for $10.00 or more. Fifty-one percent of Cluster 2 cases list highly valued featherbeds, proportionally more than

any non-singleton cluster. The largest claim for household equipment was Peggy Jones Balltown's estate, with two featherbeds ($16.00), six quilts ($24.00), two candlemolds, a set of fireplace tools, two buckets and three pails totaling $49.00. *Keelahdooh* reported a $30.00 featherbed and an $8.00 quilt; Anna Walker claimed a featherbed, three quilts, and a blanket worth $26.00. More typical was Six Killer's loss of a featherbed, a bearskin, and three water pails worth $13.81. Cluster 2 claimants reported a number of categories of housewares at rates more than twice that predicted by incidence in the study sample as a whole. These wares include bedding (featherbeds, pillows, quilts, coverlets, counterpanes, and blankets), laundry equipment (washpots, washtubs, and smoothing irons), and lighting equipment (candlesticks and candlemolds).

Cookware, primarily cast ironware, is the next most prominent consumers' category in Cluster 2 claims, accounting for 22% of total consumers' durables value. Among 50 households that reported cookware, 40 families listed collections of pots, ovens, and frying pans worth $10.00 or more. Cluster 2 claimants reported frying pans, brass kettles, and pot racks at more than twice the rate predicted from the study sample. Forty-nine of the Cluster 2 cases include food service wares, and 32 cases list tablewares valued at $5.00 or more. Luiza filed the largest claim for such tablewares, listing crockeryware worth $25.00, two sets of knives and forks ($6.00) and two pepperboxes ($2.00). Tablewares are also especially prominent in the George Blair ($28.50), *Takee* ($22.50), Arch Scott ($18.50), and Rachael ($16.50) cases; it appears that these households maintained all of the paraphernalia required for western dining ritual. Cluster 2 families reported knives and forks, glass tumblers, pewter plates, mugs, sugar dishes, and decanters at significantly higher rates than the study sample average.

Household furniture accounts for 13% of total consumers' durables values among Cluster 2 cases, and 47 claims list at least one article of furniture. Seventeen households reported arrays worth $10.00 or more; George Blair, Elizabeth McDaniel, Charlie Buffington, and Rachael listed furniture worth more than $20.00. Seventy percent of Cluster 2 inventories include tables, 61% include chairs, 45% list bedsteads. and 16% report chests, higher rates of representation than any other nonsingleton clusters. *Métis* slaveholder George Blair reported the most extensive array of furniture, with three bedsteads, eight chairs, two tables, a chest, and a trunk. Fellow slaveholder Charles Buffington lost two bedsteads, a table, eight chairs, two chests, a cupboard, and a looking glass. Most Cluster 2 inventories list more modest furnishings, like that of *Wattee*, who reported loss of a table and five chairs.

Native manufactured housewares are documented in 38 Cluster 2 claims. Storage baskets appear in 67% of Cluster 2 inventories, corn processing baskets in 31%, and hominy mortars

in 28% of group claims. Three claims, Nanney, Winney, and John Owl, exhibit unusually large arrays of such wares. Nanney reported six native vessels and 84 baskets worth $69.75, while Winney claimed 50 earthenware bowls ($25.00) and John Owl listed 33 baskets worth $22.50. These arrays, which far exceed typical household needs, probably represent craft inventories produced for local markets, and may be more accurately considered as producers' goods.

Riding tack is also well represented among Cluster 2 inventories; saddles and bridles evident in 22 claims account for almost 13% of total consumers' durables value for the group. Several households (i.e., Santoola, *Caulahhah*, *Junstutah*, *Gahdahguskee*, *Cauleche*, Jo Walker, Johnson Robbins) are included in Cluster 2 solely on the basis of riding tack worth more than $20.00. The incidence of tack closely parallels that of highly valued saddle horses.

Livestock inventories for Cluster 2 households are less consistent, ranging from *Gadahguskee*'s loss of four chickens ($0.50) to *Keelahdooh*'s $429.50 claim for two horses, nine cattle, 17 hogs, 25 sheep, 20 ducks, and 100 chickens. Most of these claims represent herds and flocks devoted to subsistence use, such as Fishing Hawk's $191.00 claim for one horse, three milk cows and calves, nine hogs, and 50 chickens. Among 47 claims for swine, only 10 exceed $100.00; only seven claims for cattle exceed $100.00. Horses, reported by 36 Cluster 2 claimants, account for 47% of the total value of livestock in this group.

Cluster 2 producers' durables also exhibit high intercase variability, with values ranging from $10.00 to $85.75. Firearms constitute 34% of total producers' durables values, followed by agricultural equipment (27%), and cloth production equipment (26%). Thirty-six Cluster 2 households reported firearms, with values ranging as high as $52.00 for *Julidaskee*'s three rifles. Fifty-six families reported agricultural hardware, ranging from Jo Walker's $30.50 claim for four plows, four hoes, two sets of draft harness and two bells to Harry Coulson's two hoes worth $1.50. Most arrays of agricultural equipment resembled *Tequarlequartakey*'s claim for a plow and draft harness, a mattock, and two hoes. Forty-eight claimants listed cloth production equipment, primarily cards and spinning wheels; only nine claimants reported looms.

Keelahdooh reported cloth production equipment and weaving supplies (e.g., thread) worth $39.75, and associated producers' commodities (e.g., cotton and wool fibers) worth $30.00, but listed little relatively agricultural equipment ($9.00) and no extractive equipment.

With the exception of those inventories dominated by riding tack or native manufactures, Cluster 2 reflects a trend toward increased incorporation of mass produced commercial goods into household environments, a consumption pattern indicative of westernized domestic lifestyles. Similarly, inventories of producers' goods in Cluster 2 households indicate the

widespread adoption of agrarian technologies, but do not reflect intensification of economic production on a par with Anglo-American yeomen. This suggests that even detailed assimilation of western domestic lifeways and production technologies did not necessitate concomitant adoption of western economic orientations and values. This is supported by collateral evidence from the 1836–1837 property valuations; among 29 Cluster 2 cases that can be correlated with properties appraised by Welch and Jarrett in 1836–1837, only three (George Blair, Charlie Buffington, Peggy Balltown) farmed more than 15 acres; only George Blair, Charlie Buffington, and Sealy occupied dwellings valued at more than $30.00.

Two distinctive trends are evident in the membership of Cluster 2. Although English-speaking households constitute only one quarter of this group, they are appreciably over-represented (n=9, 19.57% of all claims by English-speakers) by comparison to non-English-speakers (n=42; 11.38% of all claims by non-English-speakers). This pattern suggests that English-speaking families were more likely than their monolingual Cherokee counterparts to accumulate the "varieties of property [i.e., commercially manufactured domestic goods] required to the most comfortable living" as defined by western standards. In addition, female claimants (n=22) constitute 43% of Cluster 2 cases, a considerably higher proportion than the relative representation of female claimants (24%) in the total sample of spoliation claims. Although several female claimants (e.g., Elizabeth McDaniel, Nanney, Peggy Balltown) were widows who reported losses of household property inclusive of their late husbands' belongings, the strong emphasis on domestic paraphernalia in Cluster 2 claims provides an insight into the chattel domains of Cherokee women. Assemblage patterns evident in Cluster 2 suggest that female householders not only controlled the bulk of consumers' durable goods in Cherokee households, but also maintained personal ownership of livestock and agricultural production equipment to a much greater degree than their Anglo-American counterparts. As noted by John Ridge (1826), the independence of women's property followed long standing Cherokee custom and was guaranteed by Cherokee National law:

> The Laws of our Nation from time immemorial recognize a separate property in the wife and husband, and this principle is universially cherished among the less informed Class and in fact in every grade of intelligence__ If they are so disposed, the law secures to the Ladies, the control of their own property (Sturtevant 1981:84).

Cluster 4 describes 31 cases (Celia, Ballsticks, Jack Rabbit, Cloud [Tusquittee], *Teesataskee*, *Nakee*, *Chuwahchucker*, *Carnarstoowar*, *Sahtahkah*, Buzzard, *Elahque*, Logfish, Guts, Tom Spikebuck, Barrow, Lucy, Peggy, Shovel, George Leech, *Dickageeska*, Thomas *Askaquah*, Scraper, Cloud, Aiky Bearpaw, *Awahulle*, Jim, *Tsuwautsuckah*, Old Hog, Nancy Hawkins, Jr., Isaac Tucker, John Tucker) characterized by low to moderate livestock values (range=$58.25–$657.00; mean=$324.66), high values for producers' durable goods (range=

$87.25–$186.00; mean=$113.72), and variable values for consumers' goods (range=$0.00–$103.00; mean=$42.96). The elevated values for producers' durables reflect the contribution of firearms, which account for almost 34% of total producers' durable goods value for Cluster 4. Twenty-eight (90%) of these households reported firearms; 20 families listed firearms worth $30.00 or more. Firearms worth more than $50.00 are the sole basis for inclusion of a number of cluster members (i.e., George Leech, *Elaque*, Shovel, and *Sahtahkah*). Thomas *Askaquah* reported three rifles and a pistol worth $75.00. The high incidence and value of firearms evident within this group contrasts sharply with the general paucity of extractive equipment among white households in the McMinn County sample, and suggests that hunting remained an important component of Cherokee household economy even after the general agrarianization of Cherokee society.

Intensification and diversification of agrarian economic strategies by many Cluster 4 members is indicated by high scores for agricultural equipment, cloth production equipment, and specialized artisan equipment. Nineteen families reported agricultural implements worth more than $20.00, and Isaac Tucker, Nancy Hawkins, Jr., Aiky Bearpaw, Cloud (of Aquohee), Old Hog, *Tsuwautsuckah*, Jim, *Awahulle*, Scraper, and Thomas *Askaquah* all lost agricultural equipment exceeding $30.00 in value. The particular concentration of agricultural tools in the Aiky Bearpaw (Bear's Paw's widow), Old Hog (a.k.a. *Culsatahee*), and Nancy Hawkins, Jr. inventories is consistent with large real properties appraised by Welch and Jarrett; the Bear's Paw family maintained 46 acres of farmland, while *Culsatahee* (the chief of Konahete) farmed 22 acres, and Nancy Hawkins, Jr. tilled 24 acres. Isaac Tucker reported five plows and harness, four hoes, two mattocks and a log chain worth a total of $52.00, equipment suited to the 40 acre farm in Bell Creek, Georgia that he was forced to abandon in 1834. The overall prominence of agricultural equipment in Cluster 4 inventories suggests that most of these households expanded their agricultural production capacity considerably beyond subsistence needs, with the probable goal of increasing household income for consumer use or accumulation. In the cases of *Culsatahee* (a town priest-chief) and *Tsuwautsuckah* (a Baptist minister), expanded agricultural capacity probably enabled these civic and religious leaders to provide for poorer members of their constituencies.

Heightened levels of domestic cloth production are also indicated for Cluster 4 households. Eighty-one percent (n=25) of Cluster 4 claimants reported cloth production or fiber processing equipment, as contrasted with only 50% of Cluster 3 households. Eleven Cluster 4 households (Peggy, *Chuwahchucker*, Aiky Bearpaw, Shovel, Barrow, Thomas *Askaquah*, Lucy, Nancy Hawkins, Jr., Scraper, Logfish, Ballsticks) reported losses of

equipment or finished cloth and thread worth $20.00 or more, and 15 Cluster 4 claimants (48%) indicated loss of looms, as compared to only 12% (n=28) of Cluster 3 claimants.

Specialized production equipment is particularly well represented among Cluster 4 cases; Cluster 4 members account for 57% of total value for blacksmithing equipment, distilleries, and other specialized equipment in the study sample. Isaac Tucker, Barrow, *Teesataskee*, and Aiky Bearpaw all reported blacksmithing equipment that ranged from $33.00 to $75.00 in value. Jack Rabbit and *Nakee* claimed losses of distilleries (at $70.00 and $80.00, respectively). Jim and Lucy lost syrup evaporation kettles worth $40.00 and $30.00 (respectively). Scraper reported saddler's tools valued at $8.00, while Barrow, who was either a tanner or a leatherworker, lost leather and hides worth $57.50. *Chuwahchucker* claimed cooper's tools worth $6.00.

Cluster 4 households claimed half of the road wagons and truck wagons reported in the study sample. Cloud, Celia, and *Carnarstoowar* listed full-scale road wagons valued from $50.00 to $105.00; the highly valued vehicles determine the inclusion of these three cases in Cluster 4. *Tsuwautsuckah* reported a truck wagon worth $20.00; Scraper had a truck wagon worth $1.00 and Nancy Hawkins, Jr. indicated a truck wagon worth $.50. Cluster 4 claimants also reported the highest rate of canoe ownership (n=7; 23%) in the study sample. Buzzard, Cloud, Logfish, *Sahtahkah*, Guts, Nancy Hawkins, Jr., and *Tsuwautsuckah* claimed loss of a total of ten dugout canoes valued at $2.00 to $10.00 each. Canoes contribute significantly to producers' values in the Buzzard and Logfish cases.

Heightened levels of economic activity among Cluster 4 households is not proportionately reflected in arrays of livestock and consumers' goods reported by these families. As a group, Cluster 4 livestock scores are substantially lower than those exhibited in clusters 1, 6, 7, and 8, but significantly greater than those evident in clusters 2 and 3. Logfish suffered the greatest loss of livestock ($657.00), with reported spoliation of 40 hogs, 13 cattle, three horses, 100 chickens, three ducks, and 30 sheep. Dickageeska reported 140 hogs, 48 cattle, 60 chickens, eight beehives, six goats, six sheep, and six ducks worth $642.00. By contrast, Old Hog's claim listed only five hogs and 66 chickens worth $58.50. The median case, *Sahtahkah*, includes losses of three horses, ten cattle, eight hogs, and 30 chickens. Despite generally modest monetary losses of livestock, a number of Cluster 4 households reported spoliations which indicate market scale production of stock. Twenty-eight cases include swine, and 14 households (Jim, Scraper, Thomas *Askaquah*, Cloud, Aiky Bearpaw, Barrow, Isaac Tucker, Logfish, *Dickageeska*, *Teesataskee*, Ballsticks, Guts, *Carnarstoowar*, and *Tsuwautsuckah*) reported 20 or more hogs. Twenty-eight Cluster 4 households reported cattle, and 12 (i.e., *Sahtahkah*, Nancy Hawkins, Tom Spikebuck, Tom *Askaquah*, Barrow,

Logfish, Guts, Celia, *Tsuwautsuckah* , Awahulle, and Dickageeska) lost ten or more kine. Among 23 Cluster 4 households that reported loss of horses, thirteen indicated three or more steeds, and Buzzard and Thomas Askaquah each lost six, while Jim lost seven mounts. Cluster 4 members also reported the highest rate of ownership of sheep (11 cases, 35%), goats (five cases, 16%), and oxen (13 cases; 42%) in the study sample. The higher diversity livestock holdings evident among Cluster 4 cases (as compared with clusters 2, 3, and 8) parallels high diversity arrays of production equipment, and provide further evidence for a general pattern of economic diversification to achieve both subsistence and income security, a characteristic strategy of yeoman agrarianism.

Cluster 4 inventories of consumers' durable goods are highly variable ($0.00-$103.00; mean=$42.96) and appear slightly incongruous with the substantial assemblages of producers' goods that are the primary group criterion. Values of consumers' goods within Cluster 4 are significantly less than those evident in clusters 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7, yet is substantially higher than those in clusters 3 and 8. Cookware constitutes 32% of total consumers' goods (by value) within Cluster 4; 22 households reported cast iron vessels worth more than $10.00. Arrays of cookware ranged from Lucy's six pots, two Dutch ovens, and four spiders worth $29.75 to Jack Rabbit's single cast iron pot ($.75). Logfish's claim for four cast iron pots, one frying pan, and two sets of pothooks worth $14.00 represents the group median. Twenty-four Cluster 4 households reported commercially manufactured food service wares, and ten indicated earthenware and cutlery worth more than $5.00. Celia reported the most valuable inventory of service wares, with two pewter dishes, six pewter plates, 16 earthenware plates, and a set of teacups and saucers worth $14.00. *Elaque*'s set of teacups and saucers, set of knives and forks, eight "delf" plates, and four tin cups appear more typical.

Twenty-one Cluster 4 claimants reported at least one article of furniture, and *Tsuwautsuckah*, Ballsticks, Celia, Logfish, *Carnarstoowar*, Nancy Hawkins, Aiky Bearpaw, Isaac Tucker, and John Tucker claimed bedsteads, chairs, tables, benches and chests worth $10.00 or more, simple arrays which probably approximated those in many rural Anglo-American homes, but which would hardly suffice for status-conscious 'middling' farmers. Other household equipment, particularly bedding, accounts for 20% of consumers' durables values.

While most Cluster 4 assemblages exhibit arrays of consumers' goods that denote rather westernized domestic lifestyles based on purchase of commercially manufactured housewares, several cases evince particularly high scores for riding tack or consumers' goods manufactured in native traditions, and assimilation of western domestic lifestyles is not

specifically indicated. Eighteen families reported aboriginal wares such as storage baskets and corn processing equipment, goods which account for 8% of total consumers' durables value. *Tsuwautsuckah* lost storage baskets, corn baskets, fanners, riddles, and wooden spoons worth $19.00; Logfish reported 14 baskets and four wooden spoons valued at $12.50. Lucy reported baskets, sifters, and riddles worth $11.25. Buzzard's heirs claimed three pack baskets, 10 storage baskets, a mortar and pestle, and six wooden spoons worth $9.75. Despite the consistent incidence of such wares among Cluster 4 households, traditional domestic goods contribute relatively little to the quantitative formation or membership criteria for this group. Riding tack reported by ten claimants accounts for 13% of total consumers' goods value for the group. Jim reported the greatest loss, with four saddles, four bridles, and a pair of saddle bags worth $47.50; Scraper claimed two saddles, a bridle, and a halter chain worth $32.75.

As is the case with livestock holdings and consumers' goods in Cluster 4 inventories, the real properties associated with Cluster 4 households do not indicate consistent patterns of agrarian intensification or Westernization of domestic lifeways. Among 21 spoliation claims referable to households represented in the Welch and Jarrett's appraisals, only four (Bear's Paw, Tom Spikebuck, Old Hog, Nancy Hawkins, Jr.) clearly represent extra-subsistence producers, with farmland greater than 15 acres. Similarly, only seven families (Thomas *Askaquah*, *Tsuwautsuckah*, Old Hog, Celia, Barrow, Cloud, and Bear's Paw) resided in more formal dwellings valued in excess of $30.00, an indication that most Cluster 4 households did not share the housing standards of the Anglo-American yeomanry.

In general, Cluster 4 describes a group of households whose economic position (as gauged by reported chattel property) was markedly superior to that of Cluster 3, slightly superior to Cluster 2 cases, and approximately equivalent to Cluster 8 cases. Even with low to moderate livestock scores, half of the Cluster 4 families rank among the upper 25% of property holders represented in the sample. Cluster 4 cases are largely distinguished by losses of producers' equipment; all members of this group rank in the uppermost 11% of the study sample for producers' goods. The incidence of large, diverse, and highly valued assemblages of producers' equipment among Cluster 4 households suggests that many of these families engaged in extra-subsistence economic production that corresponded in scope and scale with the efforts of Anglo-American yeoman farmers of the upland South. In particular, the prevalence of nonfarm production equipment among Cluster 4 cases suggests a trend toward economic diversification, a characteristic Anglo-American yeomen strategy for insuring sufficient subsistence and cash income. The high rate of ownership of blacksmithing equipment, distilleries, and wheeled vehicles evident in Cluster 4 resembles the McMinn

County probate sample; these elements distinguish the McMinn County Anglo-American households from the study sample as a whole. Unlike the Anglo-American households in the comparative sample, Cluster 4 families reported very high rates of ownership for firearms, an indication that traditional extractive activities such as hunting continued to hold sway despite the general adoption of agrarian modes of production.

The social and ethnic membership of Cluster 4 is quite diverse, and no single pattern of association, residence or experience accounts for the high degree of investment in production equipment exhibited by these households. Three members of this cluster, Old Hog (a.k.a. *Culsatahee*), Tom Spikebuck, and *Dickageeska*, were fullblood, monolingual town leaders of some importance; *Culsatahee* was recognized as the senior priest-chief of the region. As previously indicated, it is likely that some portion of their economic efforts was directed toward fulfillment of their civic roles, and their large arrays of agricultural equipment may represent gear maintained for communal work in town plots. If this is the case, these instances reflect the maintenance of traditional town structures and communal ethos rather than adoption of western attitudes regarding individual generation and accumulation of wealth. It is noteworthy, however, that the equipment necessary for communal farming of town plots and for agricultural production for individual profit was essentially identical. Such material equifinality illustrates an assimilative process by which material culture can be adopted and integrated without formal adaptation, yet its context and cognitive content may be radically modified.

Tsuwautsuckah, a fullblood Baptist minister from Cheoah, may have assembled his material inventory under similar role prescriptions. Native Christian churches developed internal structures similar to traditional town organizations, and ministers were probably expected to fulfill many of the responsibilities of town chief. Thomas *Askaquah*, *Tsuwautsuckah*'s brother, may also have been involved in the Cheoah church.

More clearly individualistic motives may be ascribed to westernized English speakers Nancy Hawkins, Jr., Isaac Tucker, and John Tucker, whose economic efforts appear to have been directed toward personal profit based on western models. Nancy Hawkins, Jr. was daughter to Jim and Catherine Hawkins, sister to John Hawkins, and niece to Nancy Hawkins, Sr., all *métis* members of Cluster 8. Nancy's husband, Elijah Sourjohn, was son of John Sourjohn (a.k.a. John Butler) a westernized *métis* whom Norton visited in 1807 (Klinck and Talman 1970). Hawkins and Sourjohn emigrated to Arkansas in 1834, but returned to the lower Valley River Valley in 1836 (U.S. Congress 1836; Welch and Jarrett 1836–1837). Such emigration and back migration probably reduced household wealth substantially, and the

Hawkins/Sourjohn spoliation claims may reflect a household in the early stages of property accumulation.

Isaac Tucker, an English-speaking African-American (see Chapter 3) raised in the Cherokee Nation, was likely enculturated to capitalist agrarian modes and western lifeways by his Anglo-American father and African-American mother. Prior to the study period, Tucker developed a large farm (40 acres) and gristmill near Little Hightower in Georgia before he was dispossessed by land lottery claimants in 1832 (Tucker 1842). Tucker's small landholdings (three acres) at the time of the 1836–1837 property valuations reflect temporary setbacks suffered by this prosperous household; his extensive production equipment more accurately represents agrarian orientations. The chattel property holdings of Isaac's *métis* sons, John Tucker and Jeremiah Tucker (Cluster 2), suggest that Isaac enculturated his sons with western orientations toward property, wealth production, and domestic lifestyle.

Aiky Bearpaw, Bear's Paw's widow, presents a case in which the adoption of agrarian production modes and western lifestyles appear to be the result of direct acculturation of a monolingual fullblood family. Welch and Jarrett credited Bear's Paw with 43 acres of farmland, a 272 square foot hewn log residence worth $60.00, blacksmith's shop, and eight cabins, holdings more similar in scale and composition to that of middling Anglo-American farmers on the southern frontier than to the small subsistence farms of Bear's Paw's kindred. Aiky Bearpaw's spoliation claim lacks a number of key assemblage elements (e.g., woodworking tools, firearms, bedding, horses) and apparently reflects only a partial inventory of chattel property, yet includes a number of elements that were rare among Cherokee households (e.g., ducks, geese, sheep, bedsteads, soap, laundry tub, pewter basins, blacksmith's tools) but common in Anglo-American yeoman settings. The development of such westernized material patterns by the Bear's Paw household may have been related to association with William Boling (Cluster 3), the Anglo-American farmer and blacksmith who married two of Bear's Paw's daughters.

The polythetic composition of Cluster 4 cases illustrates convergence of material patterns among various societal subsets through differing stimuli and processes. Enculturation, acculturation, and adaptive recontextualization all played roles in structuring and channelizing Removal Period Cherokee material culture. Those Cherokees who sought to increase economic production for either public or private use drew upon a limited range of material options, with the result that their producers' toolkits resembled those of southern Anglo-American yeoman farmers. Formal similarities in the expanded producers' assemblages of Christian ministers, pagan priest chiefs, and westernized *métis* do not

necessarily connote shared economic goals or ideological stances, since the composite measure of producers' goods used in this analysis gauges only gross level of economic activity and discriminates between larger scale and smaller scale producers without regard to specific economic strategy.

The highest wealth cases in the study sample are represented among five groups (Clusters 1, 5, 6, 7, 9) (23 cases) that combine in the four cluster solution (Cluster A). The largest of these four clusters (Cluster 1) includes 16 cases (Sucker, Robert and Nancy Muskrat, Charles Jones, John and Nancy Muskrat, John and Betsy Walker, John Wayne, Sr., *Utsutaky*, Adam, John Christie, Susannah, Will *Catageeska*, John Buzzard, Anna *Ahstola*, Polly, *Toonigh*, and Mocking Crow) characterized by highly valued arrays of livestock (range=$622.62–$1814.00; mean=$1169.20), producers' durables (range=$25.00–$157.00; mean=$85.88), and consumers' durable goods (range=$50.25–$100.50; mean=$73.34). Cluster 1 cases are particularly distinguished by extensive livestock holdings, especially valuable horses. Cluster 1 inventories list two to 15 horses each, at reported values ranging from $140.00 to $1000.00 per claim. Nancy Muskrat (John Muskrat's widow) reported 15 horses ($610.00), Will *Catageeska* and John Wayne each listed 10 steeds ($650.00 and $660.00), and Sucker reported 9 horses ($1000.00) lost as a result of removal. Fifteen claimants lost from eight to 45 cattle each (median=16); four claimants (Robert Muskrat, *Toonigh*, John Christie, Charles Jones) reported more than 30 cattle. Cluster 1 households reported from 25 to 309 hogs each (median=93); the Betsy Walker, Mocking Crow, Anna *Ahstola*, Robert Muskrat, Polly, Adam, and *Utsutaky* claims list more than 100 swine each. Such large and highly valued herds almost certainly reflect intensified production for market use, and suggest a high degree of market orientation on the part of most Cluster 1 households. Cluster 1 families also reported particularly large and diverse assortments of smaller stock, an indication that these households practiced intensified and diversified modes of agrarian production. Fourteen Cluster 1 claimants reported chickens; eight listed 40 or more fowls. Seven Cluster 1 families (Sucker, Robert Muskrat, John Muskrat, John Christie, Polly, Mocking Crow, and Susannah) lost a total of 78 ducks, and five Cluster 1 members claimed a total of 32 beehives, almost 10% of the hives represented in the total sample. In addition, Will *Catageeska*, Betsy Walker, Robert Muskrat, Susannah, and Charles Jones reported 78 sheep, 13% of the study sample total. Such flocks and herds of smaller livestock probably exceeded requirements for household use, and may also reflect diversified production for use in local and extralocal markets.

Most Cluster 1 households reported arrays of producers' goods that indicate focused adoption and intensification of agrarian economic modes. Ten families (Robert Muskrat, John Christie, Adam, *Utsutaky*, Betsy Walker, Charles Jones, John Buzzard, Nancy Muskrat,

John Wayne, Mocking Crow), claimed losses of agricultural equipment worth more than $20.00, assemblages that suggest agricultural efforts comparable to the wealthiest third of white farmers in the McMinn County probate sample. Twelve (75%) Cluster 1 households reported cloth production equipment worth more than $20.00, arrays greater than those evident in 90% of the McMinn county sample. Such collections indicate the firm establishment of domestic textile production among wealthier "middling" households, and may reflect textile production for market. In contrast to contemporary McMinn County households, many Cluster 1 households exhibit high scores for firearms and other extractive equipment, indicating parallel non-agrarian economic strategies by these higher wealth Cherokee households. Five Cluster 1 families (Adam, Will *Catageeska*, Charles Jones, *Utsutaky*) reported more valuable arrays of firearms than any of the contemporary McMinn County white households. The prominence of such equipment suggests that extractive activities (particularly hunting) remained economically important even among Cherokee households that expanded scales of agricultural production and animal husbandry. In further contrast to the probate inventories of white yeomen and small planters and Cluster 4 claimants, only one Cluster 1 claim list wheeled vehicles (*Utsutaky: $1.50*) and relatively little artisan production equipment. *Utsutaky* lost a set of mechanic's tools worth $2.50; the Sucker and Robert Muskrat households reported leatherworking toolkits worth less than $10.00. None of the Cluster 1 households reported any of the smithing equipment or distilleries common to their economic peers in rural McMinn County or which distinguish their Cluster 4 counterparts.

Cluster 1 assemblages of consumers' durable goods rank among the most valuable 20% of the study sample and are equivalent to those evident in Cluster 2 cases. Kitchenwares (primarily cast iron cookware) account for 31% of total consumers' goods value, with claims ranging from Susannah's $11.00 'castings' to John Buzzard's claim for seven cast iron kettles, two coffee pots, eight tin pans, four crocks, one jug, and two bottles worth $40.50. Commercially manufactured table service wares reported by 13 households account for 14% of consumers' goods (by value). *Catageeska* filed the smallest claim for service wares, with eight plates worth $1.00; Charles Jones reported earthenwares valued at $34.00. John Christie reported the most diverse array of tablewares, with four sets of 'delf' plates, two sets of teacups and saucers, four pitchers, three 'delf' bowls, and two sets of knives and forks. Furniture listed by ten households contributes 11% of total consumers' durables value; other housewares, including bedding, constitutes 20% of consumers' durables. In general, these domestic assemblages denote a relatively high level of consumption of commercially manufactured housewares (particularly kitchen equipment and table service wares), and it

appears that most Cluster 1 households directed an appreciable amount of income toward construction of westernized domestic lifestyles. This trend is particularly evident in the spoliation claim of Betsy Walker (John Walker's widow), who listed furniture (two bedsteads, eight chairs, a table, three trunks) worth $17.50, household equipment (three featherbeds, two pillows, a candlestand, a set of candlemolds, five buckets and pails, six barrels and kegs) worth $44.50, cookwares and other kitchen equipment (a frying pan, five Dutch ovens, two cast iron pots, two sets of pothooks, a potrack, four bottles, a churn, a coffee mill, a coffee pot, a tin strainer, and tin pans) worth $22.50, and tablewares (crockeryware, one set of knives and forks, six tin cups) worth $14.00. Will *Catageeska* reported the least valuable array of domestic goods ($37.75), with seven cast iron pots, a churn, eight plates, two chairs, two tables, a canister, a featherbed, a basket, and a pail.

While arrays of consumers' goods evident in most Cluster 1 inventories generally denote detailed assimilation of western domestic lifeways, several cases (e.g., Susannah, Will *Catageeska*) exhibit particularly high scores for riding tack, which elevate composite values of consumers' durables, and westernized domestic lifestyles are not specifically indicated in these instances. Tack evident in 11 inventories constitutes 15% of total consumers' goods value for the group; highly valued gear, such as Susannah's two saddles worth $50.00, greatly inflate consumers' goods totals. It is also noteworthy that all but four Cluster 1 members (Robert Muskrat, John Christie, Polly, *Toonigh*) reported traditional native housewares (e.g., storage baskets, corn processing equipment). One third of Cluster 1 families reported traditional corn processing equipment (e.g., wooden mortars, fanners, riddles, sifters), and more than two-thirds reported cane storage baskets. In fact, Cluster 1 ranks highest in the incidence of traditional native housewares of all groups defined in the ten cluster solution, and a higher proportion of Cluster 1 families reported such wares than the study sample as a whole. Cluster 1 families reported mortars and pestles, riddles, sifters, and back baskets at more than twice the rate expected based on their incidence in the total sample. This trend suggests several possible sampling phenomena. Cluster 1 cases may represent those households whose claims reflect much more detailed accounting of chattel property (including traditional native housewares) and which are grouped together on the basis of fuller reporting or greater losses rather than actual pre-removal wealth. It may be assumed that more detailed accounts were more likely to present greater images of wealth to the consideration of the claims commissions, and although traditional native wares represent a relatively minor component (9% by value) of total consumers' durables (and exhibit very low levels of correlation with total wealth in the study sample at large), they nevertheless contribute to the composite wealth measures considered here. Yet it is clear that Cluster 1

cases, by any material measure, represent some of the wealthier and more westernized households in the study sample, and the production, maintenance, and use of traditional housewares by these families suggests continuity of native material themes among all sectors of pre-removal Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina. The consistent co-occurrence of western and traditional technologies among most Cherokee households in the study region (including wealthier families) suggests that material assimilation was largely synthetic or agglomerative rather than substitutive in nature, and that Cherokee families maintained familiar physical modes of domestic organization while selectively adopting aspects of western domestic life. Such dynamic integration of western and traditional technologies in pre-removal Cherokee households connotes efforts to achieve new, yet distinctively Cherokee, material identities that were characterized by both modernity ("civilization" in contemporary terms) and tradition.

The real properties associated with Cluster 1 households present less consistent images of economic endeavor and lifestyle. Among ten Cluster 1 households that can be correlated with properties appraised by Welch and Jarrett, three (Robert Muskrat, John Christie, and John Wayne) farmed more than 20 acres, a scale of agriculture that suggests surplus production for market use. These three families also maintained large, well constructed hewn log homes worth at least $45.00, structures that more closely resembled housing favored by white freeholders than the small log shanties that dominated the Cherokee landscape. These cases, with strong parallels between high scores for farmland, housing, producers' goods, consumers' goods, and livestock, clearly represent a "middling" socioeconomic status comparable to Anglo-American yeoman freeholders and small scale slaveholders of the upland South. The correspondence between expanded ownership of chattel property and development of real property in these cases suggest focused and integrated adoption of Western agrarian economic values, modes of production, and domestic environments.

By contrast, seven Cluster 1 households (i.e., Toonigh, Anna *Ahstola*, Charles Jones, Mocking Crow, Will *Catageeska*, Sucker, John Muskrat) farmed less than nine acres each, and it appears that these families did not attempt market scale agricultural production, but relied on less laborious livestock production for generation of household revenues. This focus on large scale stock husbandry and relative de-emphasis of agriculture departs from typically diversified agrarian production strategies that held plow agriculture as their centerpiece, but closely approximates the 'woods ranching' economy of numerous Anglo-American families who lived in advance of the agricultural frontier (Jordan and Kaups 1989; McDonald and McWhiney 1975). Intensification of animal husbandry among the Cherokees appears to have preceded extensification and modernization of native agriculture, and may have been more

socially acceptable as an unobtrusive means of wealth building. These stock wealthy, land poor families did not violate traditional norms about the appearance of wealth equality, and their market directed endeavors did not impinge upon arable land, a limited and highly visible corporate resource. Neither did these families occupy dwellings that deviated noticeably from regional standards; the largest was John Muskrat's 256 square foot hewn log cabin ($45.00) while the smallest was Charles Jones' 144 square foot cabin, worth $8.00. These cases appear to represent families who used livestock to achieve income security without conspicuous external display of their economic circumstances. In lieu of extensive farms, artisan toolkits, or transportation equipment, these families derived income from a single major (albeit, dependable) source, eschewing the multilinear strategies that characterized 'enterprising' and 'informed' Anglo-American farmers. While some of these families (e.g., John and Nancy Muskrat, Sucker) applied their enhanced income to increased consumption of commercially manufactured goods and construction of more westernized lifestyles, others (e.g., Mocking Crow, *Toonigh*) appear to have limited consumption to levels more typical for the region, and are not distinguished as more materially 'westernized' than the majority of their neighbors. In these cases, reported wealth in livestock appears to have been maintained as income security to guard against seasonal shortfalls rather than as means to accomplish lifestyle 'improvement.'

Cluster 1 cases appear to represent part of a small economic middle stratum of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina, families whose wealthholding in the broad categories of livestock, producers' equipment, and consumers' goods compares to that of Anglo-American yeoman farmers and small landholders of the upland South. Cluster 1 includes an inordinate proportion of English-speaking households (n=4, 8.7% of the subgroup total), but is numerically dominated by non-English-speaking fullblood families (n=12; 2.7% of the subgroup total); it is clear that this wealthholding level is not a dichotomizing threshold for ethnic subsets of the population. However, patterns of kinship or other social relationships among Cluster 1 members, and between members of this group and those in other high wealth clusters, reveal a nexus of ties connotative of a true socioeconomic class which crosscuts gross racial and linguistic groups. Fullblood brothers Robert and John Muskrat apparently shared common acculturational experiences, which predisposed them to adoption of agrarian economic modes and values and which led them to cultivate western domestic lifestyles. Robert Muskrat was an English-speaking slaveholder whose wife, Nancy, was niece to John and Betsy Walker (Cluster 1), and daughter of Judge Richard Walker (Cluster 6, Cluster A), another wealthy, English-speaking fullblood slaveholder. Richard Walker, and, presumably, his brother John were purportedly reared within a frontier Anglo-American

household and inculcated with Western values (Miller 1911). John Walker, Anna *Ahstola*, and Mocking Crow were all members of the Aquohee Baptist congregation; Mocking Crow may have been brother to preacher *Sickeyouhee* and Betsy Walker. *Métis* John Christie was the brother of Edward Christie (Cluster 7), a slaveholder and the wealthiest member of the study group. John Christie's fullblood neighbor, John Wayne, Sr., was a former national councilman who operated market scale farms along the Unicoi Turnpike at Cootlohee, North Carolina, and Dry Creek, Tennessee. Charles Jones, *Utsutaky*, *Toonigh*, and Sucker all lived as near neighbors in the Tomotla community; their close proximity suggests kinship relations or other close social relationships. Sucker was apparently a community headman and was leader of Sucker's Town, a post-Removal settlement in the Delaware District of the western Cherokee Nation. *Utsutaky* and *Toonigh*, who filed complementary sequential claims, may have been spouses or other co-resident members of a single household.

It is also noteworthy that four members (*Toonigh*, Anna *Ahstola*, Polly, Susannah) of Cluster 10 were women who filed claims for personal property (not that of deceased spouses); female representation in this high wealth group further illustrates the socially (and legally) sanctioned capacity of Cherokee women to control and amass personal property. In fact, large-scale accumulation of personal property may have posed fewer social and ideological problems for Cherokee women than for men. Cherokee women may have been less susceptible to wealth leveling mechanisms than traditionally oriented Cherokee males, who frequently assumed roles in town organizations that necessitated hosting and other forms of redistribution. In addition, native tradition held that Cherokee women maintained control over the family domicile and its contents, as well as the agricultural plots that supported the household. Cherokee males were responsible for the protection of the household and town, and provisioning of the household with game; they had little responsibility for, or interest in, the acquisition and maintenance of household property. Under the traditional matrilineal system of descent and inheritance, women's property passed to their biological children, while men's property was dispersed among their sisters' children or other matrilineal kin. Multigenerational wealth building within the matrilineage was, consequently, vested in women's property, with considerable incentives for women to amass property for their heirs and relative disincentive for males to follow suit. It may, therefore, have been the norm to view wealth building as an acceptable female activity, but a pursuit unfit for men. Such attitudes certainly changed within some sectors of Cherokee society during the Federal, Nationalist, and Removal periods, and Cherokee national law was modified to allow bilateral inheritance, but customs of matrilineal descent and inheritance were likely persistent among the conservative majority.

Independent wealthholding by westernized *métis* women is illustrated by the claim of Anne Reed, a unique case (Cluster 5) isolated in the nine cluster solution. Reed reported the greatest loss of consumers' goods in the study sample, an assemblage of household furnishings, bedding, tablewares, and cookwares worth $329.75, almost twice the value of the next largest array. Reed claimed six featherbeds and bedsteads, 11 quilts, seven sheets, a coverlet, a blanket, a bureau, three tables, a chair, a trunk, two candlesticks, and three sets of andirons and fireplace tools. Her kitchen boasted a brass kettle, a frying pan, a skillet, a large iron kettle, two Dutch ovens, four sets of pothooks and a potrack, three coffee pots, four stoneware crocks, five tin pans and a milk strainer. Reed maintained food service wares that included three sets of plates, a set of cups and saucers, a dozen bowls, six serving dishes, six pitchers, three salt cellars, two castors, a dozen glass tumblers, two sets of knives and forks, and a set of silver spoons. This unusually large and diverse inventory of housewares almost certainly represents hostelry equipment, which Reed used as the matron of Hyatt's stock stand on the Unicoi Turnpike, and a specialized extra-domestic commercial function for this assemblage is indicated. By contrast, Reed reported very little producers' equipment ($5.50), and it is likely that Reed's claim excludes the property of her late husband, N.B. Hyatt; Hyatt's estate was attached for debts by his business partners, Robert and Dillard Love (Special File 151). Likewise, although Anne Reed reported three cows and calves, and 100 hogs worth $442.00, these herds probably represented Reed's personal holdings, not the household's total livestock assets.

Although the total value of Reed's spoliation claim was relatively modest compared to households that lost extensive herds of stock, her unusually large and diverse assemblage of domestic wares suggests a high level of wealthholding and a material standard of domestic life that was particularly well informed by western norms and values. This is consistent with collateral evidence concerning the origins, associations, and activities of the Reed-Hyatt household. Anne Reed was an English-speaking *métis*; her father was a Scottish emigrant who married into the Cherokee Nation and claimed a reservation under terms of the treaty of 1819. Her husband, Nathan B. Hyatt, an Anglo-American and Cherokee citizen by marriage, was an entrepreneur who secured a highly lucrative licensed trading concession to operate a stock stand (with associated inn and store) along the Unicoi Turnpike. Although Welch and Jarrett did not appraise the Reed-Hyatt stand (the family had vacated the property to emigrate to Arkansas in 1834), post-removal claims indicate that the household occupied a large two-story, double pen hewn log dwelling with brick end chimneys (valued at $500.00), and maintained a double kitchen, a smoke house, a double pen store with tack room, a stable, two corn cribs, a spring house, a drovers' lot with a ten stall stable, two log cabins, and a gristmill.

In addition, the Reed-Hyatt family farmed approximately 40 acres. This real property compares to those of the largest landholders in the study area, and suggests that the Reed-Hyatt household occupied an economic position comparable to the Englands, Timpsons, Welches, Morrises, and Rapers. Because this uppermost socioeconomic tier is not otherwise represented in the sample of spoliation claims (with the possible exception of Edward Christie), Reed's personal chattel property probably presents the best gauge for understanding the highly westernized domestic lifeways of the small Anglo-Cherokee elite in southwestern North Carolina.

Reed's assemblage of domestic goods compares favorably with the wealthiest Anglo-Americans in the comparative sample of McMinn County probate inventories, and indicates nuanced understanding of the etiquette and protocols of western domestic life. The decidedly domestic character of Reed's personal property suggests a domain of female activity constrained by the western role of housewife, in contrast to the functionally diverse assemblages of high wealth fullblood females such as *Toonigh*, Polly, Anna *Ahstola*, and Susannah (Cluster 1). While most high wealth assemblages reported by Cherokee females include obvious means of wealth generation (e.g., livestock, agricultural equipment), Reed's inventory lists typically domestic wares that may have functioned in service related generation of income.

Cluster 6 describes four inventories (Richard Walker, Wilson Christie, *Juhnuhootah* , Catey) grouped together on the basis of very high aggregate values for producers' durable goods (range=$96.00–$278.00; mean=$177.22), moderate to high values for livestock (range=$563.20–$1122.00; mean=$868.66), and very high values for consumers' durable goods (range=$121.25–$171.50; mean=$147.13). The high scores for producers' durable goods evident among Cluster 6 households reflect intensified practice of single or multiple economic strategies, and suggest economic production efforts on a par with the wealthier Anglo-American yeoman farmers represented in the McMinn County sample. Richard Walker's inventory included a road wagon and harness ($144.00), agricultural equipment (six plows, eight hoes, two mattocks, a scythe and cradle, four reaphooks, a log chain, and three bells) worth $55.00, cloth production equipment and supplies (one loom and gearing, a reel, three spinning wheels, and thread) worth $53.00, and woodworking tools (two axes, a broadax, two chisels, four augers, a froe, a handsaw, and four wedges) valued at $19.00. Wilson Christie reported farm tools (eight plows with harness, a mattock, and four weeding hoes) worth $58.00, cloth production equipment and supplies (two pairs of cards, a loom with gearing, a pair of scissors, and thread) worth $48.38, and firearms (three rifles, one pistol, a gunlock) worth $82.50. *Juhnuhootah* lost lathe tools, silversmith's tools, agricultural

implements (six plows with harness, two mattocks, five hoes) worth $31.00, four rifles worth $50.00, weaving and spinning equipment (a loom, two pairs of cards, a spinning wheel, unfinished cloth, and thread) worth $22.00, and woodworking tools (three axes, a broadax, two drawknives, a wedge, and seven augers) valued at $25.00. Catey's claim is most anomalous, with a wagon worth $80.00, two hoes and two mattocks worth $6.00, and one rifle worth $10.00 constituting the entirety of the producers' assemblage.

Cluster 6 households exhibit highly variable losses of livestock ($563.25-$1122.00), and livestock values do not appear to be an important criterion for Cluster 6 membership. Richard Walker's widow (Catey Walker) filed a claim for two horses, 36 cattle, four oxen, 170 hogs, 40 chickens, eight ducks, and four geese worth $1116.00. Wilson Christie reported a similar inventory of two horses, 33 cattle, two oxen, 94 swine, 37 chickens and eight geese worth $677.38. *Junuhootah*'s widow, Jane, claimed four horses, two oxen, nine other cattle, 60 hogs, a sheep, 10 chickens and five beehives totaling $563.25. Catey and her husband, Johnson, lost four horses, 40 cattle, 100 hogs, 180 chickens, and 14 beehives worth $1122.00. Although these inventories are dissimilar in scale, all exhibit sufficient numbers of marketable cattle and swine that commercial scale production is indicated, and all include less common types of livestock (e.g., ducks, geese, sheep, oxen, bees), an indication that these families diversified their holdings as part of multilinear production strategies.

Arrays of consumer' goods are similarly mixed among Cluster 6 cases, with reported aggregate values ranging from $121.25 up to $171.50. Richard Walker's heirs claimed the largest and most diverse assemblage, including cookware (one brass kettle, two frying pans, a skillet, nine pots, four Dutch ovens) and other kitchen equipment (two pairs of pothooks, a churn, a coffee mill, a jar, a jug, three pans, a sifter, and a strainer) worth $68.50, tablewares (18 plates, three sets of cups and saucers, four dishes, three pitchers, two sets of knives and forks, two sets of spoons, six bowls, and six tin cups) worth $25.00, and furniture (three bedsteads, six chairs, two tables) valued at $25.00. Wilson Christie's consumers' goods ($121.25) are dominated by bedding, with one featherbed, three blankets, four counterpanes, and four quilts worth $62.50. *Juhnuhootah* and his widow, Jane, lost cookware and kitchen equipment (two Dutch ovens, two spiders, three pots, six tin pans, and a churn) worth $28.00, tableware (eight plates, six teaspoons, a set of knives and forks) worth $4.25, two tables and a looking glass worth $8.50, and bedding (two featherbeds, four bedspreads, two blankets) valued at $58.00, as well as "new store bought goods" worth $20.00. Catey's claim is far less detailed, asserting loss of "house furniture" worth $164.00, along with a pair of pothooks, two dishes, four plates, three bottles, a coffee pot, and a bread waiter.

In general terms, Cluster 6 inventories indicate the broad based assimilation of western lifestyles and agrarian modes and scales of production by Cherokee families with dissimilar enculturational and acculturational backgrounds. Richard Walker, the wealthiest member of this group, was an English-speaking, fullblood slaveholder who served as a judge of the Cherokee national supreme court. Familial tradition (Miller 1911) asserts that Walker was reared as a member of a frontier white household (Felix Walker), and was, presumably, enculturated to Anglo-American values and beliefs from an early age. Walker appears to have gained some recognition and standing in the Anglo-American community; he was allotted a fee simple reservation of 640 acres by special provision of the 1819 Calhoun Treaty (Royce 1887). When the Walker household later moved to Tuckaleechee on Brasstown Creek, Walker retained the reservation property, leasing the land and paying North Carolina property taxes (Walker 1842) as a state citizen. Walker's farm on Brasstown Creek, with its $35.00 cabin, 27 acres, and 233 fruit trees (Welch and Jarrett 1836–1837), ranked within the 97th percentile (by value) of Cherokee properties in southwestern North Carolina. It is likely that the property appraised by Welch and Jarrett represented only a portion of Walker's holdings, which overlapped the Georgia-North Carolina state line.

Wilson Christie was the *métis* son of Edward Christie, an English-speaking slaveholder who was the wealthiest member of the study sample. Wilson's large and highly valued inventory of livestock, production equipment and household goods accord well with his father's claim, but contrast with his (Wilson's) small farm (15 acres) and simple residence, a cabin worth $22.00. This disparity may reflect the early stage of the Christie household cycle; Wilson's home and farm were adjacent to the large and well developed holdings of his father Edward, and the Wilson Christie family may have been a dependent satellite of the elder Christie's household.

Juhnuhootah (a.k.a. *Chunehunt* or Little John) was a 35-year-old fullblood (presumably monolingual) who resided at Little Tellico amidst the farms of a number of westernized slaveholders (e.g., John Welch, Gideon Morris, Margaret Ann Hanks). Welch and Jarrett's valuations indicate that *Chunehunt* lived in a hewn log cabin worth $35.00, and maintained a loom house, a smokehouse, a corn crib, and a hothouse, but farmed only five and a half acres. The 1835 census credits Little John with 20 acres, while *Chunehunt*'s improvement claim asserts that the family controlled 90 acres in cultivation and fenced fallow fields (*Chunehunt* 1838); these higher figures correspond with *Juhnuhootah*'s spoliation claim for six plows. *Juhnuhootah*'s spoliation claim also indicates equipment for multiple modes of nonfarm production such as silversmithing and furniture manufacture, as well as gold derived from working placer deposits. *Juhnuhootah* was apparently also known as "Storekeeper," a

possible allusion to mercantile activities or association with nearby Hanks' store. Through economic diversification and intensification of production, *Juhnuhootah* was able to amass considerable capital; at removal he left behind $200.00 in currency.

Catey's circumstances are less well documented. Catey was apparently the same individual that Smith's census (1835) identified as a fullblood slaveholder resident in the upper Valley River Valley; the Catey household consisted of five fullbloods (no adult males) and one black (female) slave, and included one person literate in Cherokee, but none literate in English. The family controlled 18 acres of farmland and produced 200 bushels of corn. Welch and Jarrett (1837) observed that Catey owned two cabins, a hothouse, a corn crib, and two stables, but farmed only 9.5 acres. Catey's own spoliation claim names Johnson as spouse and second party to the household property; this may the Christianized "Brother Johnson" of Taloney named in Evan Jones' journals (Jones 1830). Smith's census records a separate Johnson household in the upper Valley River Valley, with five fullblood members, four Cherokee readers, and one English reader. The composite image of the Catey household suggests an acculturated fullblood family, perhaps bilingual, whose efforts at livestock production (and, perhaps, freight haulage) enabled a high level of consumption of mass produced commercial goods (the "household furniture" at $164.00). Catey and Johnson's use of English given names, ownership of a black slave, and residence in a community with a substantial component of Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Cherokees suggests particularly western affinities. As is the case with *Juhnuhootah*, the impetus for Westernization of the Catey household is unclear; Catey may have been directly instructed or influenced by association with the Baptist mission, or may have experienced more diffuse association with western oriented Anglo-Cherokee neighbors.

The membership of Cluster 6 illustrates two convergent trends that led to the coalescence of the entrepreneurial "middling" economic tier of Cherokee society. The Richard Walker and Wilson Christie households were members of a small nexus of English-speaking, primarily Christianized families that dominated this "middling" socioeconomic sector of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina. For these and related households, western economic orientations and domestic lifestyles appear to have been the products of enculturation by proximate western models. This pattern was perpetuated in multigenerational transmission, and reinforced by patterns of association and group intramarriage which linked English-speaking families as a kin-based community of common interest. By contrast, Catey and *Juhnuhootah* appear to have adopted western modes and scales of economic production through processes of individual acculturation. That these monolingual fullbloods amassed production equipment and domestic goods comparable to wealthier Anglo-Cherokees and

Anglo-American yeoman agrarians is a testament to the power of focused and diffuse acculturative influences operative within the Cherokee Nation. It is unclear, however, whether adoption of western scales of production and domestic lifestyles marked changes in the social behaviors and spheres of association of these families. The linkage (or disjuncture) between economic performance and social performance is not demonstrable in these cases, and it is difficult to determine whether members of Cluster 6, grouped together on the basis of gross measures of chattel property holding, are coherent as members of an actual socioeconomic class whose similar material lifestyles connote convergent values, interests, and association.

A case of individual acculturation is also indicated for *Toonanailah*, whose inventory is classified as unique (Cluster 9) in the nine cluster solution by virtue of extremely high values for producers' durable goods ($354.75), and relatively low values for livestock ($128.00) and consumers' durable goods ($30.25). *Toonanailah* reported loss of a freight wagon worth $100.00, two distilleries and 13 hogsheads ($138.00), blacksmith's equipment ($17.00), cooper's tools ($1.00), agricultural equipment (seven plows and five sets of harness, an ox ring, and a log chain) worth $37.00, and cloth production equipment and supplies (a loom with gearing, three spinning wheels, a reel, three sets of cards, a pair of scissors, a pair of shears, and spun cotton) worth $34.50. These losses reflect a very high level of investment in diverse tools of production, a trend particularly evident among the wealthier agrarian households in the McMinn County probate sample but atypical of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina. *Toonanailah*'s agrarian focus is further indicated by his real properties; his 27 acre farm ranked among the most valuable (95th percentile) in the study area (Welch and Jarrett 1837) and his improvement claim for 75 acres expropriated by whites (*Toonanailah* 1842) suggests even greater agricultural holdings prior to the Removal Period. These holdings, together with *Toonanailah*'s large (but apparently incomplete) assemblage of agricultural equipment, indicate a high capacity for extra-subsistence crop production and potential for significant annual incomes from market sales of agricultural surplus. Like contemporary white farmers in McMinn County (and in contrast to the majority of his Cherokee counterparts), *Toonanailah* augmented his agricultural incomes through diverse modes of nonfarm production (i.e., freighthauling, whiskey manufacture, blacksmithing, barrel and container production), strategies which required detailed and sustained training as well as appreciable capital investments.

Toonanailah's assumption and development of these multiple modes of economic production suggest that he and his family (all presumably monolingual fullbloods) embraced, in both pattern and detail, the spirit of enterprise and profit motivations characteristic of aspirant white yeoman farmers. The impetus, models, and training for *Toonanailah's*

assumption of agrarian modes and scales of production are not documented, but may be inferred from his residential proximity to highly westernized Anglo-Cherokee families such as the Rapers, McDaniels, Wards, and Sheltons in the Nottely community. *Toonanailah*'s distilling, blacksmithing, and freighthauling enterprises closely paralleled those of immediate neighbors Thomas and Jesse Raper, and a direct acculturative influence is indicated, even though the Rapers' encroachment upon *Toonanailah*'s agricultural plots suggests competition and conflict. *Toonanailah*'s economic choices and actions may also have been influenced by missionizing efforts in Nottely and training programs in schools that the Baptist mission established there.

Toonanailah's economic enterprises are not reflected by his reported losses of livestock ($128.00) or consumers' goods ($30.25), and it is difficult to draw conclusions about actual household wealth or lifestyle. Livestock typically constituted the vast bulk of wealth owned by Cherokee households, and *Toonanailah*'s reported loss of only one horse, three steers, and three hogs appears incongruous by comparison to his producers' equipment and real property. This comparatively small loss may reflect market disposal of livestock in anticipation of removal. It also appears to have been common for Cherokee deportees to place their livestock in the custody of Anglo-American neighbors to hold for later (and more profitable) sale, and *Toonanailah* may have consigned his livestock to the safekeeping of white acquaintances in the Nottely community.

The limited array of consumers' goods reported by *Toonanailah* (four cast iron pots, three chairs, a chest, a table, a looking glass, two padlocks, three keelers, five baskets, and a set of fireplace tools) connotes the materially sparse domestic lifestyle common to the majority of Cherokee subsistence farmers, yet belies the probable extent of domestic consumption in a high production household. The paucity of household goods in *Toonanailah's* claim suggests that the family may been able to retain and transport an appreciable quantity of household equipment, or, more likely, that the family's domestic assemblage is represented in a claim filed by the (hitherto unidentified) matron of the household.

The *Toonanailah* case illustrates the detailed assimilation of southern agrarian modes and scales of production (and, presumably, associated economic values) by monolingual fullblood families in the study area. It must be assumed that *Toonanailah*'s large and diverse assemblage of producers' equipment reflects an uncommonly thorough instance of economic and ideological acculturation, and illustrates the multiple avenues by which the socioeconomic diversification of Cherokee society took place. *Toonanailah's* close residential proximity to a number of well-to-do Anglo-Cherokee families suggests a social

association with the most westernized element of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina.

The most highly valued inventory in the study sample belonged to Edward Christie, a well-to-do *métis* slaveholder whose assemblage of chattel property is classified as unique (Cluster 5) in the nine cluster solution. Christie reported exceptionally large losses in all three major chattel property dimensions, with the highest reported value for livestock ($3195.50), the second greatest loss of producers' durable goods ($296.25), and the fifth greatest loss of consumers' durable goods ($151.75) represented in the study sample. Edward Christie suffered losses of livestock almost twice the value reported by any other claimant in the study sample and substantially greater than any herds reported in the comparative sample of McMinn County probate inventories. Christie lost 129 head of cattle, of which 123 were stock cattle raised for market. The Christie family's herd of 236 swine was exceeded only by that of *Utsutaky*, and market-scale production of hogs is clearly indicated. The Christie family lost eight horses worth $465.00, an appreciable herd, but most likely only a portion of the household's mounts and draft animals. Christie also counted four sheep, 27 chickens, and 51 ducks as spoliations.

The Christie family's production equipment also suggests market directed generation of surplus crops and manufactured products. Christie's agricultural equipment (12 plows, six sets of harness, four mattocks, and nine hoes) totaled $59.00, exceeded only by the composite inventory of the Robert Muskrat household ($77.00). This array of agricultural tools is consistent with the large scale agricultural efforts of the Christie household indicated by the 1835 census and 1836–1837 property valuations. Smith's 1835 enumeration reports that the Christies produced 600 bushels of corn on 70 acres, while Welch and Jarrett credited 65 acres to the Edward Christie household. As much as 80% of the produce of this farm was surplus capacity above the absolute subsistence needs of the household, and the Christies likely derived substantial annual income from sales of maize and other crops. Some of the produce of the family's farm and orchards was consigned to the 80-gallon distillery listed in Christie's claim. This unit, worth $80.00, along with 19 hogsheads and six whiskey barrels, was likely an appreciable source of household income and was an unambiguous signal of the Christie family's enterprise and pursuit of profit.

This spirit of enterprise is further indicated by Christie's large and highly valued assortment of cloth production equipment and supplies, an array which included four looms, four sets of cards, five spinning wheels, a reel, and thread and yarn worth a total of $76.00. In addition, the Christie family lost 44 pounds of raw wool and 72 pounds of unspun cotton. The potential cloth and fiber output capacity of this equipment greatly exceeded household

needs, and it is likely that the Christies disposed of surplus production by sale or trade to local markets. It is possible that Christie maintained this equipment in order to profitably employ his three black slaves during agricultural lulls in the fall and winter seasons. Similar concentrations of cloth production equipment are evident in the claims of fellow slaveholders Richard Walker and Robert Muskrat.

Christie reported no extractive equipment (e.g., firearms) or wheeled vehicles, although Hunter's store accounts reflect purchases of ammunition and wagoners' boots and whips by household members. It is possible that the family managed to retain or recover their firearms during removal, although Edward's son and immediate neighbor Wilson lost four guns. It is likely that the Christies owned one or more wagons enlisted for use during the forced emigration. Christie did report one dugout canoe among personal spoliations; this is the only item of traditional technology evident among all the claims of English-speaking slaveholders (i.e., Edward Christie, Richard Walker, Robert Muskrat, George Blair, Charles Buffington) from the study area.

Christie's list of consumers' goods is comparatively brief, and it appears likely that the family retained a portion of their household equipment at the time of arrest and transported these goods to Oklahoma. The Christie family' lost housewares that included three bedsteads, a dozen chairs, two tables, two sets of andirons and fireplace tools, three pewter basins, a wash tub, four buckets, and 19 pails; the family's bedding and other accessories (e.g., lighting equipment, looking glasses, trunks, and chests) are not represented in the claim and it is likely that the family took such articles at the time of their arrest. The Christies also lost a dozen cast iron cooking vessels, three tin pans, a coffee boiler, a wire sieve, a tin milk strainer, a churn, six sets of plates, three sets of teacups and saucers, 18 bowls, two dishes, four sets of forks and knives, and two sugar bowls. These constituted the second most valuable array of kitchenwares and service wares evident in spoliation claims from the study area, and appear sufficient to equip several households. These wares were likely split between Christie's main residence and his slave quarters; some of these goods may have been used in the subsidiary households of Edward Christie's sons, Jesse and Aaron. It is also possible that some of this equipment may have been devoted to hostelry functions; Christie resided at the intersection of the Unicoi Turnpike, the Franklin Road, and the Blairsville Road, a strategic crossroads frequented by travelers and commercial traffic.

It is noteworthy that the Christie family's spoliation claim includes no mention of clothing or personal goods, items that might provide insights into the household's self-perceptions and presentation of cultural identity relative to the traditional-western continuum.

The complete absence of such goods in Christie's claim is a further indication that the family managed to retain a portion of their chattel property through the removal of 1838.

The Christie household's large, varied, and highly valued assemblage of chattel property suggests economic orientations and material lifestyles comparable to wealthier Anglo-American "middling" farmers and small planters of the upland South. The Christies' large herds of cattle and swine, extensive array of agricultural implements and cloth production equipment, and whiskey distillery denote scales of economic production and market participation far greater than any other Cherokee household represented in the claims sample, and similar to those evident among the wealthiest Anglo-Americans represented in the comparative sample of McMinn County probates. Abundant and diverse cookware, kitchen equipment, and tablewares suggest that the Christie family pursued relatively westernized foodways and table etiquette, while the absence of traditional maize processing equipment (i.e., fanners, riddles, mortars) in the household assemblage indicates de-emphasis or abandonment of native foodways, a key indicator of cultural orientation. The Christies' household furniture (e.g., bedsteads, tables, chairs) and amenities (e.g., andirons and fireplace equipment), although quite basic, substantially resembled the furnishings of many rural Anglo-American homes documented in the McMinn County sample, and greatly exceeded such wares owned by most Cherokee families in the study area.

The unique classification of the Christie inventory in the nine cluster solution is based solely upon its exceptionally large and highly valued herds of livestock; in other respects, Edward Christie's losses closely resembled those of his son, Wilson Christie, and fellow English-speaking slaveholders, Richard Walker and Robert Muskrat. Although the Edward Christie case appears highly divergent (see Figure 5.11) from the remainder of the study sample, the Christie household probably represents the upper end of the small "middling" tier of the Cherokee socioeconomic spectrum in southwestern North Carolina, a group comprising many of the agrarian entrepreneurs classified in Clusters 1, 5, 6, 7, and 9. While the Edward Christie family occupied the economic pinnacle of the spoliation claims sample, their economic position was almost certainly inferior to that of the John Welch, Gideon Morris, David England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, and John Timson households, wealthy Anglo-Cherokees who are distinguished in the real property valuations data, but whose chattel property is not documented by spoliation data. These latter families, with the possible inclusion of the Andrew Colvard/Nancy Hawkins, Sr. and N.B. Hyatt/Anne Reed households, constituted an upper socioeconomic tier of agrarian capitalists whose economic pursuits expanded beyond household level production to include land speculation, extensive use of slave and tenant labor, mercantilism, and capital investment in mining, turnpike, and railroad

ventures. Ironically, the abundant chattel property of this small Anglo-Cherokee capitalist class (in southwestern North Carolina) is poorly documented, primarily because most of the constituent families remained in the east as state citizens, and were not subject to removal and the spoliations it occasioned, or suffered proportionately small losses during the removal operations. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the extent of material differentiation that distinguished these wealthiest Cherokees from their neighbors. The Edward Christie inventory, with its abundant livestock, production equipment, and household goods, best approximates the scale and types of chattel property held by the wealthiest families in the study area, but likely falls short of the holdings of the Anglo-Cherokee elite defined by the property valuations data but absent from the spoliation claims data.

Summary and Conclusions

The trivariate cluster analysis of Cherokee spoliation claims data accomplishes a gross scale segmentation of wealthholding among study sample households and provides a basis for interpreting socioeconomic variation independent of bioracial or linguistic affinities. The groups defined in this analysis reflect a continuum of chattel wealth distributed among Cherokee households, with a number of significant high wealth outliers, but the analysis does not indicate an overarching dichotomy or bimodal structure that distinguishes Anglo-Cherokees from fullbloods or bilingual English speakers from monolingual Cherokee speakers. Instead, the cluster analysis defines wealth groups in which English-speaking *métis* and monolingual fullbloods are represented at every nonsingleton level. Proportionately, Anglo-Cherokee and fullblood families appear inversely distributed among wealth groups, with monolingual fullbloods dominating the lower socioeconomic tiers and English-speaking households dominating the higher wealthholding groups. These relative distributions suggest that wealth production and accumulation was, in part, a function of ethnic affinity, but the substantial presence of both bioracial or ethnic groups across most of the economic spectrum indicates that other factors (e.g., individual and group acculturation) contributed significantly to the development of socioeconomic diversity in the region.

Low levels of wealthholding and a high degree of material homogeneity evident in a large proportion (≈75%) of claims by monolingual fullblood households appear consistent with a traditional ethos that discouraged wealth inequality and promoted socioeconomic equivalency. In the absence of a sharply defined capital-labor dialectic and with legally guaranteed equity in access to resources for wealth-building (e.g., agricultural lands, pastoral range), the statistical dominance of this materially impoverished majority and the bunching of sample cases at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum suggest that a culturally defined

status quo of "shared poverty" operated to depress wealth accumulation among most Cherokee households in the study area.

Similar types and scales of chattel property holding evident among a substantial proportion (≈50%) of Anglo-Cherokee and other English-speaking Cherokee households may also indicate a degree of adherence to native rather than western material value systems. However, apparent similarities in assemblage scale and composition may also reflect temporary convergences of material pattern between households in more static modes of property holding and those in the early stages of dynamic property attainment. Because the study data are essentially synchronic, it is impossible to discriminate static from dynamic patterns of property ownership.

The economic apex of the study sample includes roughly equal numbers (but vastly differing relative proportions) of monolingual fullblood households and English-speaking Cherokee households. The relative prevalence of Anglo-Cherokee or other English-speaking Cherokee households in the highest wealth sector of the spoliation claims sample is consistent with the proposition that Anglo-Cherokee families incorporated and implemented western values and material lifeways to a far greater degree than their fullblood counterparts. This is attributed to higher rates of western enculturation for Anglo-Cherokees, as well as the English-speaking Cherokees' relatively greater access to Anglo-American society and commerce and sustained flow of information concerning western material modes. The development of parallel material lifestyles and scales of wealthholding by monolingual fullblood families is more indirectly accountable to varied acculturational influences, from proximity to Anglo-American or Anglo-Cherokee models to intensive, directed acculturation at Protestant mission schools. Assimilation of western material values in these cases is implied by scales of wealthholding. Chattel properties reported by several leaders of the native community appear convergent with those claimed by wealthier, more demonstrably westernized households. This trend may represent the assumption of exemplary roles by civic and religious leaders to elevate the economic condition of their constituencies, but may also reflect town leaders' adoption of western production modes and strategies to better fulfill the redistributive requirements of their offices. The continuance of these leaders in prominent roles suggests public approbation of their highly visible property. Given such interpretation, it is difficult to ascribe purely individualistic motives even to English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees, who may have regarded themselves as innovators and benefactors to the local communities of "poor" Indians.

Arrayed between the two extremes represented by 239-case low wealth Cluster D and the 23 high wealth cases grouped in Cluster A is a large continuum of cases that reflect varying

degrees of divergence from traditional norms and approach toward western modes and scales of production and domestic life. In some instances, member cases of these intermediate grades are interpretable as partial inventories reported by demonstrably wealthy and westernized households (e.g., George Blair, Jack Christie, Charles Buffington); these serve as cautionary reminders of the biases inherent to the study sample and the resultant imperfect classifications. Some cases clearly reflect gender specific reporting, with total household inventories presumably represented across multiple claims. Many of the members of these intermediate grades appear to have been aspirants to fully western lifestyles and nontraditional scales of production whose material situations were progressive yet unfulfilled. More intriguing is the prospect that many cases in these intermediate grades represent families actively engaged in the creative restructuring and redefinition of Cherokee material standards. Rather than blindly emulating Anglo-American models, it appears likely that such Cherokee innovators selectively incorporated elements of western material culture that were compatible with core traditional values and recontextualized other material complexes to achieve better cultural fit. As evidenced by the consistent retention of traditional native technologies along with commercial goods across most of the defined clusters, material innovation appears largely augmentative rather than substitutive, with the result of ever broadening material repertoires available and acceptable to the "average" Cherokee. As conventionally viewed, the progressive assimilation of western technologies by Cherokee families connotes a high degree of acculturation which implies deterioration of native identity and assumption of western identity. However, as Pillsbury observed in his study of Cherokee landscapes in northern Georgia:

> The acceptance of these technological innovations is not a *prima facie* case for acculturation .... The Cherokees had accepted many elements of the white Upland South settlement technology by the 1830s, but the degree of acceptance of that technology's accompanying values is unknown. Certainly the households with adults of white lineage often adopted the economic values of the white Upland South. The degree of acceptance of these values and preferences among the full bloods, however, is an entirely different matter... while the Europeanization of that [Cherokee settlement] landscape was near complete, the acceptance of this technology probably was not accompanied by a similar level of acceptance of the inherent values of the white Upland South culture (Pillsbury 1983:68).

This is consistent with Thomas' (1957) observation that the "conservative [Cherokee] does want to be 'like whites,' i.e., 'civilized;' but he ...does not want to *be* a white man," that is, individualistic, selfish, and stingy. Through socially acceptable contexts of use, Cherokee innovators were able to gradually transform elements of material culture from symbols of white identity into denominators of Cherokee "civilization" that asserted parity with whites. In much the same way that Sequoyah transformed literacy from a tool of Anglo-American domination into a weapon of Cherokee resistance, average Cherokees gradually co-opted the

material media of white "civilization" to produce a new, synthetic Cherokee "civilization" that countered white claims to cultural superiority

In general, the cluster structure determined for the spoliation claims data parallels that defined for the real property appraisals, with a numerically dominant basal group of small property holders, a small number of high wealth outliers, and a limited continuum linking these extremes. The prevalence of Anglo-Cherokee or English-speaking Cherokee households in the higher chattel wealth sector of the study group also mirrors patterns evident in the real property data, yet the correspondence between wealthholding and ethnicity in the chattel property data appears much weaker than in the real property data. The rather diffuse correspondence between the spoliation claims data and the real property valuations data probably reflects actual trends as well as sampling biases. Ownership of large and diverse chattel properties by holders of small, simple farmsteads represent varied circumstances. In at least one case (Isaac Tucker), relatively complex chattel property reflective of westernized lifestyles and attitudes appears incongruent with poorly developed real properties, yet claims by Tucker indicate former possession of well developed and highly valuable property improvements. In other instances (e.g., Charles Jones, Mocking Crow), higher levels of chattel wealthholding are clearly unrelated to real property development and reflect generation and accumulation of wealth without construction of westernized lifeways. It is hypothesized that such cases represent efforts by households to obtain economic security without incurring the scrutiny and sanctions of the traditionally oriented community. In those instances in which lower chattel wealth is coupled with highly valued property improvements (e.g., George Blair, Jack Christie, William Boling, Nancy Hawkins, Sr.), it is suspected that reported losses represent only partial inventories of household goods. Instances of congruence between property valuations and spoliation claims are also prominent, if not pervasive. Edward Christie, the wealthiest member of the spoliation claims sample, also maintained the most extensive and valuable real property represented among the spoliation claimants. Other high wealth claimants, such as Richard Walker (by heirs), John Christie, John Wayne, Jr. Robert Muskrat, and *Toonanailah* maintained large farms modeled after those of Anglo-American yeoman agrarians ("middling" farmers).

In the case of the property valuations data, much of the overall structure of the cluster solutions is determined by the contribution of a small number of very high wealth cases (i.e., John Welch, Gideon Morris, David England, Jonathan England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Timson). Because individual cases can strongly affect Ward's method agglomerative classification, the absence of these cases from the spoliation claims data set precludes closely parallel classification structures. It may be hypothesized that the inclusion of these very high

wealth cases in the analysis of chattel property might yield much more discrete ethnic patterning; the thresholds for material differentiation of ethnicity might exist at a considerably higher level than is reflected in the study sample of spoliation claims. As intimated in the previous description of the nine cluster solution, the Edward Christie and Anne Reed outliers may be the sole representatives of this wealthy, highly westernized group of Anglo-Cherokee elite.

The cluster analysis of spoliation claims data considered very broad categories of property holding on the presumption that ethnic and cultural differentiation was materially expressed in the scale of assemblages. This was found to be partially true, but levels of wealthholding alone do not provide sensitive gauges of household ethnicity. Neither did analyses of specific assemblage composition reveal particularly accurate measures for ethnicity. For various reasons related to differential loss and reporting, the most sensitive material diacritica of ethnicity, such as clothing, personal accouterments, and ritual paraphernalia appear acutely underrepresented. Traditional native technologies, presumed markers for native affinity, appear similarly underreported. The general scarcity of such symbolically charged media for social and ethnic boundary demarcation almost certainly dampens the discriminatory capacity of reported inventories. Instead, the claims reflect more mundane aspects of daily life and are illustrative of the very broad patterns of lifestyle that distinguished traditionally oriented Cherokees and westernized Cherokees. Because the claims comprise largely western technologies, their composition and scale tends to monitor a unidirectional trend, the degree and detail of incorporation of western material culture. This is illustrated by contrasts that may be drawn between the poles of the socioeconomic spectrum. Members of Cluster A, the highest wealth group defined in the four cluster solution, reported very large and diverse assemblages of goods and chattels that reflect detailed assimilation of western lifestyles, but also indicate retention of aboriginal modes. Core assemblage elements reported by 30% or more of the 23 Cluster A claimants include horses, beef cattle, sheep, hogs, chickens, ducks, beehives, plows, hoes, mattocks, plow harness, axes, drawknifes, handsaws, augers, iron wedges, rifles, cards, spinning wheels and looms, tables, chairs, looking glasses, bedsteads and featherbeds, cast iron pots and pothooks, coffee pots, stoneware jugs, refined earthenware plates, cups, saucers, and bowls, knives, forks and spoons, tin cups, tin pans, cane storage baskets, wooden mortars and pestles, wooden pails and metal buckets, padlocks, saddles, stored corn, beans, salt, bacon, raw cotton, and soap. Cluster A claimants reported a number of other items at substantially (100%-1000%) higher rates than other groups defined in the four cluster solution (Table 5.1); items such as geese, reaphooks, stilliards and volume measures, joiners, shovels, check reels, andirons and hearth tools,

bedspreads and coverlets, looking glasses, candlemolds and candlestands, milk strainers and churns, wire sifters, coffee mills, stoneware jugs, serving dishes and serving trays, and bacon.

By contrast, the lowest wealth group defined in the nine cluster and four cluster solutions (Cluster 3/D), a 239-member group representing more than half the study sample, reported more than 259 types of items, yet core assemblages appear restricted to a few categories. Items represented in more than 30% of Cluster D claims are limited to highly utilitarian goods and chattels such as horses, beef cattle, hogs, chickens, axes, hoes, plows and plow harness, mattocks, guns, cards and spinning wheels, tables, cast iron pots, plates, wooden pails, cane storage baskets, and stored corn. While contrasting elements in the core inventories of goods reported by Cluster A and Cluster D households should not be regarded as discrete indicators of group membership on an item by item basis, the multiple occurrence of such items in Cluster A claims connotes greater wealthholding and a higher degree of assimilation of western domestic lifestyles and economic strategies.

The spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households in the aftermath of the 1838 removal afford an extraordinarily detailed, albeit incomplete, image of the scope and content of Cherokee material life in southwestern North Carolina. Simple tabulation of these claims reveals the breadth of the material repertoire from which Cherokee families selectively constructed varied lifestyles. Material configurations of Cherokee households ranged in character from conservative and traditional to markedly western and assimilationist, comprising myriad combinations that defy simple definition and comparison. Univariate trends in the distribution of individual items and classes of items indicate a substantial degree of material differentiation between English-speaking Cherokees and their monolingual fullblood counterparts. However, the case for such differentiation is tempered by multivariate classification of assemblages, which indicate distribution of both groups throughout the economic spectrum as represented by the study sample. This sample, as a whole, is characterized by low levels of material wealth and a high degree of interassemblage homogeneity, patterns consistent with a traditional value system that encouraged interhousehold equality and equivalency. Deviation from this material pattern may be interpreted as departure from traditional norms, yet in the absence of independent data concerning social performance of particular Cherokee households, it is difficult to confidently assert processes of ideological differentiation or to discriminate social use of material culture for group identity or boundary demarcation. Nevertheless, general trends defined in this analysis of spoliation claims indicate substantial correspondence between ethnic/cultural group membership and processes of differential Westernization and socioeconomic diversification.

Chapter 6
The Archaeological Record of Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina

The final component of this study is a comparative examination of archaeological contexts and assemblages referable to historically documented Removal period Cherokee households. This chapter seeks to accomplish two principal goals: 1) to achieve an initial characterization of the Removal period Cherokee archaeological record in southwestern North Carolina; and 2) to define structures of interhousehold variation in the material record that distinguish the lifestyle choices of more westernized Anglo-Cherokee families from those of more conservative fullblood Cherokee households, or which characterize various socioeconomic grades within Cherokee society. These goals are addressed through narrative description and comparison of material records from archaeological sites that represent one documented Anglo-Cherokee *métis* household (John Christie) and six documented fullblood Cherokee households (*Chewkeeaskee*, *Sataka*, *Kianna*, Brush Picker, John Wayne, Jr., Buzzard). In addition, material assemblages from four post-Removal era (ca. 1840–1850) Anglo-American components (31CE273, 31CE363, 31CE530, 31CE586) and four late 18th–early 19th century Cherokee components (31CE289, 31CE290, 31CE386; 31CE358) are introduced to provide comparative bases for gauging the degree and direction of variation evident among Removal period cases. All of these sites are located within a ten-mile radius in Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figure 6.1). Data from these archaeological sites derive from three archaeological projects conducted by the author between 1990 and 1995. The majority of these sites were documented as part of a purposive archaeological survey of Removal period Cherokee farmsteads conducted in 1990–1991 (Riggs 1996). This work was augmented by reconnaissance-level archaeological surveys of Hiwassee Reservoir in 1993–1994 (Riggs and Kimball 1996) and Apalachia Reservoir in 1995 (Riggs, et al. 1996).

All of the Removal period sites considered in this study were identified by reference to the 1838 composite Army map of the region (Figure 6.2) and the field notes compiled by Army survey teams in preparing that map (U.S. Army 1837–1838; Williams 1838b). These notes depict the specific locations of more than 250 Cherokee residences in southwestern North Carolina and provide detailed topographic representations that enable correlation with modern landscape features and thus facilitate archaeological relocation of the farmstead sites. In some cases, the survey notes identify particular Cherokee households at mapped locations; in other instances specific household associations with archaeological sites may be inferred by cross-reference between the Army survey notes and narrative descriptions of farmstead locations listed by Welch and Jarrett in 1836–1837.

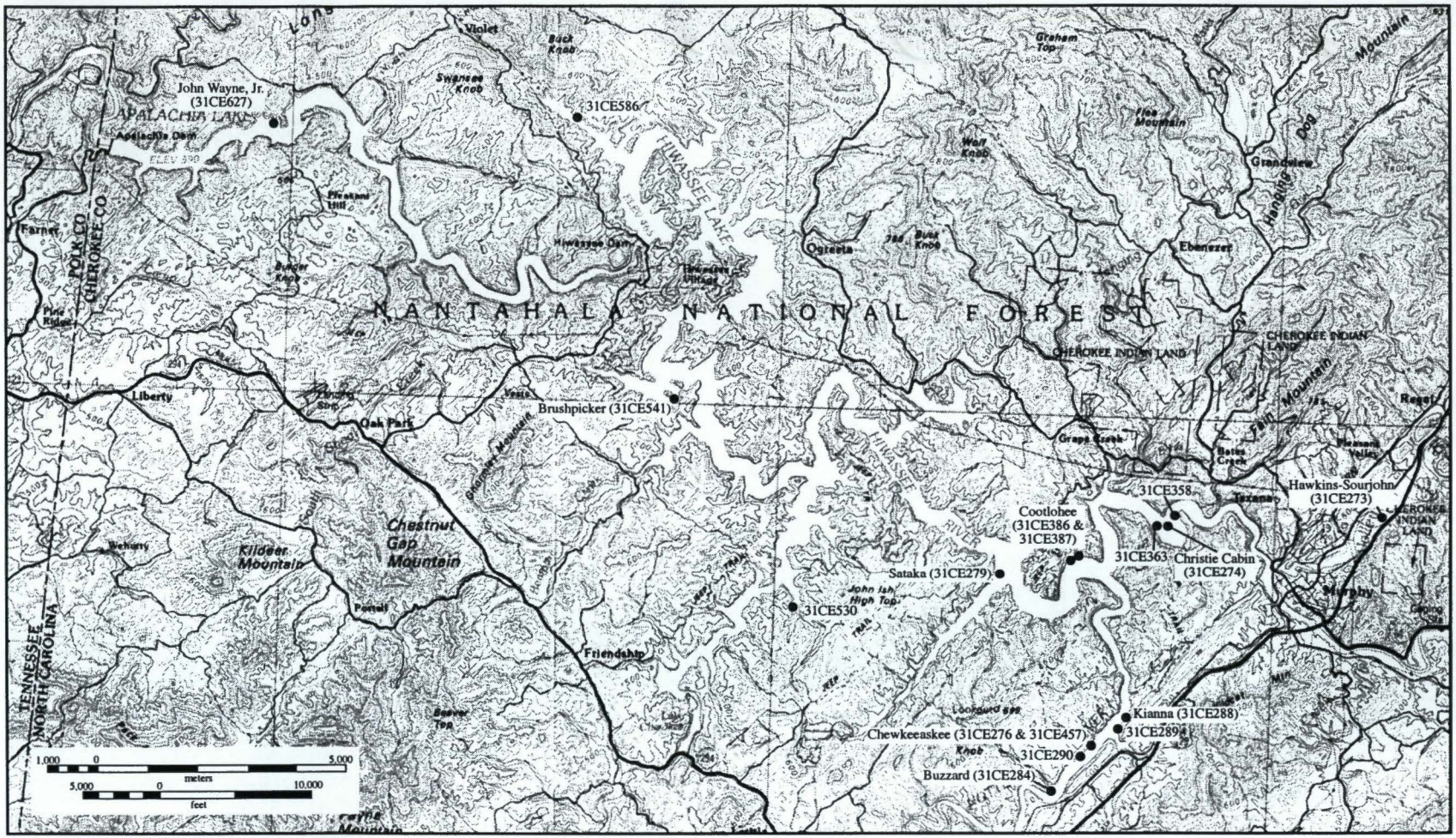


Figure 6.1. The locations of archaeological sites discussed in the text. Detail of the U.S.G.S. Cleveland, Tennessee-North Carolina 30'X60' quadrangle

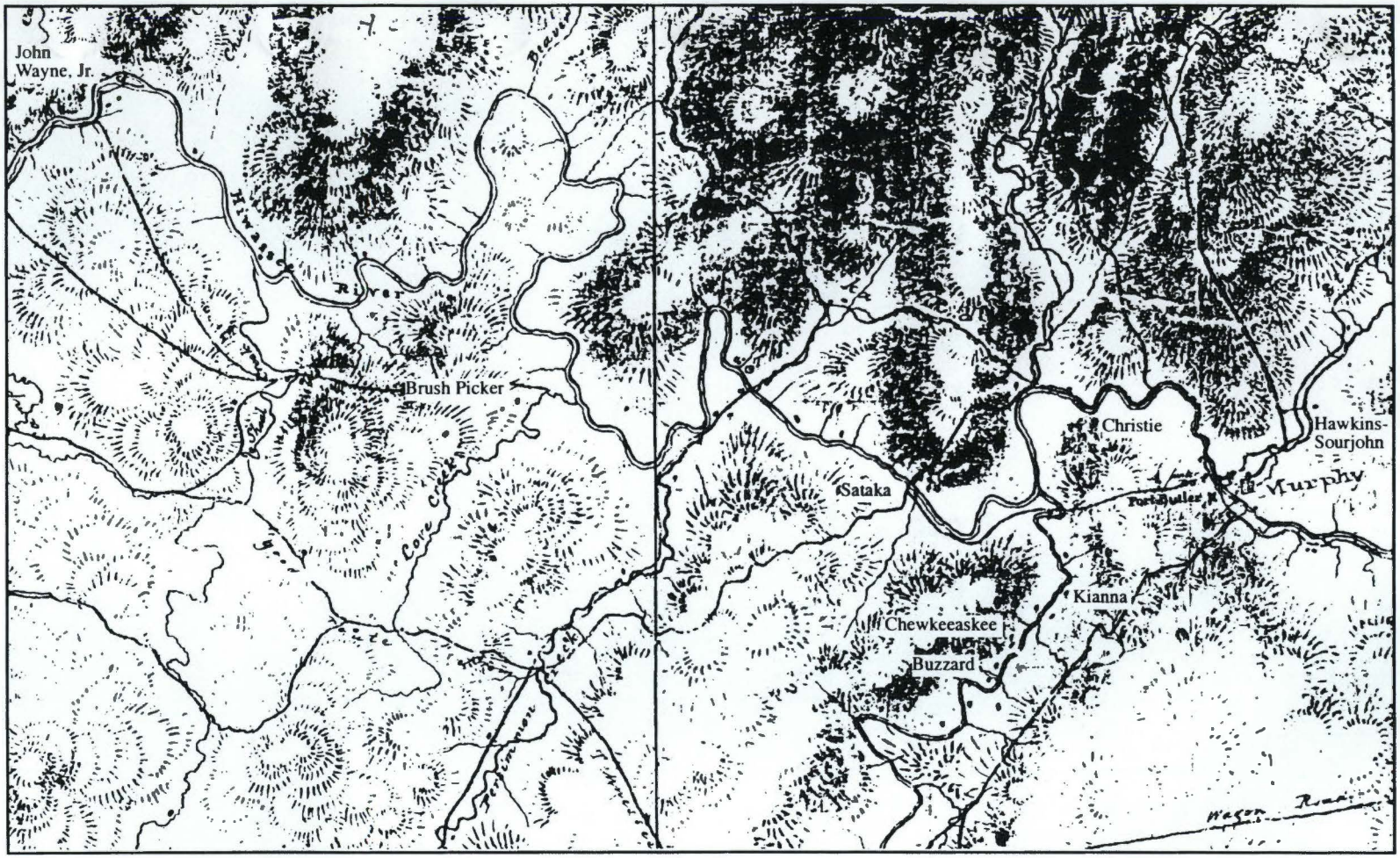


Figure 6.2. Portion of the 1838 U.S. Army map of the project area, indicating locations of Removal Period Cherokee housesites discussed in the text.

Such documentary evidence is lacking for the early post-Removal era Anglo-American sites. All of these appear to represent small farmstead occupations by undocumented squatters or tenants of larger landholders, and none can be referenced to specific households. These sites were identified in general survey by the incidence of suites of temporally diagnostic ceramic artifacts, such as shell edge decorated, hand painted, cut sponge decorated, transfer printed, and flow blue decorated whitewares, alkaline glazed stoneware, and annular decorated yellowware. Although some of these types appear equally diagnostic of Removal period Cherokee occupations, inception dates for others (e.g., cut sponge decorated and flow blue decorated wares) postdate the 1838 removal, and are indicative of site occupations in the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century. In the absence of specific historical documentation, the attribution of these post-Removal site occupations to Anglo-American households (rather than Cherokee or African-American families) must be considered tenative, yet highly likely in view of the overwhelming proportion of Anglo-American residents in the area after 1838.

The Revolutionary War period and Federal period Cherokee sites are distinguished by the incidence of Qualla series ceramic sherds and a limited range of commercially manufactured goods, such as gunflints, dark olive green bottle glass, and cut sheet brass fragments. With the exception of Cootlohee (31CE386 and 31CE387), a village observed by Norton in 1807 (Klink and Talman 1970), these sites are not specifically documented in the historical record, and site occupation chronologies are difficult to establish. Cumulative documentary evidence suggests that the more restricted valleys of the Hiwassee River Basin between Murphy and the Tennessee state line were not heavily settled until American raids during the Revolutionary period forced Cherokee settlement dispersal (Riggs 1995). It is likely, therefore, that all of the sites considered in this study postdate ca. 1776–1780. All of the pre-Removal period Cherokee sites appear remarkably similar in content, and none yielded temporally diagnostic manufactured goods that might facilitate chronological resolution.

The archaeological data considered here are of two different orders and require two tiers of analysis. Two of the Removal period Cherokee sites (the John Christie and *Chewkeeaskee* cabin sites) and two earlier Cherokee farmsteads (31CE289 and 31CE290) are represented by both surface collected materials and materials recovered from excavated pit contexts. One post-Removal Anglo-American component (the Sourjohn/Hawkins cabin site) is also represented by material assemblages from an excavated pit context. The excavated assemblages from these sites reflect similar modes of disposal and derive from similar depositional environments and may be considered equivalent for comparative purposes. The remaining sites are represented by collections of artifacts recovered from site surfaces. Such opportunistic surface collections are typically quite uneven in character due to variation in site matrices and surface conditions, and

intercollection comparisons can be difficult. However, because most of these sites are located on eroded landforms in reservoir drawdown zones, the sites are denuded of vegetation and site matrices are deflated to such a degree that a major complement of the total artifact content is exposed to visual inspection. Because these single-family farmstead occupations were of similar character, intensity, duration, and scale, it may be assumed that the former surficial refuse deposits that surrounded these dwellings reflect similar modes of disposal and deposition. Therefore, comprehensive collections of materials apparent on the exposed surfaces of these sites may be considered essentially comparable. Surface collections from three of the excavated sites are included in these comparisons, and provide a basis for extrapolation between limited scale surface collections and larger scale excavated assemblages.

In contrast to the preceding analyses of property valuations data and spoliation claims data, in which complex multivariate arrays for hundreds of cases demanded somewhat elaborate statistical manipulations for pattern discovery, this chapter considers rather low dimensional datasets for a limited number of cases which may be effectively compared and contrasted on an individual basis. Comparisons are drawn using simple descriptive statistics and percentage profiles of artifact assemblage composition. Because the data tend to be highly contrastive, patterns of intercase and intergroup variation are readily comprehensible.

For the Removal period Cherokee cases that are referable to specific households, discussion and analysis is directly informed by the documentary record, which presents multilateral accounts of household composition, real property composition, chattel property composition, and commercial consumption behavior. These cases are also referenced to their respective classifications in the wealth or material groups defined by the prior analyses of real property and chattel property data, and may be considered as archaeological illustrations of variation within and between these groups. It should be noted, however, that the sites and assemblages considered here do not constitute a comprehensive or statistically representative sample of the historically documented variation in the study population, but are, instead, case studies reflective of specific segments of the socioeconomic continuum.

It is also important to observe that, even in the case of specifically documented sites, the historical record and the archaeological record are independent; they comprise discrete, and sometimes contradictory, bodies of evidence which emanate from radically different sources and reflect markedly different biases in their formation and content. For example, the documentary record of Cherokee life presents a much richer and more diversified image of material possessions than does the archaeological record; it is replete with perishable goods that leave no archaeological trace and highly curated items that rarely enter the archaeological record. Yet documents such as the spoliation claims tend to focus upon larger, more expensive, or more

distinctive items and omit or de-emphasize the mundane stuff of everday life that often reveals core patterns and processes in material culture. In addition, the data contained in the documentary record are not directly observable. The analyst of such information must depend upon the thoroughness, accuracy, and veracity of observers who are typically disjunct in time and space. These observers often had free rein to implement individual or cultural biases and manipulate observations in the service of contemporary agenda. Even in the absence of intent toward misrepresentation, observation for the documentary record is typically a self-conscious process, and documents frequently bear the mark of self-awareness in the generation of records for the readership of others.

By contrast, the archaeological record is essentially phenomenological, and the researcher creates data from direct observation of archaeological contexts and assemblages. The archaeological record is typically generated by processes of construction, use, disposal, and abandonment in which self-conscious manipulation of the final (archaeological) product is minimal. Instead, the form and content of the archaeological record are shaped by a complex array of depositional and postdepositional processes that can be more difficult to interpret than documentary biases. The documentary record often includes direct or implicit statements of emic intent or meaning associated with goods or actions, and the reader is directed toward interpretation of the world views of the writer or of those observed. By contrast, the archaeological record itself is practically devoid of inherent indications of intent or meaning, and the researcher must impose etic interpretations which are (it is hoped) based on inference from well founded bodies of theory. Such inference may incorporate hypotheses derived from the documentary record, and a productive feedback relationship between the documentary and archaeological records may be established. In this study, the core themes of interhousehold variability and ethnic differentiation are founded in the documentary record and applied to analysis of the archaeological record. The archaeological record is not invoked to verify or negate documentary evidence; this is not a confirmatory exercise used to "flesh out" details of historical accounts. Instead, analysis of the archaeological record is an orthogonal approach to understanding issues of cultural differentiation identified from the documentary record. It is tempting to "read" the archaeological record as a simple extension of the documentary evidence, especially in cases such as the Removal period Cherokee households considered here, where direct connections between archaeological manifestations and their historical identities are unambiguous. However, such unfiltered linkage risks canalization of archaeological interpretation, and shortchanges the potential of material evidence for producing novel interpretations that are equally informative of cultural process. In the remainder of this study, consideration of the documentary and archaeological records of Cherokee households are

interspersed, but analysis and interpretation are not strictly synoptic. Instead, the comparative analysis of the archaeological records of Cherokee households proceeds independently, as did the previous analyses of real and chattel property data. Conclusive synthesis of the results of these analyses reveals agreement in general pattern, yet contradictions at finer levels of resolution, an indication of the cultural ambiguities that actually characterized Cherokee life in the region during the 1830s. Thus staged, synthetic treatment of the collateral documentary and archaeological records of Cherokee life can yield more nuanced understanding of the dynamic processes of cultural change and differentiation within nineteenth century Cherokee society.

Characterization (actually multiple characterizations) of the Removal period Cherokee archaeological record is accomplished by the following narrative discussions of single family farmstead sites, contexts and assemblages. Parallel historical documentation suggests that the structure and content of these particular sites may reflect an appreciable extent of Cherokee interhousehold variation in southwestern North Carolina. However, archaeological estimation of the total range of such variation will require much larger samples of sites drawn from across the region. More abbreviated accounts are presented for the post-Removal Anglo-American and pre-Removal period Cherokee sites and assemblages that serve as control samples for analytic comparison. Narrative description of these sites and assemblages is followed by intersite comparisons and contrasts, which attempt to define the major structures of material variation among Removal period Cherokee households and to establish directionality of the trends of variation relative to Anglo-American and earlier Cherokee models.

Removal Period Archaeological Sites, Contexts and Assemblages

Chewkeeaskee Farmstead Sites (31CE276 & 31CE457)

The most detailed archaeological record of a Removal period fullblood Cherokee household recovered to date is represented by the *Chewkeeaskee* Farmstead Sites (31CE276 and 31CE457). These adjacent archaeological loci are located on the northwest side of the Nottely River at River Mile 3 within the Hiwassee Lake impoundment, approximately 5.25 kilometers southwest of the town of Murphy in Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figure 6.1). The *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (31CE276) proper occupies approximately 400m^2 of a small colluvial bench at the base of the uplands, 130m northwest of the Nottely River (Figure 6.3). The western edge of the site is bounded by a former public roadbed that skirts the foot of the uplands. The eastern boundary is difficult to define due to the downslope movement of artifacts as a result of lake action, but the maximum eastern extent of the site is 20m from the roadbed. A small, unnamed spring branch delineates the northern edge of the site. The site extends approximately 30m south, with no defining landform change. Elevation of the site is approximately 1510 ft AMSL, and the site area

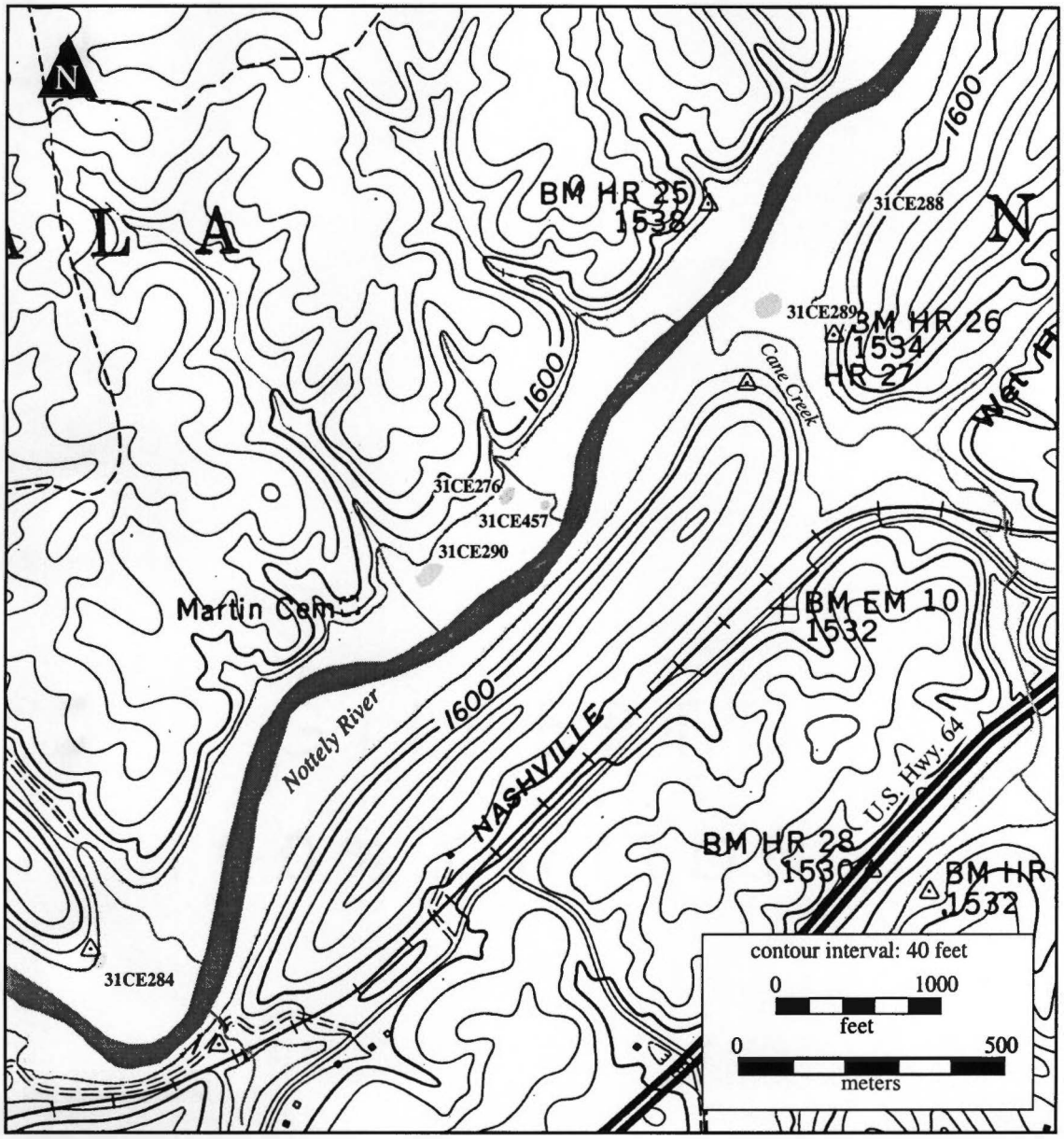


Figure 6.3. Map of the *Nanatsugun* locality on the lower Nottely River indicating the locations of the *Chewkeeaskee*, Buzzard, and *Kianna* cabin sites and 31CE289 and 31CE290.

is inundated by Hiwassee Lake for more than six months of the year. The current slope of the site area is approximately 10%; this slope has probably been modified by shoreline erosion, site deflation and colluvial conflation. Site sediments are considerably deflated as a result of the fluctuation of Hiwassee Lake, and no vestige of the original A horizon soils remain on the site. The second site, 31CE457, probably represents a corn crib or other outbuilding associated with the *Chewkeeaskee* household occupation. This site is located approximately 80m east of 31CE276 on the first terrace of the Nottely River. The site is defined as a small (<200m²) cluster of diagnostic nineteenth century Cherokee materials situated on a slightly deflated first terrace remnant positioned at the confluence of the unnamed spring branch and the Nottely River. Elevation of the site is approximately 1500ft AMSL, and the site is inundated by the lake for six to seven months of the year. The site surface is nearly level, and approximately ten centimeters of sandy loam A horizon remain despite seasonal deflation.

Historical Context

Sites 31CE276 and 31CE457 correspond with the mapped location of a Cherokee family farmstead depicted on page six of the December 9, 1837, Army Corps survey notes for the lower Nottely River Valley (Figure 6.4) and on the 1838 composite regional map (Figure 6.2). Unfortunately, these survey notes do not specifically identify the owners or occupants of the depicted cabin and surrounding field, but do identify the nearby residences of Buzzard, Hogshooter, *Clauseen* (*Klasuni* or Crawler), and *Lolo* (*Lawlo* or Jarfly). These cabin locations provide spatial references for correlation of the Removal period household at 31CE276 with 1835 census records and the 1836–1837 property valuations and facilitate assignment of a specific historical identity to the occupants of 31CE276. The Army survey notes depict seven Cherokee farmsteads in the Nottely River Valley between river miles two and four. Welch and Jarrett's (1837) descriptions of Cherokee properties along the lower Nottely River correspond in number and relative order to the houses depicted in the area by the Army survey. Welch and Jarrett note that Buzzard (*Sulu*) lived on "west side Notley below *Clauseenah*", Caty Hogshooter (Buzzard's daughter) lived on the "west side Notley below her father", and that *Chewkeeaskee* lived on the"west side Nottley below Caty".Across the river, at the mouth of Cane Creek, lived *Lawlo* , who resided on "e. side Notley River below *Chickaooskey* [*Chewkeeaskee*]" at the location of site 31CE280. The next improvement was that of *Chittowee*, who lived on the "w. side Nottley R. below *Chicawasky* [*Chewkeeaskee*]." *Kianna*, who lived on the Hiwassee River, owned an improvement "on the East side of Notly River oposite [sic] *Chattowee*." This sequence, when interpreted in conjunction with the Army Survey maps, indicates that the farmstead located at 31CE276 was almost certainly associated with the *Chewkeeaskee* household. This identification

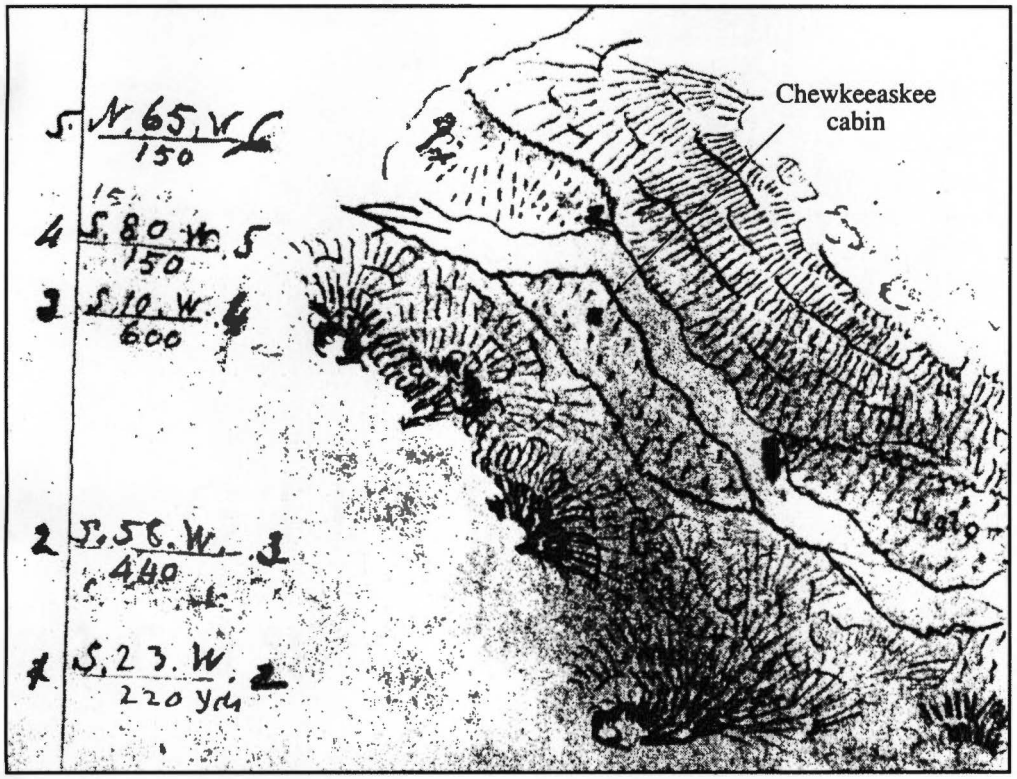


Figure 6.4. 1838 survey notes illustrating the location of the Chewkeeaskee cabin on the west side of the Nottely River.

is supported by the 1835 census, which lists Cherokee households along the lower Nottely River in the same order of occurrence as the property valuations.

The *Chewkeeaskee* (English transl.: It Always Beats Him at the Race [idiomatic]) household and their neighbors in the lower Nottely River Valley were members of the Nottely town organization; their residential locality was known as *Nana-tsu-gun* (Mooney 1900:527), the Spruce-pine Place. *Lawlo*, who lived across the river from *Chewkeeaskee* at the mouth of Cane Creek, was the principal headman of Nottely (Thomas 1840), and most of the households of *Nana-tsu-gun* can be identified as kinspeople of either *Lawlo* (and his wife, *Kayohee*) or *Sulu* (Buzzard), who lived upriver at the mouth of Laurel Branch. Because *Chewkeeaskee* emigrated to the west like the *Sulu* kindred, while the *Lawlo* affiliates remained in the east at Buffalo Town, it appears likely that the *Chewkeeaskee* household was more closely linked to that of *Sulu*.

The 1835 census indicates that the *Chewkeeaskee* household consisted of six fullblood Cherokees: one adult male, one subadult male, one adult female, and three subadult females (U.S. War Department 1835). The family included one farmer, one weaver, and one individual literate in Sequoyan. Page's 1838 emigration roster identifies "*Chu key is ka*" in a sequence of households from Nottely and describes the family as consisting of one male and two females between ages 25 and 50 years, one male and two females less than ten years of age, and one female over age 50 (Page 1838).

Welch and Jarrett's 1836–37 valuations describe the property improvements of the *Chewkeeaskee* household at *Nana-tsu-gun* and indicate that the family maintained a second improvement at Beech Creek in the community of *Cootlohee*:

Chewkeeaskee living on the west side Notley below Caty [31CE276]	
One cabin, 13 ft, part floored, joists & loft, wood chimney	$20.00
1 corn crib 8 ft sqr.	$8.00
10 acres bottom land in cultivation $9 [per acre]	$90.00
9 small apple trees $.75	$6.75
One other improvement on the branch [Beech Creek] above *Cullatakee* West of home place	
[cabin] hewed joists, wood chimney, in part built	$28.00
1 wall of a house covered $4 1 small crib $2	$6.00
7 acres upland in cultivation $8	$56.00

(Welch and Jarrett 1837:263)

The census and property valuations data indicate that the *Chewkeeaskee* household was, in many respects, representative of the Cherokee population of the region. Like 89% of Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina, the family consisted solely of fullbloods. The average size of Cherokee households in North Carolina was 5.6 members; the *Chewkeeaskee* family included six members. Like the vast majority of North Carolina Cherokees, the *Chewkeeaskee* household owned no slaves, mills, or ferries. They reported no sales of surplus corn and grew no wheat in 1834. None of the family were literate in English, and it is likely that

none were conversant in English. The family's single room cabin closely approximated regional standards for residential housing. Their cabin, with 169 ft^2 of floor space, matches the median size of Cherokee residences documented by federal appraisers. Welch and Jarrett valued the family's primary residence at $20.00, slightly higher than the regional median value of $18.00 for residential structures, and slightly lower than the average value of $24.00. However, the *Chewkeeaskee* household cultivated a total of 17 acres, twice the regional average of 8.48 acres per household, and more than three times the regional median of five acres. The agricultural production capacity of the household was two to three times greater than the basic subsistence needs for a family of six (see Baden 1987), and the *Chewkeeaskee* household could have derived a significant income from the market sale of agricultural surplus. However, *Chewkeeaskee* reported production of only 80 bushels of corn to the 1835 census taker, and did not report sales of any surplus maize or wheat.

The *Chewkeeaskee* family's combined improvements on Nottely River and Beech Creek were considerably more valuable than the regional average of $121.00, and rank seventieth in value among 621 family farmsteads appraised by Welch and Jarrett (1837). In the cluster analysis of Cherokee real properties (Chapter 4; Appendix II), *Chewkeeaskee*'s combined properties rank near the upper threshold of 203 cases in Cluster 1. This group represents a tier of slightly larger and more valuable properties than the regional norm, economically self sufficient farmsteads that approximated the frontier farmsteads of white "dirt farmers."

The historical record provides few other clues to the *Chewkeeaskee* household's economic standing and material standard of living. Because *Chewkeeaskee* did not file a spoliation claim for household goods lost during the Removal, there is no direct historical evidence of the household's material lifestyle. Neither does *Chewkeeaskee*'s name appear among the account records of A.R.S. Hunter's store or W.H. Thomas' store, both located within five kilometers of the *Chewkeeaskee* home. *Chewkeeaskee* may be represented in Hunter's records under the English pseudonym "Little Jack" who lived at "Lolo's." Little Jack's account included a paper of tacks, eight yards of homespun, hoes, a handkerchief, a half pint of whiskey, and powder and lead. He paid his own debts in fodder, and assumed the $3.38 debt of Buzzard, *Chewkeeaskee*'s neighbor and probable kinsman. The absence of *Chewkeeaskee*'s name from Hunter's records is particularly noteworthy, because Hunter contracted with *Chewkeeaskee* in 1836 to build a toll bridge over the Hiwassee River at Huntington. It is possible that *Chewkeeaskee* received store goods for this labor and thus had no need to credit purchases on account. However, *Chewkeeaskee* asserted that Hunter never paid for the bridge, and in 1842 filed a claim to recover $5100.00 for the construction (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). *Chewkeeaskee*'s willingness to commit substantial time and labor to such a project on a contractual basis indicates a high level of profit

motivation which, under the model of traditional ethics and values, might be unexpected in a monolingual fullblood individual. However, *Chewkeeaskee*'s approach to gaining wealth through construction contracting did not impinge upon Cherokee corporate resources nor did it place any burdens or restrictions on any other tribal individuals, and this exercise of the capitalist ethic may have been acceptable within the strictures of traditional practice. *Chewkeeaskee*'s construction contract is also consistent with an emergent Cherokee specialization in road building and transportation projects.

The *Chewkeeaskee* family was arrested by government troops during the June 1838 removal operations and held at Fort Butler until transshipment to Calhoun. After a period of confinement in the camps at Calhoun, the family emigrated to Indian Territory as part of *Chuwaluke*'s Taquohee District party. Once in Oklahoma, the *Chewkeeaskee* family settled on Spavinaw Creek in Delaware District in a community that included many old neighbors from Nottely (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). The Drennen enrollment in 1852 lists a number of households headed by individuals named *Chookeewaskey*; the only one in the Delaware District was a lone householder (Drennen 1852).

Archaeological Investigations and Results

The *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (31CE276) was first identified in March 1991, on the basis of a surface reconnaissance of the locality indicated by the Army survey sketchmaps (Riggs 1996). Investigators conducted a close order inspection of the deflated site surface and collected a total of 28 artifacts attributable to the historic Cherokee occupation. These materials were thinly distributed across an area approximately 400m^2 in extent. Other diagnostic materials evident on the site surface at 31CE276 indicate Late Archaic period (ca. 3000 B.C.– 1000 B.C.) and mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American archaeological components. Site 31CE457, identified during a 1993 revisit, is defined on the basis of three Qualla series ceramic sherds and one alkaline glazed stoneware sherd clustered on the first terrace, approximately 80 meters east of 31CE276.

Investigators sampled sediments across both site areas by coring at one meter intervals with a one inch diameter tube sampler in efforts to discover the locations of any intrusive pit features or other intact cultural deposits. Samples taken at 31CE457 revealed approximately ten centimeters of medium brown sandy silt loam (A horizon) overlying a uniform light yellow brown clayey silt loam subsoil. No cultural deposits were identified through sampling of 31CE457 sediments. Samples taken at 31CE276 revealed a site stratigraphy that consisted of eight to ten centimeters of unconsolidated, gravely, yellowish brown silt loam underlain by homogeneous light yellowish brown clayey silt loam. No vestiges of an organic A horizon were observed, and it is assumed that the A horizon over the site has been lost due to reservoir induced deflation and erosion. Auger

sampling of the site area located three soil anomalies in which the upper unconsolidated zone was underlain by 30cm to 80cm of organic gray brown silt loam with inclusions of charcoal and fired clay. The crew removed approximately eight centimeters of overburden from each of these anomalies to expose the complete outlines of three distinct pit features, which were designated Features 1, 2, and 3 (Figure 6.5). Two of these features (Features 2 and 3) were rectangular pits located 1.9 meters apart, oriented parallel to each other and perpendicular to the slope trend. The third feature (Feature 1) was a large circular pit located 4.5 meters south of Feature 3.

Feature 1 (Figure 6.6), a large circular pit, measured 2.3m in diameter and .81m in depth below current ground surface. Fill from the southern half of this feature was hand excavated as two quadrants, removed in 20 centimeter levels and waterscreen processed though 1/8" mesh screen. This excavation exposed a pit profile consisting of eight distinct strata. Feature fill generally consisted of mottled gray brown silt loam, with small flecks of charcoal throughout, and very sparse artifact inclusions. The second half of the feature was left intact, and the excavated portion of Feature 1 was backfilled with large rocks and spoil dirt.

Feature 2 (Figure 6.7) was a rectangular pit feature measuring 1.45m in length, one meter in width and .7m in depth below current ground surface. The base of the pit was flat, and measured 1.22m in length by .89m in width. The pit walls were slightly insloping and very regular in construction. Pit wall and floor junctures were regular and slightly rounded. Indistinct tooling marks on the pit wall suggest that the pit was originally excavated with a square ended spade approximately 20 centimeter in width.

Excavators bisected Feature 2 along the long axis and removed fill from the southwestern half of the feature as four arbitrary 20 centimeter levels. Excavated fill was waterscreen processed through 1/8" mesh screen. The exposed profile (Figure 6.7) evinced eight discrete strata, labeled Zones A through H. The northeastern half of the feature matrix was excavated with reference to these strata, and waterscreen processed through 1/8" mesh screen. A single two liter soil sample was retained from each stratum for flotation processing.

Zones A through G contained abundant inclusions of charcoal, fired and unfired daub, and grit tempered Qualla series ceramic sherds. Daub inclusions in Zones A-G constituted up to 20% of the total matrix. Discrete chunks of daub evinced wood grain impressions from narrow (~5-8cm), split boards or rails, and numerous daub fragments exhibited fired surfaces and carbon deposits. This daub probably represents the remains of a stick and clay chimney like that historically documented for the *Chewkeeaskee* cabin. The inclusions of large amounts of chimney daub in Feature 2 may date the filling of the pit to the post-Removal dismantling of the cabin superstructure and the destruction of the cabin chimney. These strata appear to be the products of successive loads deposited during a single fill episode. This interpretation is supported by the

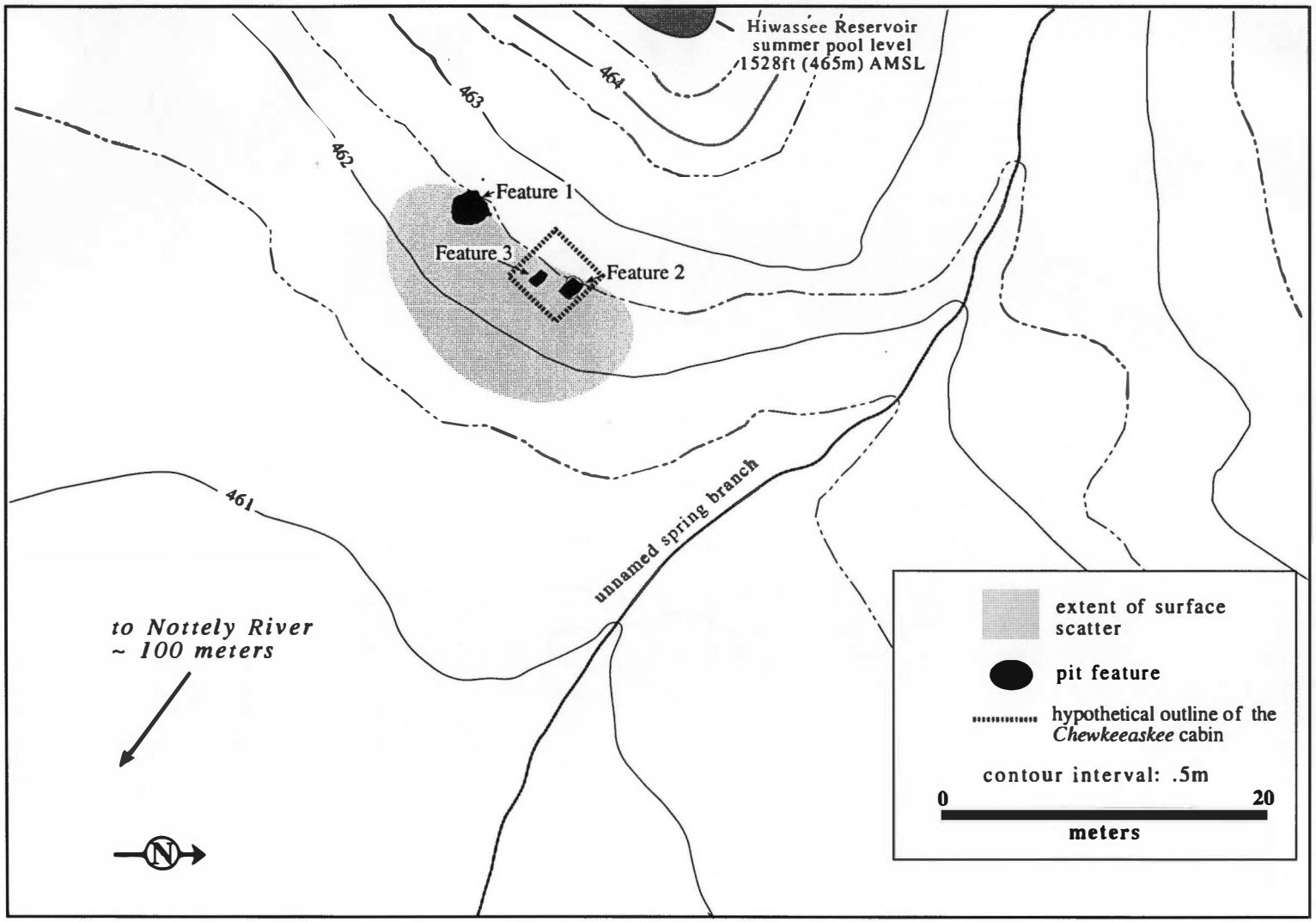
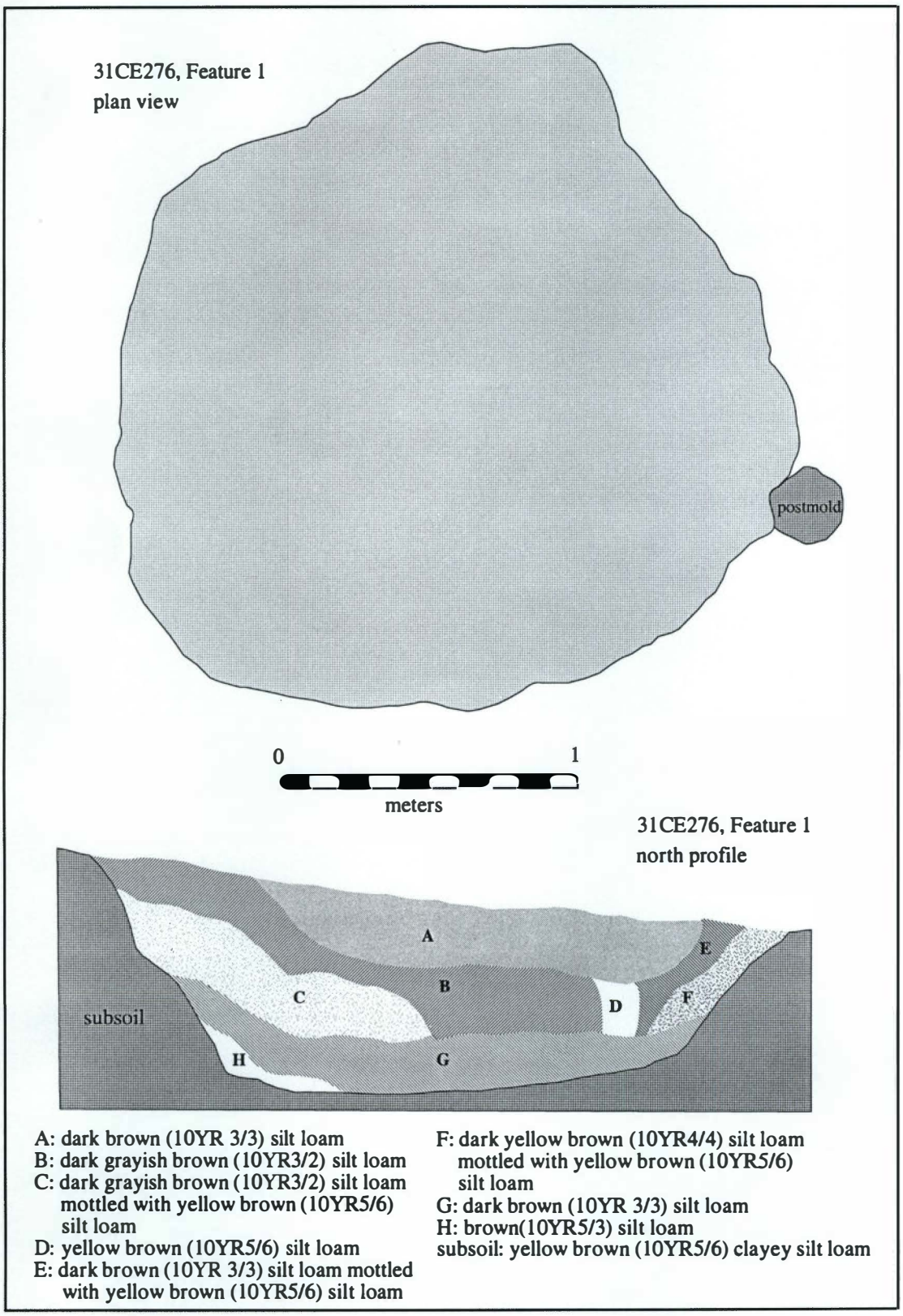
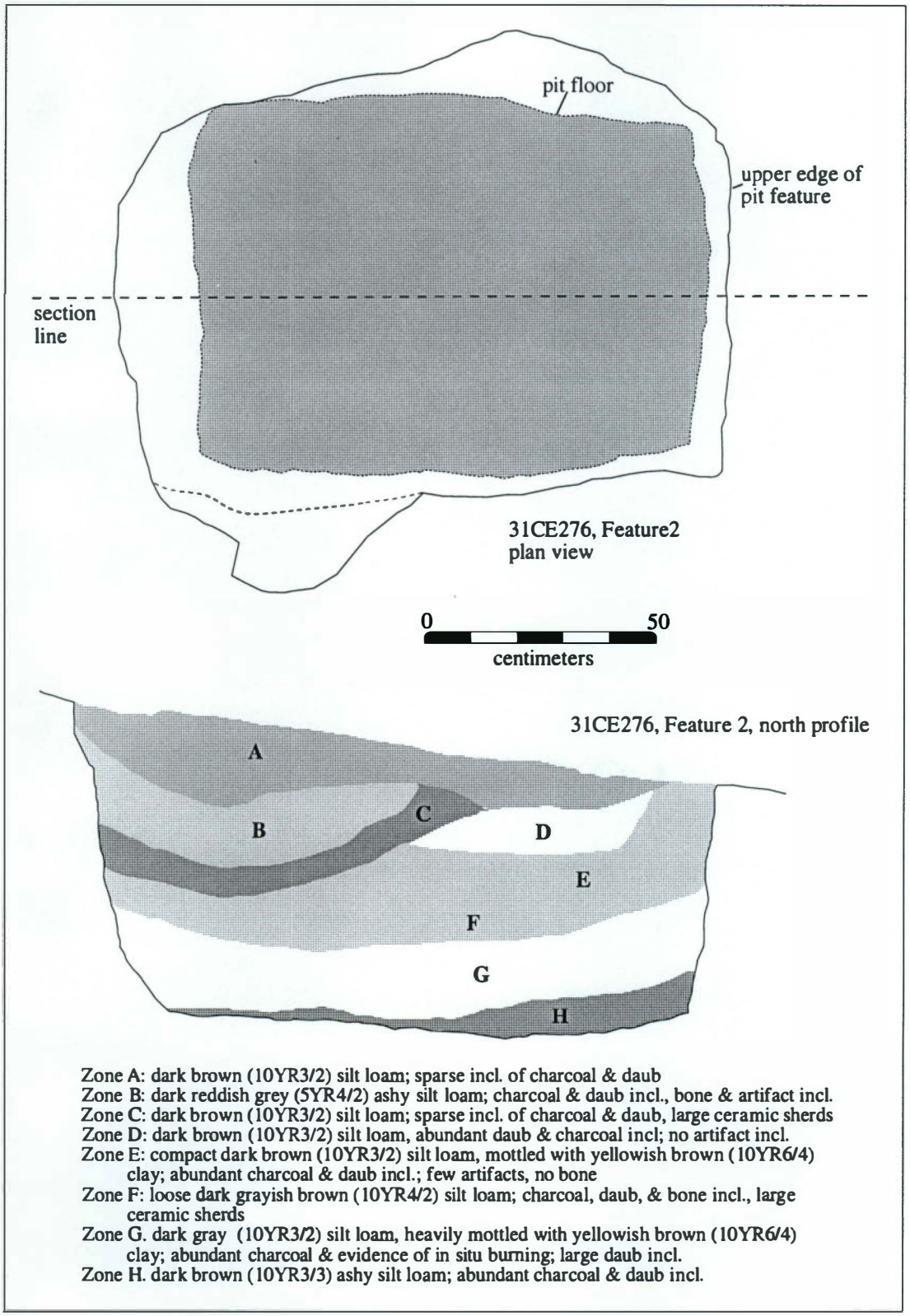


Figure 6.5. Contour map of the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (31CE276).



A: dark brown (10YR 3/3) silt loam
B: dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt loam
C: dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) silt loam mottled with yellow brown (10YR5/6) silt loam
D: yellow brown (10YR5/6) silt loam
E: dark brown (10YR 3/3) silt loam mottled with yellow brown (10YR5/6) silt loam
F: dark yellow brown (10YR4/4) silt loam mottled with yellow brown (10YR5/6) silt loam
G: dark brown (10YR 3/3) silt loam
H: brown(10YR5/3) silt loam
subsoil: yellow brown (10YR5/6) clayey silt loam

Figure 6.6. 31CE276, Feature 1, plan and profile views.



Zone A: dark brown (10YR3/2) silt loam; sparse incl. of charcoal & daub
Zone B: dark reddish grey (5YR4/2) ashy silt loam; charcoal & daub incl., bone & artifact incl.
Zone C: dark brown (10YR3/2) silt loam; sparse incl. of charcoal & daub, large ceramic sherds
Zone D: dark brown (10YR3/2) silt loam, abundant daub & charcoal incl; no artifact incl.
Zone E: compact dark brown (10YR3/2) silt loam, mottled with yellowish brown (10YR6/4) clay; abundant charcoal & daub incl.; few artifacts, no bone
Zone F: loose dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) silt loam; charcoal, daub, & bone incl., large ceramic sherds
Zone G. dark gray (10YR3/2) silt loam, heavily mottled with yellowish brown (10YR6/4) clay; abundant charcoal & evidence of in situ burning; large daub incl.
Zone H. dark brown (10YR3/3) ashy silt loam; abundant charcoal & daub incl.

Figure 6.7. 31CE276, Feature 2 (pit cellar), plan and profile views.

refitting of ceramic vessel sherds recovered throughout Zones A-G. The basal Zone H consisted of loose medium brown silt loam which included one transfer printed whiteware sherd and a brass harness boss. It is likely that Zone H accumulated prior to the main filling episode and may date to the actual occupation of the superstructure.

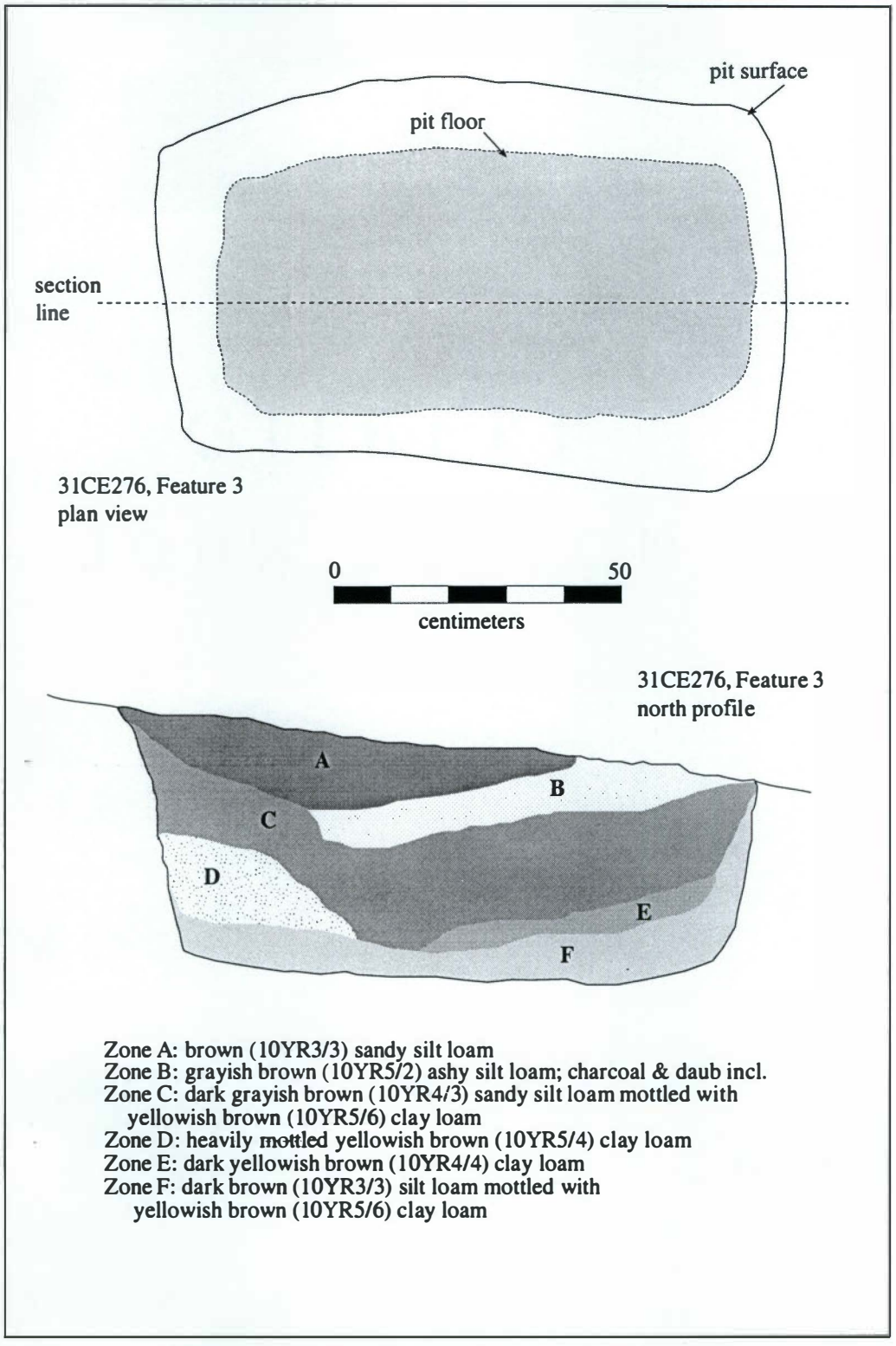
Feature 3 was a small, rectangular pit feature measuring 1.1 meters in length, .66 meters in width, and .47 meters in depth (Figures 6.8). Pit walls were slightly insloping, smooth, and well finished. The pit floor was flat and slightly inclined on the long axis. Excavation of the southwestern half of the feature exposed a profile consisting of six discernible strata. These strata closely resembled those documented in Feature 2 in terms of composition and content, and portions of the same ceramic vessels are represented in both features. It is likely, therefore, that both Feature 2 and Feature 3 were used, abandoned, and filled concurrently.

Feature 1 is interpreted as an extramural subterranean storage facility. Although large, deep circular pits are not well documented in nineteenth century Cherokee contexts, such facilities are abundantly represented at Cherokee sites dating to the second half of the eighteenth century (Baden 1983; Riggs, et al. 1988; Russ and Chapman 1984; Schroedl 1986b). It is hypothesized that the primary function of these pits was the storage of non-native domestic tubers, such as Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, and turnips, which became important components of Cherokee diet after 1750 (Evans 1979; Klinck and Talman 1970; Sturtevant 1981). Long term preservation of such root crops requires conditions of darkness, moderate humidity, and constant cool temperatures, and these conditions are easily achieved by subterranean storage in pits or potato banks. It is likely that large storage pits such as Feature 1 were commonly associated with nineteenth century Cherokee households, but may have been located well away from residential structures and have been overlooked in archaeological investigations of nineteenth century occupations.

Features 2 and 3 are consistent in form and construction with substructure pit cellars documented at a number of other nineteenth century Cherokee cabin sites (Baker 1970; Garrow 1979; Polhemus n.d.; Riggs 1987; Schroedl 1986b; Paul Webb personal communication 1995). Pit cellars similar to those at 31CE276 are also documented in nineteenth century southern Anglo-American and African American cabin contexts (Faulkner 1986; Ferguson 1992; Kelso 1984, 1986; McKee 1992, 1993; Polhemus 1980; Stewart-Abernathy 1991; Yentsch 1991). Faulkner (1986) notes that such facilities are common in Anglo-American contexts in the Middle South, and describes a form of pit cellar similar to those characteristic of Cherokee sites:

> The other form is a small square or rectangular pit dug beneath the floor, the wall and floor being of earth or sometimes lined with timber.... Access was through the floor of the room above (Faulkner 1986:54).

Both oral histories and archaeological evidence indicate that small pit cellars were incorporated in Anglo-American cabins in the southern mountains throughout the nineteenth and



Zone A: brown (10YR3/3) sandy silt loam
Zone B: grayish brown (10YR5/2) ashy silt loam; charcoal & daub incl.
Zone C: dark grayish brown (10YR4/3) sandy silt loam mottled with yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay loam
Zone D: heavily mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clay loam
Zone E: dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) clay loam
Zone F: dark brown (10YR3/3) silt loam mottled with yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay loam

Figure 6.8. 31CE276, Feature 3, plan and profile views.

early twentieth centuries (Faulkner 1986; Shelton Johnson, personal communication 1986). Contrary to recent arguments that such features are diagnostic of African American slave contexts (Yentsch 1991), it is apparent that small rectangular substructure root cellars were integral components of southern cabin architecture employed by southern whites, blacks, and Native Americans throughout the nineteenth century.

Historical accounts and primary informants indicate that small square or rectangular pit cellars were principally constructed as storage facilities for root crops, but also served as repositories for other foodstuffs, including cabbages, apples, and canned goods. Frederick Douglass, who recorded his childhood experiences as a slave on a Maryland plantation during the 1830s, describes the location and function of pit cellars in cabin contexts:

> The old cabin, with... its clay floor downstairs, and its dirt chimney,... and the hole curiously dug in front of the fireplace, beneath which grandmammy placed the sweet potatoes to keep them from the frost, was my home (Douglass 1855:43).

As indicated by Douglass, pit cellars within domiciliary structures were often situated immediately next to the hearth, where radiant heat prevented the freezing of pit contents and dried the pit walls. Such placement facilitated the preservation of root crops, such as sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and turnips, which are not freeze tolerant (Phillippe and Walters 1986).

Welch and Jarrett's valuations of Cherokee properties in the study area do not make reference to pit cellars, probably because these "hidden" facilities could not be observed from structure exteriors and the majority of Cherokees did not allow the agents into their houses. In addition, the valuing agents were probably so familiar with root cellars that the presence of such facilities was taken for granted as necessary components of residential structures. A number of Cherokee property claims from the study area document cellar pits within domiciliary structures at the time of removal (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). For instance, George Beamer reported possession of a "hothouse with potatoe cellar", while James Hawkins listed two potato cellars among his abandoned improvements (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). Rose Hawkins claimed that whites stole "$325 in silver buried in the cellar of her house" (Hawkins 1843) and *Junaluska* testified that Hawkins' money "... was carful [sic] put away in a hole under the floor of the house...to prevent its being stold [sic] from her as her [white] neighbors all around her had more of less stold [sic] from them" (*Junaluska* 1843). Fodder (Island Town, Georgia) reported a house with "1 cellar 4 ft. deep & 4 ft. square" and a second cellar "2 ft. deep, 3 ft. by 4 ft." (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842), while Beaver Carrier (Raccoon Town, Georgia) noted a cellar six feet square and three and a half feet deep" (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). These records indcate the widespread occurrence of cellars in Cherokee contexts, and suggest a considerable range of variation in cellar dimensions.

Both historical and archaeological evidence suggest that pit cellars were ubiquitous facilities in early to mid-nineteenth century Cherokee households. Although many eighteenth century Cherokee households maintained substructure pit facilities (Schroedl 1986b), use of rectangular hearth-front root cellars appears to have originated in Anglo-American and African American contexts. The Cherokees' use of hearth-front cellar pits probably commenced soon after their adoption of gable end chimneys and fireplaces during the late eighteenth century. The incorporation of hearth-front pit cellars in Cherokee cabins is illustrative of the degree to which Cherokees adopted Anglo-American architectural modes to suit their changing residential storage needs, and is one element of the convergence of Cherokee and frontier Anglo-American material lifeways.

Although excavations at 31CE276 were limited in scope, a schematic plan of the overall site configuration may be inferred from the spatial arrangement of the three excavated features. All three features are aligned parallel to the slope trend, and a vector drawn from the center of Feature 1 to the center of Feature 2 intersects the third feature. The alignment and relative positioning of the three features suggests that their orientation was originally determined relative to some former element of site structure, presumably the residential cabin described in the 1836–1837 property valuations. If one assumes that the larger rectangular pit, Feature 2, is a hearthfront pit cellar, and that Feature 3 is also a substructure facility, then a hypothetical outline of the *Chewkeeaskee* cabin can be superimposed on the site plan (Figure 6.5). The historically documented dimensions of the cabin, 13 feet by 13 feet, bracket the two features and leave the 1.9 meter space between Features 2 and 3 as a passage aligned with a hypothetical central doorway. This arrangement gives the cabin door a southeastwardly aspect, an optimal orientation for directing winter sunlight and heat through the doorway and into the cabin interior. Feature 1 is located 3.5 meters from the hypothetical south wall of the cabin and was probably peripheral to the yard area.

The proximity of the cabin to the southeastward facing hillside took advantage of reflected and radiant heat from the solar warmed slope and provided protection from northerly winds. The situation of the cabin on a small, discrete colluvial lobe facilitated drainage and runoff around the cabin and helped to maintain a dry cabin floor and pit facilities within the cabin. The elevation of the cabin above the Nottely River floodplain prevented seasonal flooding , but allowed direct access to and surveillance of agricultural plots. The cabin was situated within 20 meters of a perennial spring branch, which presented a ready supply of fresh water for the household. The cabin site also commands a view of nearly two miles along the Nottely River Valley, and six other Cherokee households were within sight of the *Chewkeeaskee* family. This prospect allowed the family to monitor the approach of strangers toward the cabin, and the proximity of other households provided a degree of security in case of emergency.

Archaeological Assemblages

Surface collections and excavations at 31CE276 and 31CE457 recovered a large assemblage of aboriginal ceramics, as well as smaller collections of other native manufactured items, commercially manufactured items, and faunal remains that are attributed to the Removal period occupation of the site. The aboriginally produced ceramic vessel sherds recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead sites (n=456) constitute the most extensive ceramic assemblage yet recovered from a single nineteenth century household context (Table 6.1). Although these wares were presumably generated by a single potter or related group of potters, the assemblage appears quite diverse, with considerable variation evident in surface treatments, rim treatments, and paste characteristics. Aplastic content of the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead ceramics ranges from moderately abundant (~20%) medium sand to abundant grit to sparse inclusions of crushed quartz as large as 1.5 mm in diameter. All sherds exhibit a noticeable component of mica flecks; these appear to be natural constituents of the raw clays rather than intentionally introduced inclusions. In general, the paste of the ceramics appears to be rather poorly prepared, and most sherds evince a 'punky' rather than compact matrix. The degree of firing evident among the *Chewkeeaskee* ceramics varies considerably. Some sherds are overfired and exhibit warping and a chalky texture, perhaps as a result of incidental secondary firing. Others are significantly underfired and are quite friable. Sherd cores generally appear to be thoroughly oxidized, although at least one vessel exhibits a reduced core. Exterior firing clouds are present on the majority of vessel surfaces.

A wide range of sherd colors are represented in the assemblage, and surface hues range from buff and pale bluish gray to tan to grayish brown. Surface colors can vary considerably across the surface of individual vessels, presumably as a result of uneven firing. The generally pale hues observed in the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead collections correspond with nineteenth century Cherokee Galt ceramics (Caldwell 1955) from northern Georgia, which David Hally (1986; personal communication 1988) suggests were the result of firing environments different from those that produced the darker wares characteristic of eighteenth century contexts. Harrington (1908, 1922), who documented traditional Cherokee pottery manufacture in 1907, noted that potter *Iwi Katalsta* preferred firing vessels within the draft controlled environment of her home fireplace rather than using large open firings. The observed shift in vessel colors from eighteenth century to nineteenth century Cherokee wares may correspond with the widespread incorporation of chimneys in Cherokee architecture during the late eighteenth century and a shift to small firings of ceramic vessels within cabin fireplaces.

The interior surfaces of unweathered sherds from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site are well smoothed or burnished and exhibit facets from vessel wall thinning and burnishing. The majority of interior surfaces of unweathered sherds also evince carbonaceous films as a result of smudging.

Table 6.1 Qualla series ceramic sherds recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead sites.

Surface treatment/Decoration	n=
body sherds	
check stamped	155
rectilinear complicated stamped	114
curvilinear complicated stamped	1
eroded	65
indeterminate	17
linear stamped (indet.)	21
plain	3
smoothed (obliterated)	26
stamped (indeterminate)	17
total body sherds	419
rim sherds	
rimstrip (vertically notched)	10
rimstrip (vertically notched) on check stamped body	1
rimstrip (vertically notched) on rectilinear complicated stamped body	8
rimstrip (right oblique notched)	1
rimstrip (punctate) on check stamped body	1
rimstrip (punctate)	2
rimstrip (cane punctate)	1
rimstrip (flattened & notched) on check stamped body	1
rimstrip (flattened & plain)	1
rimstrip (flattened & plain) on check stamped body	1
rimstrip (plain) on check stamped	1
rimstrip (indet.)	2
eroded on check stamped	1
eroded	1
vessel lip only	5
total rim sherds	37
total sherds	456

Ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts indicate that Cherokee potters smudged the interiors of porous, low fired earthenwares as a means of waterproofing the vessels. Elizabeth Taylor, a Cherokee *métis*, described Cherokee ceramics in 1828: "Their dishes are made by themselves of clay, first hardened by burning, then glazed by the smoke of meal bran" (Perdue 1979a:7). Similarly, Harrington (1908) observed that renowned Cherokee potter *Iwi Katalsta* waterproofed her vessels by smudging the interiors with burning corn bran.

All of the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site ceramics appear to have built through successive coiling atop modeled basal disks. Vessel walls appear to have been thinned and regularized by interior scraping rather than through malleation with paddle and anvil. A bivalve shell scraper recovered from Feature 2 is most likely a potter's tool used for thinning vessel walls.

Surface treatments observed on sherds from 31CE276 are primarily check stamped (n=161) or rectilinear complicated stamped (n=122) (Table 6.1) (Figures 6.9, 6.10, 6.11). Indeterminate linear stamped treatments (n=21) occur on small sherds (< 3cm) and are almost certainly fragments of rectilinear complicated stamped designs. Seventeen sherds exhibit some stamped design, but are too small for the motif to be discriminated. Most sherds with smoothed surfaces (n=26) exhibit indistinguishable traces of other treatments that had been smeared or obliterated prior to vessel firing. The original surface treatments could not be determined for 17 small sherds, and an additional 69 small sherds exhibit either completely eroded or spalled surfaces.

At least three distinct check stamped motifs produced by different stamp paddles can be discriminated in the assemblage. One consists of small (~2.2mm), square, equilateral cells evenly arrayed approximately 2.7mm apart. These cells are shallow, indistinct, and smeared in every occurrence. A second check stamped motif is made up of distinct rectangular cells measuring 3.4mm x 3mm and separated by consistent lands measuring 1.2mm in width. A third motif consists of oblique or diamond shaped cells measuring .45mm x .35 mm separated by 2mm wide lands. The cells of this pattern evince wood grain indicating some degree of paddle wear.

Six complicated stamped motifs are represented in the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site assemblage. A single sherd from Feature 1 exhibits a portion of a curvilinear design with lands measuring 2.5mm in width and grooves measuring 2.1mm in width. Rectilinear complicated stamped motifs include two lineblock and two herringbone patterns. One lineblock motif consists of line filled panels with narrow (.8mm) lands and (1.5mm) grooves (Figure 6.10b). The other lineblock pattern consists of narrow element line filled panels surrounding an open panel crossed with an 'X.' Two herringbone pattern rectilinear complicated stamped motifs are represented, one consisting of narrow lands and grooves (1.6mm dia.) and one with broad lands and grooves (2.2mm dia.). Sherds of a large jar recovered from both Features 2 and 3 bear an overstamped angular complicated design (Figures 6.9b, 6.10c) with broad lands measuring 2.5mm and grooves

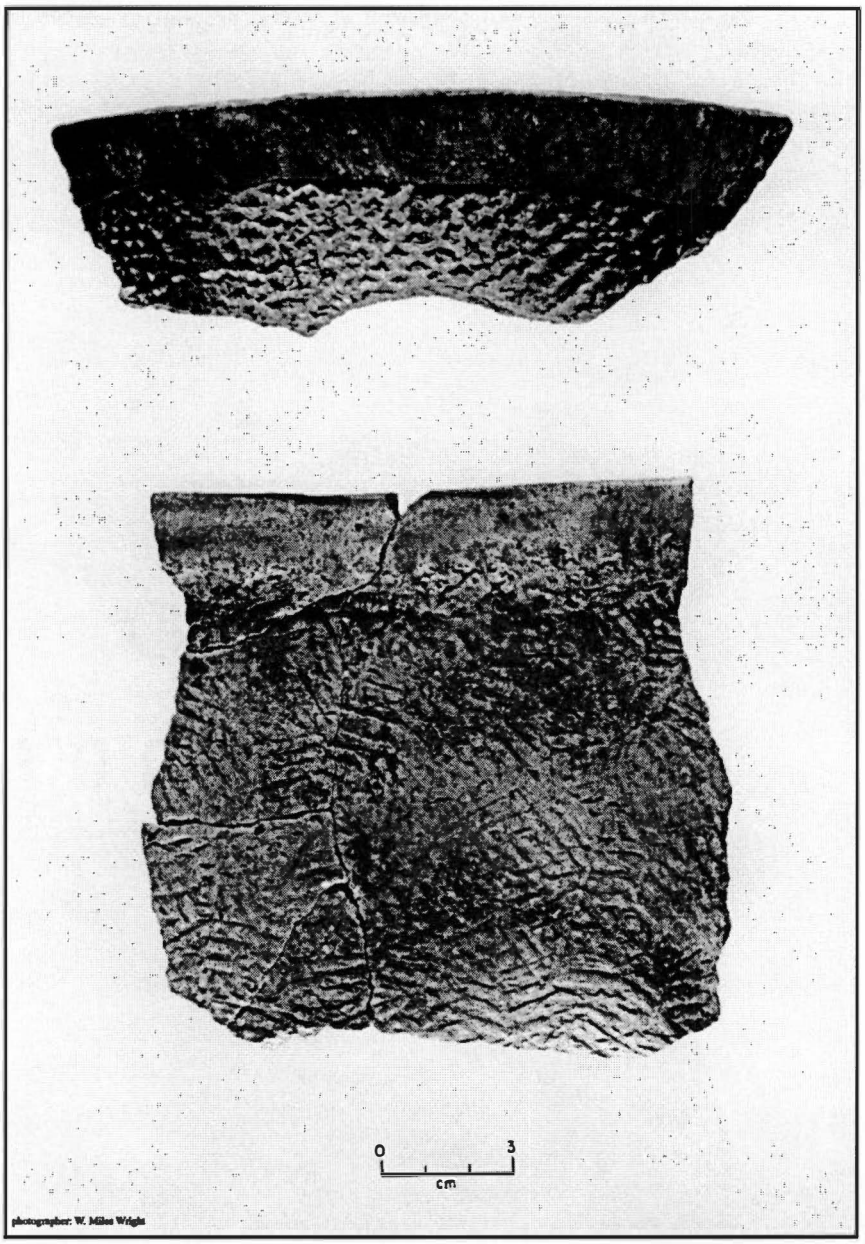


Figure 6.9. Qualla series ceramic vessel sections from 31CE276. top: Qualla check stamped jar rim with plain appliqué rimstrip; bottom: Qualla rectilinear complicated stamped jar rim with notched appliqué rimstrip.

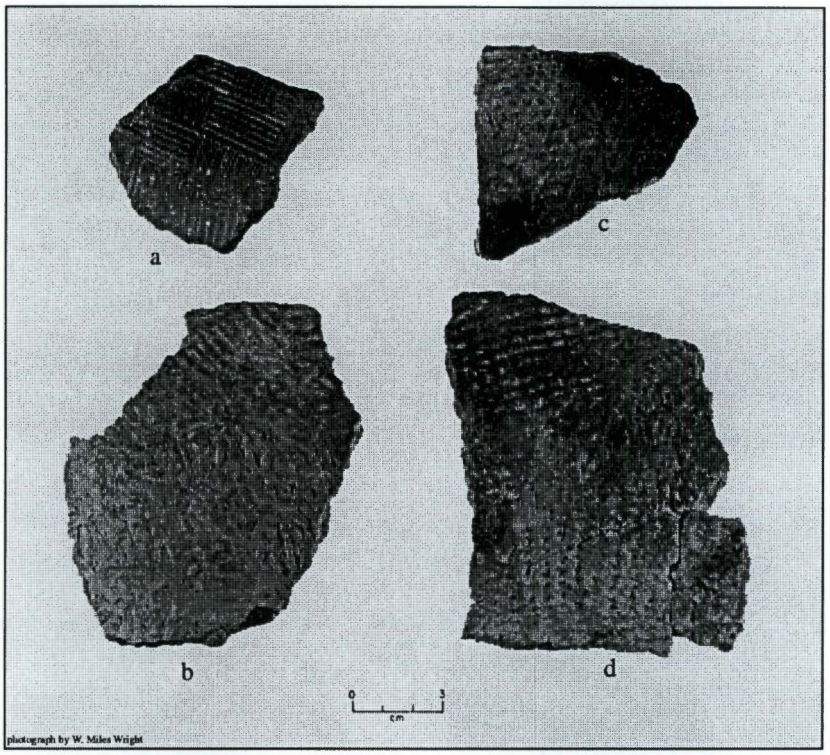


Figure 6.10. Qualla series ceramic body sherds from 31CE276. a., b. Qualla rectilinear complicated stamped sherds; c., d. Qualla check stamped sherds.

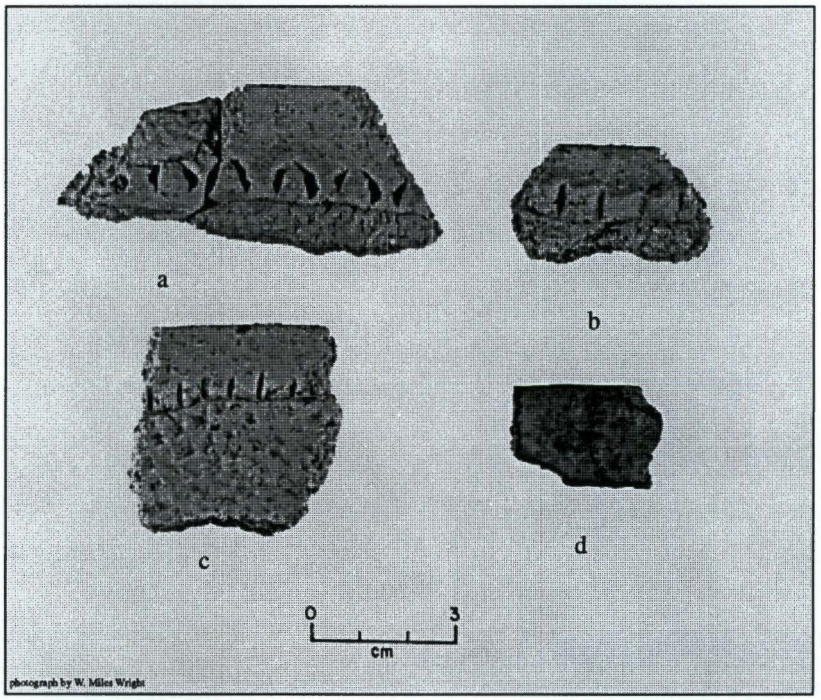


Figure 6.11. Qualla series ceramic rim sherds from 31CE276. a. Qualla check stamped rim with punctate appliqué rimstrip; b., c. Qualla check stamped rims with notched appliqué rimstrips; d. plain appliqué rimstrip.

measuring 2mm. The overall pattern of this stamp cannot be discerned, but includes a central stem with branches emanating at 30° angles.

Rim sherds (n=37) from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site are all either vertical or slightly everted in profile. Lip forms are squared (n=12), rounded (n=10), or slightly everted and rounded (n=1). The majority of vessel rims are elaborated with appliqué rimstrips, which constitute the uppermost coils applied to vessel rims and form the exterior two-thirds of vessel lips. Most of these rimstrips are flattened so that they are parallel to and nearly flush with the vessel wall. Two vessels evince plain rimstrips (Figure 6.9, 6.11); others exhibit rimstrips manipulated by vertical notching (Figure 6.11b, c), finger pinching (Figure 6.11a), or punctation with a bifurcate stylus that produced an effect of opposing brackets (Figure 6.11a). Rimstrip widths vary considerably on individual vessels and between vessels. Rimstrips range in width from 1.38cm to 2.44cm.

Distinctive and unique combinations of surface treatment design motifs, rim treatments, and paste composition indicate a minimum of 17 ceramic vessels represented in the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin assemblage. These include five globular jars with recurvate profiles and moderately constricted necks as well as five low walled pans with flat or slightly rounded bases. At least six vessels exhibit check stamped surfaces, nine have rectilinear complicated stamped surfaces, and one is curvilinear complicated stamped.

The *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site ceramics are consistent in all respects with the Qualla ceramic series, which is defined by Egloff (1967) and Keel (1976) as the diagnostic historic Cherokee ware of southwestern North Carolina. Egloff provides the following description of the ware:

> The Qualla Series is marked by a number of diagnostic features which clearly separate it from ceramics of an earlier date. The series possesses the basic attributes of the Lamar style horizon: folded finger impressed rim fillets; large, sloppy, carved stamps, and bold incising.... The moderate to abundant quantities of grit coupled with a partial burnishing of the vessel's interior make Qualla sherds distinctive even when the exterior surface finish is obliterated (Egloff 1967:34–35).

Eighteenth century Estatoe Phase ceramics (Hally 1986) from the upper Savannah River drainage, and nineteenth century Boyd and Galt ceramics (Caldwell 1955, Hally 1986) from the upper Chattahoochee and Coosa drainage areas (Ledbetter et al. 1987, Riggs 1993) are closely comparable to Qualla ceramics. These wares are diagnostic of historic Cherokee occupations across northwestern South Carolina and northern Georgia. The *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site ceramics closely resemble nineteenth century Cherokee wares from Georgia illustrated by Dickens (1979:27) and Caldwell (1955). Similar wares are documented in nineteenth century Cherokee contexts in eastern Tennessee (Riggs 1987).

The Qualla ceramic tradition was especially long lived in southwestern North Carolina, where the earliest Qualla wares are distinguished in archaeological contexts dating to the late fifteenth century (Dickens 1979), and Qualla-like wares are dated to the early fifteenth century

(Riggs et al. 1997). Cherokee potters continued to produce distinctive Qualla series wares until the early twentieth century (Fewkes 1944, Harrington 1922). During the 1880s and 1890s, Bureau of American Ethnology ethnologists Mooney and Palmer and representatives of the Valentine Museum collected contemporary Qualla tradition vessels from eastern Cherokees. Harrington (1922) documented the work of one of the last traditional Cherokee potters in 1907, and collected both vessels and potter's tools from *Iwi Katalsta*. Many of the vessels collected by these early ethnologists bear striking resemblances to the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site ceramics (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.5). Like the ceramics from 31CE276, the ethnographic vessels are mainly jars and pans with check stamped or rectilinear complicated stamped surfaces and rims with notched rimstrips.

The prominence of traditional ceramic wares at the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead sites is particularly noteworthy inasmuch as it indicates the continued vitality of the Cherokee ceramic tradition during the Removal period and implies the functional essentiality of native ceramics in Cherokee households. The prevalence of these wares counters suggestions that Cherokee pottery was essentially moribund by this late date, and belies the infrequent incidence of traditional ceramics in Cherokee spoliation claims. The abundance of Qualla series ceramics at the *Chewkeeaskee* Farmstead sites, and the marked paucity of commercially manufactured ceramics and cookwares, appears to denote the strong retention of traditional foodways and dining modes among the site's monolingual fullblood inhabitants. This is a culturally conservative pattern intimated, but not fully developed, by the Cherokee spoliation claims.

Other artifacts reflective of native technological traditions include a bivalve shell scraper, a deer ulna awl, and a fragment of a carved chlorite schist tobacco pipe. A bivalve shell (*Lampsilis fasciola*; rt. valve) recovered from Feature 2 displays extreme use wear along the lateral edge, which is modified from the natural excurvate profile to a straight edge measuring 4.45cm in length (Figure 6.12). This pattern of wear is observed in bivalve shells recovered from historic Cherokee contexts at the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987) and the Lum-Moss site (Baker 1970), and the authors hypothesize that the shells functioned as potter's tools. Palmer collected a similar bivalve "shell for scraping and smoothing pottery" (National Anthropological Archives Acc. 63070) from eastern Cherokees at Yellow Hill in 1881. Harrington (1922) and Fewkes (1944) both note the use of bivalve shell scrapers by traditional Cherokee potters, who used them to thin the walls of green vessels. The incidence of a probable potter's tool at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin is congruent with the high frequency of native ceramics at the site, and lsupports the assumption that some, if not all, of these ceramics were produced by a potter (or potters) resident in the household.

Feature 2 deposits also yielded a complete bone awl manufactured from the right ulna of an immature white-tailed deer (Figure 6.12). The proximal end of the ulna appears unmodified, and

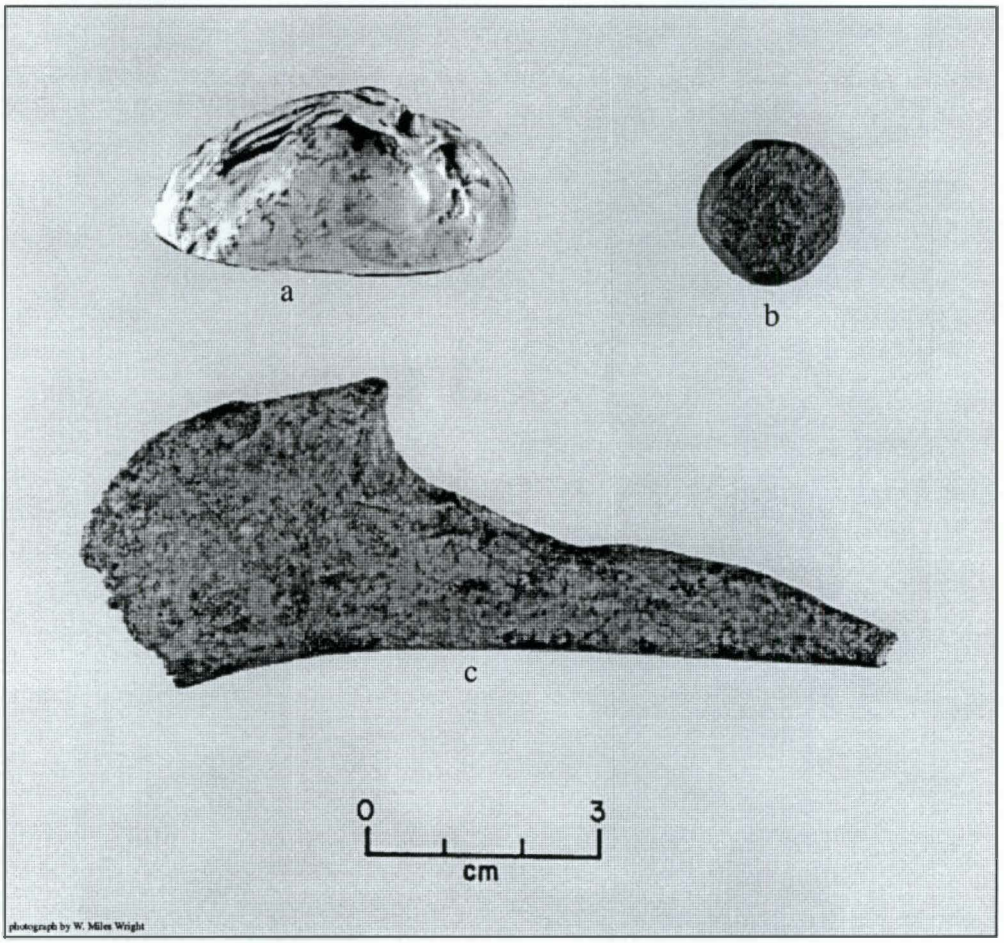


Figure 6.12. Native technologies represented at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site. a. bivalve shell scraper; b. chlorite schist tobacco pipe blank fragment; c. deer ulna awl.

the olecranon is unfused but present. The articular facets inferior to the trochlear notch are trimmed away (presumably to facilitate gripping), and the diaphysis of the ulna is trimmed to produce a point at the distal end. The entire tool measures 10.67cm in length. The bone tool exhibits use polish, which extends from the rounded tip approximately five centimeters up the diaphysis. This polish is well developed on raised surfaces, but is absent from depressed areas of the bone. This extensive wear pattern suggests that the tool was used not as a perforator for fabric or leather, but was instead used with a stiffer material which did not contact all of the bone's surfaces. It is hypothesized that the deer ulna awl was a basketmaker's tool used for separating and positioning cane or wood splints in the weaving process. James (1902) depicts a similar caprid ulna awl which he identifies as a basketmaker's tool collected from ethnographic context in the American West. Mason (1904) notes that bone awls were ubiquitous in nineteenth century Native American basketmaker's toolkits, and states "The basketmaker's awl of bone, the old aboriginal implement, may be seen at work in many camps" (Mason 1904:218). If the tool from 31CE276 was indeed used in basketweaving, its occurrence suggests that members of the *Chewkeeaskee* household were engaged in basket production, one of the longest lived Cherokee material traditions. Spoliation claims from the study area indicate that the majority of Cherokee households possessed cane baskets for domestic use (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842), or sale to whites living near the Cherokee frontiers (Duggan and Riggs 1991).

Deer ulna awls similar to the specimen from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site are documented from archaeological contexts throughout North America, and date as early as the mid-Holocene (Cook 1976, DeJarnette et al. 1962, Fowler 1959, Lewis and Lewis 1961, Winters 1969). In addition, elderly eastern Cherokee informants specifically recall seeing such awls in use as recently as the early twentieth century (David Moore, personal communication 1991). Like the native made ceramics from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site, the deer ulna awl reflects the survival of a traditional technology in a period when the Cherokees were intensifying their use of industrially produced consumer goods and abandoning many native technologies.

A carved chlorite schist disk (Figure 6.12) recovered from Feature 2 is the only lithic artifact recovered from 31CE276 that can be directly attributed to the Removal period occupation of the site. This disk appears to be a portion of a carved stone tobacco pipe that was broken in manufacture. The lateral edges are faceted as a result of knife carving; the faces of the disk are sheared on cleavage planes and reflect the failure of the pipe blank in the rough carving stage. This fragment measures 1.9cm in diameter and .83cm in thickness. Carved stone smoking pipe production was common among the mountain Cherokees from the early eighteenth century (Schroedl and Riggs 1989; Setzler and Jennings 1941) throughout the nineteenth century (Witthoft 1949), and chlorite schist pipe fragments are documented at a number of other Removal

period Cherokee sites in the study area. Cherokee stone carvers produced tobacco pipes for their own use and for trade to other Cherokees, other native groups, and whites. This trade was especially long lived. Both Adair (1775) and Timberlake (1763) commented on Cherokee stone pipes, and late eighteenth century travelers Steiner and de Schweinitz (Williams 1928) and Louis-Philippe (Becker 1970) noted a minor commerce in carved stone pipes. The continuation of a pipe trade during the study period is indicated by the accounts of Hunter's store at Murphy, which include locally carved stone pipes valued at $.25 for plain versions and $.43 for effigy pipes (Hunter 1836-1838). Recent excavations of slave quarters at the McComb Site in Cherokee County, N.C., have recovered a number of carved chlorite schist pipes of apparent Cherokee manufacture (Larry Kimball, personal communication 1999). It is likely that such pipes were acquired either through direct trade between black slaves and Cherokee producers or through store exchange.

Surface and feature contexts at 31CE276 and 31CE457 also yielded a small collection of commercially manufactured materials that appear to be associated with the Removal period Cherokee occupation of the site. These include nine sherds of refined earthenwares, four fragments of alkaline glazed stoneware, a brass kettle fragment, three glass container fragments, a brass button, a brass harness boss, four glass beads, one lead shot and eight fragments of tinware (Table 6.2).

Only three of the refined earthenware sherds were recovered from excavated feature contexts. One blue shell edged whiteware plate or platter rim and one plain whiteware body sherd were recovered from the surface of Feature 1; a dark blue transfer printed pearlware/whiteware cup rim derives from the basal deposit of Feature 2. The cup, which measured four inches in diameter, is printed on both interior and exterior surfaces with an early 'historical blue' pattern with foliage, and exhibits a cable-like border just below the interior rim (Figure 6.13). Refined earthenware sherds from the site surface include two small blue shell edged pearlware plate rims, one green shell edged pearlware plate rim, one plain shell edged whiteware plate rim, one hand-painted whiteware cup rim, and one plain pearlware body sherd. All of the alkaline glazed stoneware sherds were recovered from the surfaces of the two sites. These three vessel body sherds and one strap handle fragment represent large hollowware forms such as crocks, jars, or jugs used for food storage or processing.

The low frequency of commercial tablewares and stonewares in the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site assemblage is noteworthy. In this respect, the site collections correspond to early nineteenth century Cherokee assemblages documented at Citico (Ford 1982), Starnes (Milligan 1969), Cullowhee (David Moore, personal communication 1993), Coosawattee (Garrow 1979), and Hickory Log (Paul Webb, personal communication 1993). By contrast, assemblages from other

Table 6.2. Commercially manufactured materials recovered from 31CE276 and 31CE457.

Ceramic Sherds

Ware	Form	Portion	Interior decoration	Exterior decoration	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware					
	holloware (indet.)	body	plain	plain	2
	holloware (indet.)	handle	plain	plain	1
pearlware					
	cup	rim & body	transfer printed (historical blue)	transfer printed (historical blue)	1
whiteware					
	plate	rim	blue shell edge decorated	plain	3
	plate	base	plain	plain	1
	plate	rim	plain shell edge decorated	lain	1
	plate	rim	green shell edge decorated	plain	1
	saucer	rim	black hand painted line	plain	1
	cup	rim	red spatter decorated	red spatter decorated	1
	holloware (indet.)	body	plain	brown annular decorated	5
	saucer	body	hand painted (polychrome)	plain	1
	saucer	body	hand painted (blue)	plain	1
	flatware (indet)	body	hand painted (magenta)	plain	1
	indet.	body	plain	plain	1

Other Commercially Manufactured Items

Item	Description	N=
harness boss	cast brass disk with edge perforations	1
iron harness rivet	domed brass head	1
button	cast brass disk with cast eye	1
sheet iron container fragment		6
brass kettle fragment	recycled (cut; folded)	1
glass tumbler	panelled; leaded	1
container glass (bottle)	dark olive-green; mold blown with panels	1
glass bead	wire wound; violet (5mmx3mm)	1
glass bead	wire wound; violet (6mmx4mm)	1
glass bead	clear green; facetted (5.5mmx5mm)	1
glass bead	brick red wound over clear gray core (3mmx2.7mm)	1
lead shot	3mm	1
iron fragment (indet.)		3

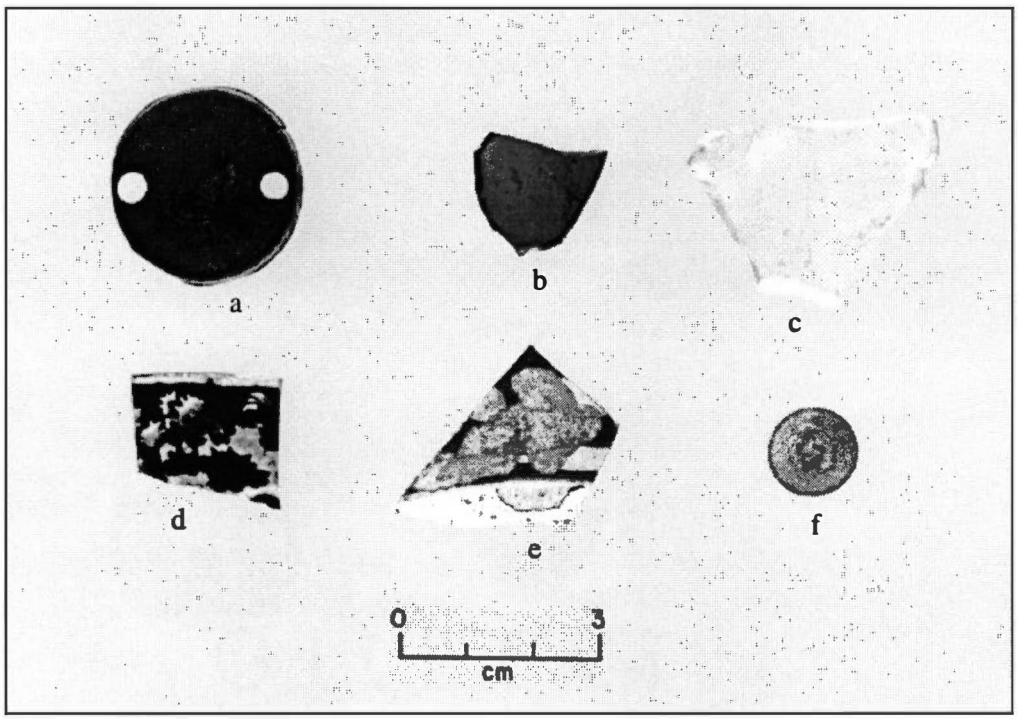


Figure 6.13. Commercially manufactured goods recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site. a: brass harness boss; b. olive-green glass bottle fragment; c. leaded glass tumbler fragment; d. "historical blue" transfer printed pearlware cup sherd; e. annular decorated whiteware sherd; f. brass button.

nineteenth century Cherokee contexts such as the Christie Cabin Site (Riggs 1997), the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987), the Old Bark of Chota Cabin (Schroedl 1986b; Riggs 1987), the Elijah Hicks Cabin Site (Baker 1970), and the Moses Downing Cabin Site (Ledbetter, et al 1987), exhibit relatively high frequencies of commercially produced ceramics. Refined earthenware plates, cups, and saucers are represented in practically every Cherokee spoliation claim from the study area; such wares were relatively accessible and inexpensive for local Cherokees, who could purchase plates at Hunter's store for $.125 apiece and cups and saucers for $.0625 apiece. Nevertheless, Hunter's accounts indicate that sales of refined earthenwares were infrequent, and all such purchases were made by *métis* individuals. The low incidence of refined earthenwares at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site indicates that while the Chewkeeaskee family possessed refined earthenware service vessels, these wares probably saw infrequent use and were not subject to high rates of breakage and replacement.

A single cut and folded sheet brass fragment recovered from the 31CE276 site surface probably derives from a brass kettle (Table 6.2). Brass kettles were favored trade items among the Cherokees from the inception of the British trade, and brass kettle fragments are documented in most Cherokee archaeological contexts dating to the eighteenth century (Baden 1983, Polhemus 1987, Russ and Chapman 1984, Schroedl 1986b). Brass kettles appear to have been largely supplanted by cheaper cast iron cookware and tinware vessels by the early nineteenth century, but many Cherokee families maintained sheet brass vessels at the time of removal. Thirty Cherokee spoliation claims from the study area include brass kettles valued from $1.00 to $10.00 each.

Investigations at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site recovered very little glassware that could be attributed to the Removal period site occupation (Table 6.2). A fragment of a clear leaded glass paneled tumbler recovered from the site surface may be associated with the *Chewkeeaskee* household component, or may relate to the mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American occupation of the site (Figure 6.13). Another chip of clear leaded glass recovered from Feature 2 may also represent a tumbler fragment. Such glass tumblers are documented from the Removal period Cherokee contexts at the Christie Cabin Site (this report) as well as earlier nineteenth century Cherokee contexts at the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987), and Citico (Ford 1982). Glass tumblers are also documented in ten Removal era spoliation claims from the study area, and were assigned values ranging from $.125 to $.50 apiece (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). A single olive green bottle fragment recovered from the site surface appears to be a portion of a bitters bottle. The association of this bottle with the Cherokee component or the succeeding Anglo-American occupation of the site is unclear.

Eight fragments of sheet iron from Feature 2 contexts appear to derive from tinware vessels and exhibit wall curvature consistent with larger containers such as the tin buckets frequently

documented in Cherokee spoliation claims. However, these objects are too fragmentary to permit definite attribution of form.

Four glass beads recovered from Feature 2 are the only personal ornamentation items represented in the assemblage (Table 6.2). One of these is a small (3mm dia. x 2.5mm l.) embroidery bead of the Cornaline d'Aleppo (Kidd Type IVa5) type with a brick red exterior over a translucent gray core. The remaining three beads are larger necklace types, including a translucent aqua wire wound bead (Kidd Type WI6) that measures 6mm dia x 4.1mm l; a translucent bright blue wire wound bead (Kidd Type WI7) that measures 5mm dia. x 3.4mm l; and a bright green faceted (17 facets) bead (Kidd Type If3) that measures 5.8mm dia x 4.8l (Kidd and Kidd 1970).

Glass beads are ubiquitous in early to mid-nineteenth century domestic contexts throughout the Southeast, and the incidence of beads at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site does not constitute a uniquely native pattern. Although infrequent, Cherokee spoliation claims from the study area document glass beads, beaded garters, and beaded belts (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842), and Evans (1977) indicates that beaded belts were a common element of Cherokee men's garb in the region. Glass beads for the production of beaded items were locally available at Thomas' and Hunter's stores at prices ranging from $.10 to $.25 per strand.

Surface collections at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site recovered a single spun face brass button (Figure 6.13) with a soldered eye [South Type 18] (South 1964:120). The plain button face measures 1.35cm in diameter and .85mm in thickness. The reverse side bears an embossed wreath. Such buttons, which frequently were gilded, were used on men's vests. Accounts from Hunter's include sales of gilt buttons (@ $.04 ea.) in conjunction with the purchase of a Swandown vest pattern.

Two elements of tack hardware, a cast brass bridle boss and an associated brass headed iron rivet, were recovered from Feature 2 (Table 6.2). The boss (Figure 6.13) is circular in plan view and measures 2.96cm in diameter and .25cm in thickness. The obverse face of the boss is slightly convex, and exhibits two drilled holes (.41cm dia.) on opposing edges. These holes presumably accommodated rivets that attached the boss to the bridle leathers. The reverse side is slightly concave with a sharply defined lip and a central casting lug. The iron rivet exhibits a domed cast brass head that measures 8.1mm in diameter and 4.6mm in height. The iron shank is square in cross section and measures 1.44cm in length and 3.2mm in thickness. It is likely that the rivet and boss were originally part of the same unit.

Bridles are a relatively common component of Removal period spoliation inventories and occur in more than 20% of claims from the study area. Values assigned to bridles range from $13.00 for a fancy silver mounted set down to $.50 for the plainest model. Most bridles were

priced around a median value of $1.50. It is likely that the bridle represented by the brass boss from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site was of average quality and probably corresponds with the $1.00-$2.00 bridles listed in spoliation claims.

A single undeformed lead shot (3.3mm; no. 4) and one lead droplet comprise the only munitions recovered from the site, and are the only artifacts related to household production activities (Table 6.2). These denote the presence of firearms in the *Chewkeeaskee* household, and use of such firearms in subsistence procurement is implied. Small shot, such as the one recovered at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site, were typically used for hunting small game, and may have been used to charge either a smoothbore gun or a rifle.

Features 2 and 3 also yielded a small, yet informative assemblage of faunal remains that document aspects of the family's subsistence efforts. This collection (Table 6.3) includes remains of white-tailed deer, pig, fox squirrel, red bellied woodpecker, box turtle, bullfrog, toad, and fish and eggshell fragments, a diverse assemblage that illustrates broad ranging use of both domestic and wild food resources.

White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) are represented by seven elements (MNI=2) and it is likely that unidentified large and medium sized mammal remains (NISP=30) are largely attributable to deer. The importance of deer in Removal period Cherokee subsistence is unclear. Deer constituted the single most important source of animal protein in eighteenth century Cherokee diets, and the deerskin trade formed the basis of the Cherokee commercial economy throughout the Colonial period. However, contemporary accounts suggest that white-tailed deer populations in the Southern Appalachians declined dramatically during the late eighteenth century as a result of overhunting by Cherokees and Anglo-Americans. The continued role of deer in Cherokee subsistence and commercial economies is indicated by the incidence of deerskins and dried venison in spoliation claims from the study area. However, the importance of venison in the Cherokee diet diminished with the expansion of domestic animal husbandry and widespread availability of pork and beef.

Domestic swine (*Sus scrofa*) are represented in the assemblage by two teeth. The incidence of pig remains is congruent with the prevalence of swine in Cherokee spoliation claims, which indicate hogs as a major component of Cherokee wealth and as an important element of Cherokee diet.

One fox squirrel (*Sciurus niger*) parietal recovered from Feature 2 reflects the contribution of small wild mammals in Cherokee household diet. Although fox squirrels are essentially extirpated from the study area today, they were probably present on the pine wooded ridge adjacent to the

Table 6.3. Faunal remains recovered from 31CE276.

Common name	Taxa	Element	N=
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	femus	1
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	metatarsal	2
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	phalange (first)	1
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	rib	1
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	scapula	1
white-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	ulna	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular incisor	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	maxillary incisor	1
large mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment (indet.)	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment (indet.)	21
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	rib fragment	7
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	vertebra (lumbar)	1
fox squirrel	*Sciurus niger*	parietal	1
mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	bone fragment (indet.)	36
small rodent	Cricetidae	humerus	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	incisor	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	molar	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	vertebra (lumbar)	2
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	eggshell fragment	149
red bellied woodpecker	*Centrurus carolinus*	humerus	1
box turtle	*Terrapene carolina*	pelvis	1
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	humerus	3
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	radius	2
toad	*Bufo sp.*	radius	1
toad	*Bufo sp.*	ulna	1
fish	Pisces indet.	pectoral spine	1
fish	Pisces indet.	scale	168
fish	Pisces indet.	spine	4
indeterminate	indet.	bone fragment (indet.)	25
	Fusconaia subrotunda	valve	1
	Lampsilis fasciola	valve	1
terrestrial gastropod	indet.	shell	2
		total	441

site during the study period. Other small mammal remains in the collection include mice (Cricetidae), which may have been resident within or trapped within the pit features (see Whyte 1988).

A single humerus of a red bellied woodpecker (*Centurus carolinus*) recovered from Feature 2 documents the exploitation of small woodland birds by the *Chewkeeaskee* household. Contemporary accounts and later ethnographic studies indicate that nineteenth century Cherokees considered small birds of practically every variety (esp. passerines) as potentially comestible. Birds occasionally were taken with firearms or crib traps, but were most frequently killed with blowguns (see Chapter 5).

A box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*) pelvic fragment from Feature 2 deposits indicates probable use of land terrapins as a food resource. The capture and consumption of such "slow game" indicates an inclusive diet in which a broad spectrum of protein sources were exploited. The breadth of the *Chewkeeaskee* family's diet is further indicated by the incidence of frog and toad remains within Feature 2. The bullfrog (*Rana catesbiana*) remains clearly represent foodstuffs, and are documented in a number of other nineteenth century Cherokee contexts (Riggs 1987). Modern Cherokee informants indicate the former seasonal popularity of frog soup, a stew which incorporated whole frog carcasses (Laura Hughes, personal communication 1990). Mooney (1900:306) observed that Cherokee ballplayers avoided eating frogs because they feared that the brittleness of frog bones might be conferred by consumption. The toad remains recovered at the site may also represent food refuse, but more probably reflect the accidental entrapment and inclusion of toads within the pit features (Whyte 1988). Toads seek cool, moist environments such as those offered by open pits, and frequently become entrapped and die in such settings.

Fish remains recovered from Feature 2 include five nondiagnostic spines and 168 scales. Fish were an important supplement to Cherokee diets during the spring and summer months when fresh meat was not readily available (Mooney 1900), and fish remains are documented in practically every nineteenth century Cherokee context excavated to date (Bogan et al. 1986, Riggs 1987). Cherokee families exploited a wide variety of fish taken by angling, spearfishing, poisoning, and trapping, and spoliation claims from the study area document numerous fishtraps and fishgigs (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). Hunter's store records document receipt of fresh fish as payment on Cherokee accounts, an indication that fish also constituted a minor commercial commodity for Cherokee households in the study area (Hunter 1836-1838).

Eggshell fragments (n=149) recovered from all three pit features are almost certainly attributable to domestic chicken. Almost 80% of spoliation claims from the study area include chickens, which Cherokee families maintained primarily as a source of eggs and incidentally as table fowl. Chicken eggs were a staple source of protein in Cherokee diets, with notable

advantages such as readily consumable unit size and long shelf life. Cherokee families in the study area also sold chickens and eggs to Anglo-American markets, and Hunter's store accounts document payment for commercial goods with eggs and chickens (Hunter 1836-1838).

Two freshwater bivalve shells (*Fusconaia subrotunda*; *Lampsilis fasciola*) were recovered from Feature 2. Both species were probably locally available in the Nottely River prior to the TVA impoundment of Hiwassee Lake. As previously indicated, one of these niad valves exhibits wear patterns indicative of its use as a pottery scraper. The other valve may also be a potter's tool, but lacks distinctive wear patterning.

The prevalence of wild fauna in the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site collections indicates a substantial degree of dependence on hunting, fishing, and gathering for household subsistence. Such core reliance on a wide range of wild food resources suggests continuity of broadly based traditional subsistence strategies rather than adoption of Western agrarian patterns, which emphasize reliance on farmstead products for subsistence needs and market use.

Discussion

Archaeological investigations at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (31CE276) and 31CE457 recovered contextual and material evidence of a Cherokee single family farmstead occupation dating ca. 1830-1838. Documentary evidence suggests that the *Chewkeeaskee* household resembled the great majority of Cherokee families in the region in terms of size, ethnic composition, housing, and membership in a close-knit kin based community. *Chewkeeaskee*'s agricultural holdings substantially exceeded the regional average, and may indicate efforts at market scale production, although the 1835 census documents typical subsistence scale production of maize. *Chewkeeaskee*'s venture into commercial contracting also indicates an unusual, albeit unsuccessful, bid for profit. Although *Chewkeeaskee*'s attempts at wealth building may indicate a more Westernized outlook on the part of this household, archaeological evidence indicates that the *Chewkeeaskee* family remained comparatively conservative in cultural orientation and maintained a relatively impoverished material lifestyle. Material collections recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site closely resemble late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Cherokee archaeological assemblages from the Starnes site (Milligan 1969), Citico (Ford 1982), the Coosawattee Cabin Site (Garrow 1979), Lum-Moss (Baker 1970), the Poole site (Alvey et al. 1993) and 31CE290 (Riggs 1995, Riggs and Kimball 1996). All of these collections exhibit relatively low artifact diversity, with high proportions of native ceramics and few commercially manufactured artifacts. Because these assemblages substantially resemble late Colonial period collections, Riggs (1987; 1989) has interpreted this configuration as evidence of relative stasis in Cherokee material lifeways that derived from cultural conservatism and the

maintenance of traditional ideologies that governed the accumulation and display of material property. This pattern may be contrasted with nineteenth century Cherokee household assemblages from the Old Bark Cabin locality at Chota-Tanase (Schroedl 1986b), the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987), the Elijah Hicks Cabin Site (Baker 1970), the Moses Downing Cabin Site(Ledbetter et al. 1987) and the Christie Cabin Site (Riggs 1996, 1997), all of which exhibit high assemblage diversity and an abundance of manufactured consumer goods. These assemblages, which include high frequencies of European tablewares and household goods, are interpreted as evidence for more westernized material lifestyles in which consumer goods were avidly accumulated, displayed, and utilized within frameworks of meaning informed by western, rather than traditional native, values.

Christie Cabin Site (31CE274)

The Chewkeeaskee farmstead assemblages contrast sharply with those recovered from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274), a single family residential site associated with the John Christie household, an English-speaking *métis* family of substantial means. The Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) is located approximately 2.8km west-northwest of the town of Murphy in Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figure 6.1). The site occupies approximately 600m^2 of a 13 hectare riverbottom on the south side of the Hiwassee River, within Hiwassee Reservoir at river mile 93.75. The site is located 120m south of the preinundation riverbank and 90m east of Kirkland Branch, and occupies the front (riverside) edge of an early Holocene terrace formation (Figure 6.14). A large isolated slate knoll adjacent to the Christie Cabin Site is the dominant topographic feature in the riverbottom (Figure 6.15). The elevation of the site is approximately 1500ft (457.2m) AMSL, and the site surface is seasonally exposed during the normal winter drawdown of Hiwassee Reservoir. Elevations in the surrounding riverbottom range from 1480ft (451.1m) AMSL at the river's edge to 1530ft (466.3m) AMSL on the slate knoll. The moderately steep hills that flank the riverbottom rise to elevations of 2000 ft (609.6m) AMSL.

The horseshoe shaped riverbottom surrounding 31CE274 is a relict river meander crosscut by small spring branches that drain into Kirkland Branch. Soils evident across much of the bottom are orangish brown clayey silt loams, with isolated pockets of gray gleyed clays. The terrace on which 31CE274 is situated consists of a well developed brown sandy silt loam A horizon underlain by an orangish tan clayey silt loam subsoil. Site sediments are substantially deflated (>20cm) as a result of reservoir level fluctuation, and the subsoil is evident in portions of the site.

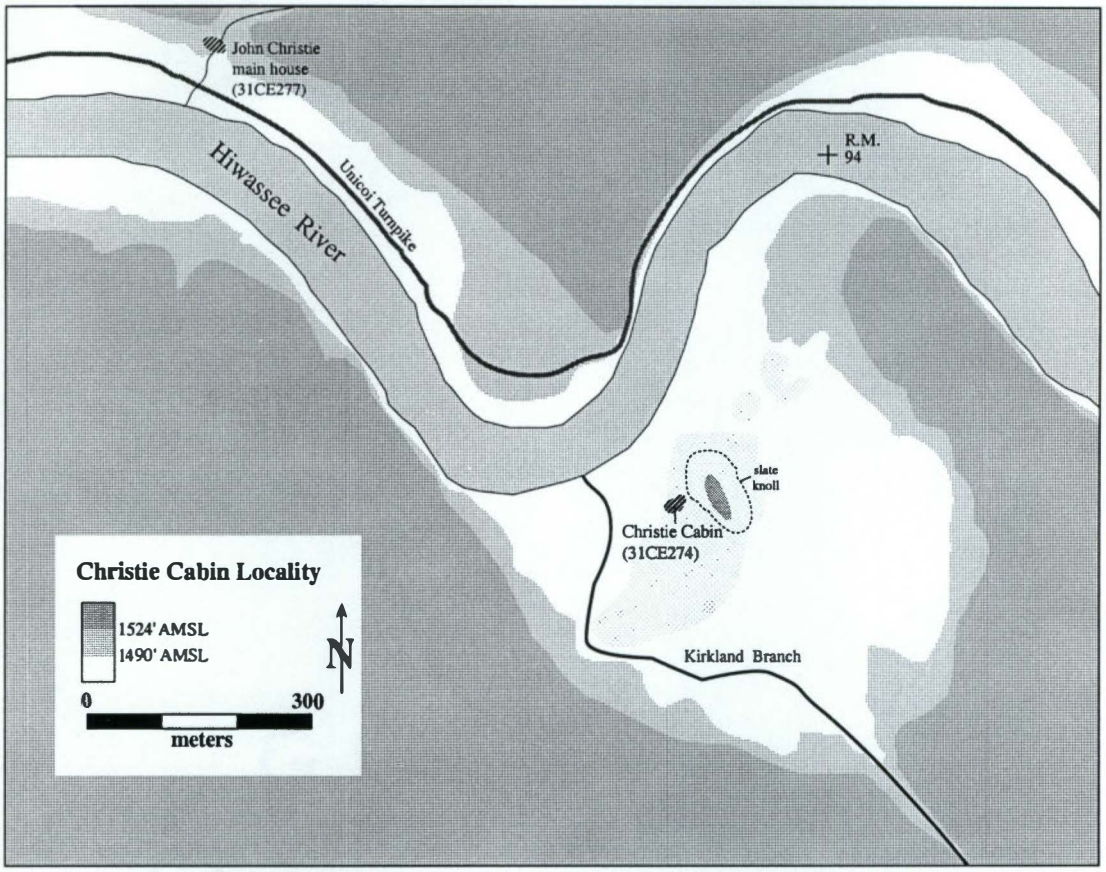


Figure 6.14. Map illustrating the location of the Christie Cabin Site relative to the Hiwassee River, the Unicoi Turnpike, and John Christie's main house.

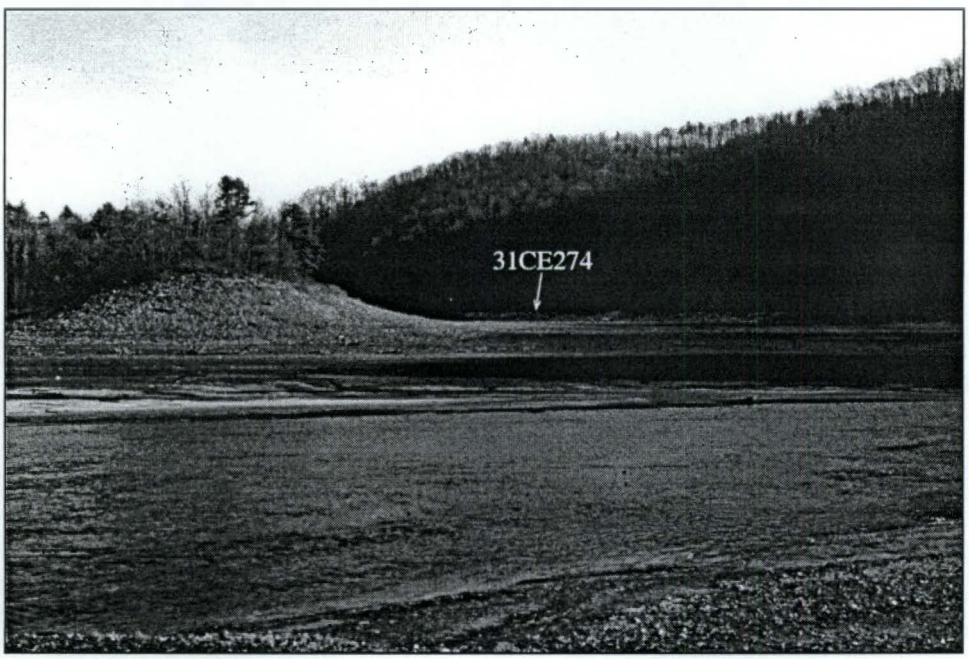


Figure 6.15. View of the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) from the north side of the Hiwassee River.

Historical Context

The Christie Cabin Site is documented in the historical record by the Welch and Jarrett valuations of Cherokee properties and the Army Corps surveys of southwestern North Carolina (U.S. Army 1837–1838). The historical associations of the site are represented in the 1835 Henderson Roll census, the records of Hunter's and Thomas' stores at Murphy, and an 1842 spoliation claim filed by John Christie.

Army surveyor J.K. Stenson's notebook of the January 1838 Unicoi Turnpike survey (Figure 6.16) depicts an unidentified Cherokee house in a location that corresponds closely with 31CE274 (U.S. Army 1837–1838). Identifiable landscape references on Stenson's sketchmap are an isolated knoll on the south side of the Hiwassee River and a rocky prominence on the north side. Welch and Jarrett's valuations of Cherokee properties (1836–1837) indicate that this house and accompanying field belonged to John Christie, a *métis* householder who resided approximately 700m northwest of 31CE274 (Appendix II; Figure 6.14). Welch and Jarrett's appraisals note:

> John Christie living on N.E. side of Highwassee above the mouth of Hanging Dog Creek
> one hewed log house 16-17 - 2 stories high neat puncheon floor stick and clay chimney stone back & jams cracks neatly lined with board roof nailed on $85.00
> one kitchen, 16-16, puncheon floor, stick and clay chimney stone back and jams $25.00
> one stable, shutter, trough rack board roof $12.00
> one corn crib 6-12 ft $5.00
> 2 small houses Each $2 & $1 $3.00
> 18 acres bottomland in cultivation @ $10.00 $180.00
> 26 peach trees in the field @.75 $19.50
> 64 peach trees near the house @ .37_ $24.00
> 3 large apple trees near the house @ $3 $9.00
> One improvement on the west side of the river above the home place [31CE274]
> one cabin 12-12, wood chimney $10.00
> 3 acres upland in cultivation @ $8 $24.00
> 19 peach trees @ .50 $9.50
> (Welch and Jarrett 1837:26).

Stenson mapped and labeled Christie's primary residence on the northeast side of the Hiwassee, and the position of site 31CE274 relative to the main house suggests that 31CE274 represents Christie's second improvement. This is supported by the fact that 31CE274 occupies the only tract of arable land on the west side of the Hiwassee within two miles upstream of John Christie's primary residence, and lies within view of the main house. In addition, the terrace surface at 31CE274 is approximately six meters above normal river level and three acres in extent, thereby corresponding to the property valuation description of "3 acres upland in cultivation." These circumstances foster the designation of 31CE274 as the Christie Cabin Site, John Christie's secondary improvement.

John Christie was a relatively well-to-do *métis* who belonged to the small tier of westernized "middling" farmers in southwestern North Carolina. The total value of Christie's combined real estate holdings (see Appendix 2) ranked among the upper 4% of properties appraised by Welch

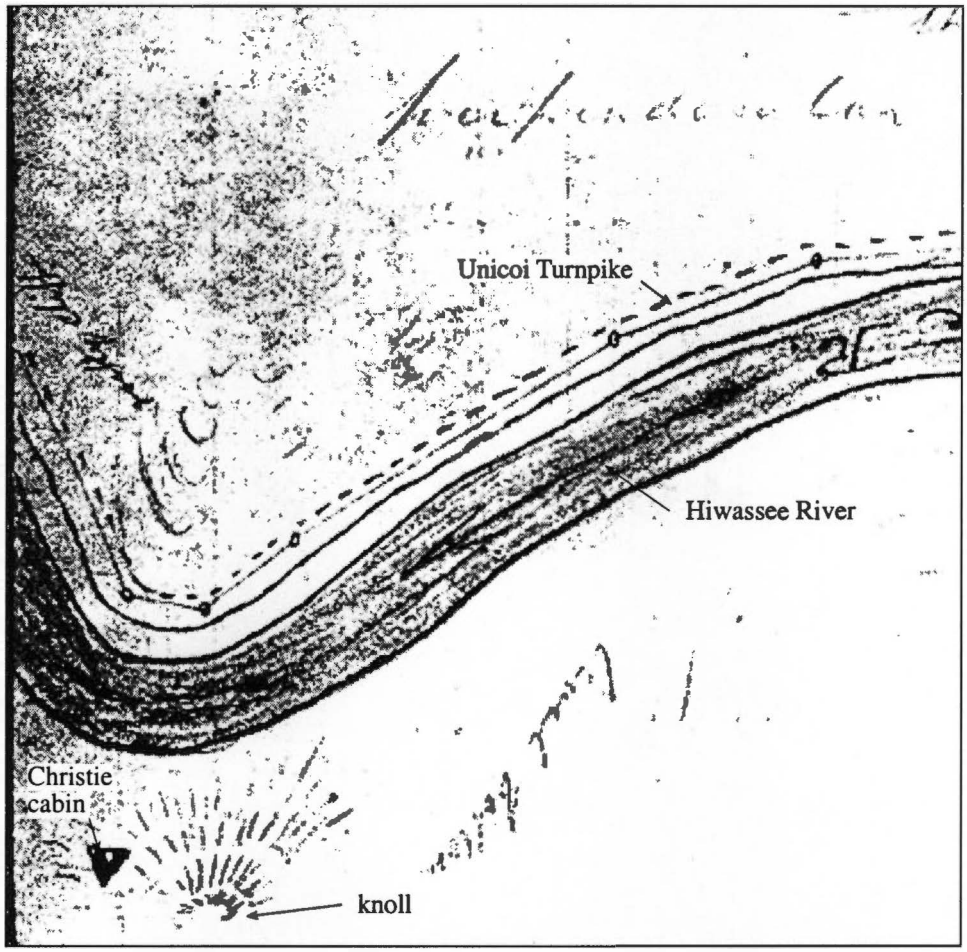


Figure 6.16. 1838 Army survey sketchmap of the Unicoi Turnpike indicating the Christie Cabin and surrounding topography.

and Jarrett (1836–1837). The cluster analysis of real properties (Chapter 4) classifies John Christie's holdings with the farmsteads of William Boling, John Wayne, Sr., *Culsuttahee*, *Jekah*, *Wakee*, Arch, and *Cullahsageesee* on the basis of high dwelling values and moderate sized (13-23 acres) agricultural holdings sufficient to generate ample subsistence and limited market surplus. Christie's 1842 claim (Table 6.4) for spoliation of his chattel property ranks in total value among the top 5% of claims filed by North Carolina Cherokees (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). In the cluster analysis of chattel property data, Christie's losses are grouped with 15 other cases (Cluster 1) distinguished by large herds of livestock, valuable sets of producers' equipment, and relatively valuable arrays of consumers' durable goods.

John Christie and his immediate patrilineal kin constituted the largest *métis* lineage in the region at the time of Removal; various records identify at least 12 Christie surname households resident in the southwestern quadrant of the study area (Appendices 1, 2). All the Christies apparently were descended from John Christie (Sr.), a white trader who resided in the Valley Towns at the end of the eighteenth century (Potter 1982). The elder Christie first appears in the Cherokee historical record in a 1779 memorandum from Robert Dewes to British agent Alexander Cameron, which indicated that Christie participated with Vann, Greaves, Proctor, Springston, Cary, Riley, Hughes, Beamer and other Loyalist traders in Chickamauga raids against Anglo-American backcountry settlements (Dewes 1779). In later years, John Christie, Sr. sired a number of Cherokee children, including Edward Christie (born ca. 1785), Jack Christie (born ca. 1787), John Christie, Jr. (born ca. 1789), Arch Christie (born ca. 1791), George Christie (born ca. 1793), and Betsy Christie (born ca. 1798) (Lena Fourkiller, personal communication 1998; Hamilton and Norris 1998). It is likely that these children issued from at least two different Cherokee wives. Many of John Christie, Sr.'s children and grandchildren (e.g., Ned Christie, Wilson Christie, Jack Christie) appear to have been comparatively well-to-do, and their documented property holdings, household inventories, and store accounts indicate that the Christies as a group exhibited relatively westernized economic orientations and material lifestyles.

When census taker Nathaniel Smith revisited the John Christie, Jr., home in 1835 (see Chapter 3), he found nine quarterblood Cherokees and one fullblood Cherokee, including five males under 18 years of age, one male over 18 years of age, three females under 16 years of age and one female over 16 years of age (Appendix 1). Page's 1838 emigration roster indicates a household of seven, including one male and one female aged 25 to 50 years, one female over 50 years of age, one female aged 10 to 25 years, and three males younger than 10 years. The elder female may represent John Christie's mother, whose co-residence in the John Christie household is indicated by Hunter's store account records. The 1835 census does not document a separate

Table 6.4. Chattel property lost by the John Christie household as a result of the military removal of 1838 (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842).

Item	N=	Value	Item	N=	Value
table	1	$4.00	cattle	22	$308.00
chair	8	$4.00	cow	4	$30.00
firedogs	1 pr	$5.00	cow & calf	3	$45.00
bowl (large "delf")	3	$3.00	chicken	24	$6.00
pitcher ("delf")	4	$2.00	duck	12	$3.00
plate ("delf")	2 sets	$2.25	duck	16	$4.50
plate ("delf")	2 sets	$2.50	hog (large)	8	$40.00
teacups & saucers	2 sets	$2.50	hog (stock)	30	$120.00
tin cup	4	$0.50	horse	1	$35.00
knife & fork	2 sets	$3.00	horse	1	$100.00
pot	1	$2.00	horse	3	$180.00
pot	1	$5.50	gears	1	$8.00
pot	1	$6.00	plow (barshear)	1	$7.00
pot	2	$6.00	plow (coulter)	1	$1.00
tin pan (large)	3	$1.50	plow (shovel)	4	$8.00
tin pan	4	$2.00	weeding hoe	8	$4.00
water pail	1	$0.75	mattock	3	$9.00
water pail	1	$1.00	reaphook	1	$2.00
water pail	2	$1.00	shovel	1	$3.00
tin bucket	2	$2.00	spade	1	$2.00
loom	1	$8.00	auger	1	$0.50
cotton cards	1	$0.75	auger	2	$1.50
wool cards	1	$0.75	ax	2	$5.00
cotton	56 lbs.	$7.00	froe	1	$1.50
wool	18 lbs.	$9.00	handsaw	1	$3.00
thread (wool)	25 yds.	$12.50	drawknife	1	$1.00
cash		$5.00	iron wedge	2	$1.50
gun	1	$18.00			
hat	1	$5.00			

household at the location of 31CE274, nor were any households indicated between those of John Christie and his brother Ned Christie, who lived two and a half miles upstream at the mouth of the Valley River. However, the census does indicate that the John Christie family maintained two dwelling houses, one of which may have been the cabin at 31CE274. This is supported by Welch and Jarrett's appraisal, which notes only one dwelling at John Christie's main improvement and one residential structure at 31CE274. It is considered likely, therefore, that the federal census taker included the occupants of the cabin at 31CE274 in the enumeration of John Christie's household. Christie's previously noted confrontation with federal agent Smith (see Chapter 3) assured that the John Christie household received close scrutiny at the time of the census (Litton 1940).

Although John Christie himself did not reside at 31CE274, it is probable that some of his family occupied the cabin during the Removal period. The Christie Cabin may have been occupied by the elder Mrs. Christie, or by one of the older Christie children (e.g., Caty, Tiney, or Isaac Christie). It is possible that the marriage of Isaac (Willie) Christie to the daughter of *Oostalata Wahchesee* during the mid-1830s (Hunter 1836-1838) occasioned the construction and occupation of the cabin at 31CE274. The household at 31CE274, together with the John Christie household and the Hog Shooter Christie household (located 700m west of John Christie's) constituted a familial cluster or hamlet, a residential pattern characteristic of nineteenth century Cherokee communities.

Although historical documents do not identify the residents of the Removal period cabin at 31CE274, multiple lines of evidence suggest that the cabin occupants were associated with the John Christie household. This study proceeds from the assumption that the archaeological contexts and assemblages at 31CE274 were generated by members of the Christie lineage. It is presumed, therefore, that the Removal period component at the site reflects the archaeological record of a household from the upper socioeconomic ranks of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina.

Archaeological Fieldwork and Site Contexts

The Christie Cabin Site was initially identified on January 20, 1991, during a field reconnaissance of Cherokee house locations depicted in the 1837-38 Army Survey notes (Riggs 1996, 1997). Field inspection of the area depicted on page four of J.K. Stinson's Unicoi Turnpike survey notebook (Figure 6.16) identified an historic Cherokee site component defined by Qualla Series ceramic sherds, whiteware sherds, stoneware sherds and cut nails scattered over 600m^2 of the partially deflated site surface. An intensive surface collection of the site recovered a wide array of diagnostic artifacts consistent with a site occupation dating to the fourth decade of the

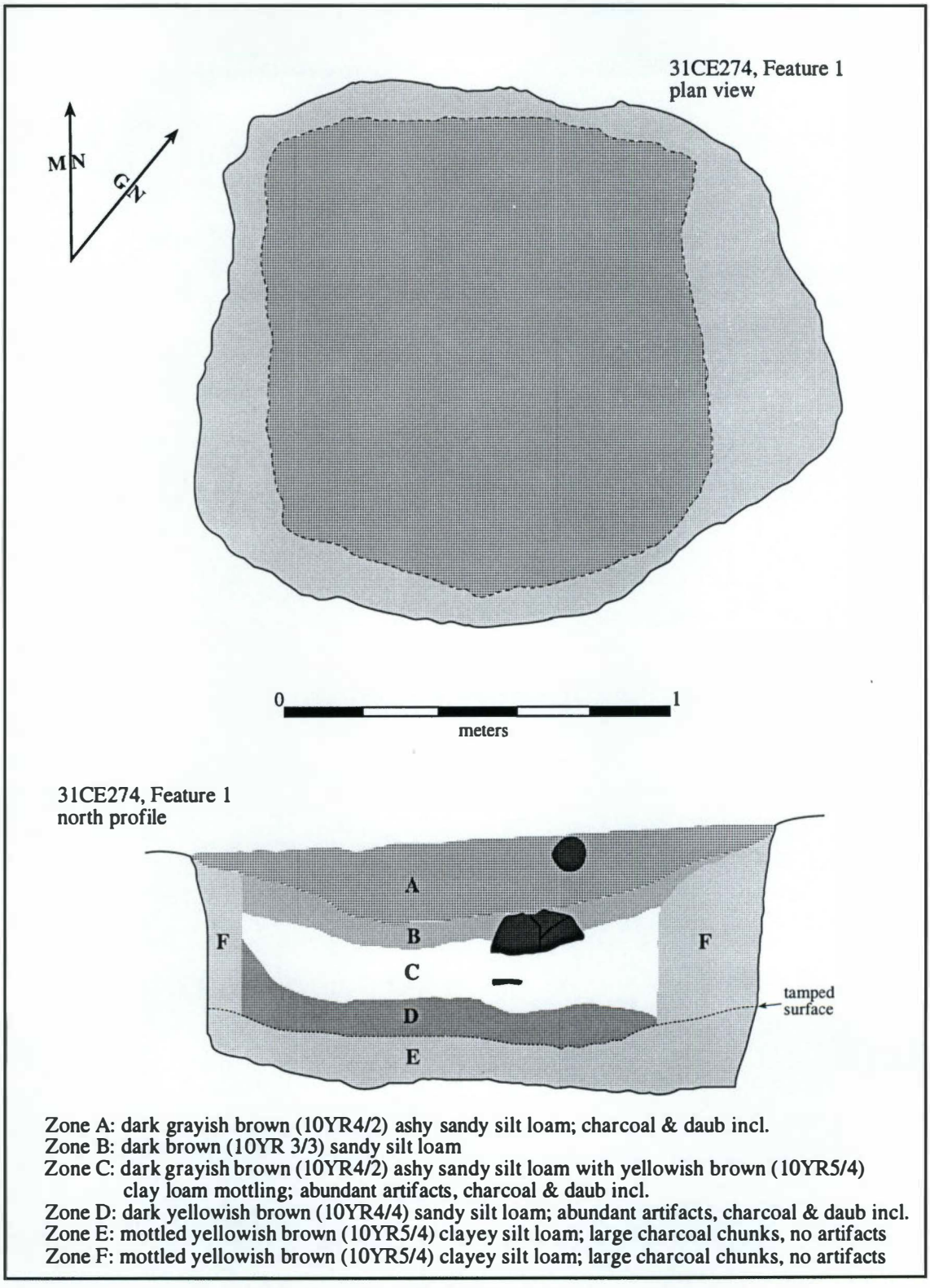
nineteenth century. All artifacts recovered from the site surface were assigned bulk provenience. Reconnaissance of the site also identified two distinct areas of soil discoloration with localized concentrations of artifacts. These discolorations were tentatively identified as cultural deposits associated with the Removal period site occupation.

Subsequent archaeological testing of the site (March 1991) focused on the soil discolorations evident at the site surface. The westernmost of these areas was investigated with a $1m^2$ test unit excavated five centimeters to subsoil. The soil in this area was intensely fired and partially fused, and contained only sparse artifact inclusions. Most of the ceramic artifacts recovered from this unit were burned, and it is probable that the firing of this area postdates the Removal period occupation. It is possible that this fired area is the result of brushpile burning for reservoir clearance by the Tennessee Valley Authority prior to the flooding of Hiwassee Lake in 1940.

Testing of a second area of soil discoloration near the northeastern edge of the site revealed a subsurface pit feature designated Feature 1. Removal of approximately five centimeters of unconsolidated overburden from a four square meter area around this discoloration defined the entire feature outline and revealed four small postmolds and a thin (≈2cm) peripheral midden of unknown extent. Feature 1, which measured approximately 1.70m x 1.80m x .70m, proved roughly square in plan view with parallel sides and rounded corners (Figures 6.17, 6.18). Excavators bisected this feature along an east-west axis and removed feature fill matrix from the southern half of the feature to a depth of 70 centimeters below current surface, with horizontal control maintained in arbitrary 20 centimeter levels. Soils excavated from the southern half of the feature were dry screen sorted through 1/4" mesh screen. The northern half of the feature was then excavated with reference to six stratigraphic zones evident in the exposed section. Fill from the northern half of the feature was water screen processed through window screen mesh (≈1/16"diameter). An eight liter soil sample was retained from each stratum for flotation processing.

Excavation of the southern half of the feature revealed six distinct strata which comprise two discrete groups (Figure 6.18). Two of these zones, labeled A and F, were evident at the surface of the pit feature. The central portion of the feature was filled with dark, organic gray brown sandy silt loam with substantial inclusions of ash, charcoal, artifacts, faunal materials, and fired daub. Surrounding this fill was approximately 20 centimeters of mottled clay loam fill which extended from the surface to contact Zone E, a basal stratum with with the same matrix. The contact of Zones E and F was distinctly compact, and may have been tamped or trampled during pit preparations. Zones E and F were essentially devoid of cultural debris, with the exception of large (~5g) lumps of oak charcoal distributed throughout the fill. Zones A-D constituted a roughly cubical unit surrounded by Zones E and F. The sidewalls of this unit (Zones A-D) were vertical

Figure 6.17. View of the excavated pit cellar (Feature 1) at the Christie Cabin Site.



Zone A: dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) ashy sandy silt loam; charcoal & daub incl.
Zone B: dark brown (10YR 3/3) sandy silt loam
Zone C: dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) ashy sandy silt loam with yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clay loam mottling; abundant artifacts, charcoal & daub incl.
Zone D: dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy silt loam; abundant artifacts, charcoal & daub incl.
Zone E: mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clayey silt loam; large charcoal chunks, no artifacts
Zone F: mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clayey silt loam; large charcoal chunks, no artifacts

Figure 6.18. Plan and profile views of Feature 1, 31CE274.

and regular, with an abrupt and distinct interface with Zone F. Decayed wooden board fragments were observed at the contact of Zones E and F, and a U.S. silver half-dime piece dated 1835 was recovered immediately beneath these wood fragments. This coin provides a *terminus ante quem* for the deposits in Zones A-E, and probably dates the construction of the pit facility.

Feature 1 is identified as a substructure root cellar, a type of facility ubiquitous in nineteenth century cabin contexts throughout the southeastern United States (Baker 1970; Garrow 1979; Davis, et al 1982; Schroedl 1986; Kelso 1984, 1986; Riggs 1987; McKee 1992, 1993). The unusual stratigraphic configuration of Feature 1 is interpreted as the result of the preparation of a root cellar that incorporated a wooden liner, probably a preconstructed wooden crate. In contrast to the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin pit cellars, which have very regular and smooth sidewalls and floors with well defined junctures, the Christie Cabin pit exhibited irregular outer walls pocked with tool gouges and overcuts. It is hypothesized that this pit was rather carelessly dug as a receptacle for a wooden box intended to serve as the actual cellar lining. The pit was apparently overdug, then backfilled with approximately 15 centimeters of spoil dirt in order to raise the wooden box liner to its desired level. The box was inserted (after the half dime was lost or otherwise deposited) and the space between the box and outer wall of the pit was filled with original pit spoil, which incorporated charcoal from surface fires in the vicinity of the construction. The small postmolds surrounding the pit may have supported a board enclosure or skirt between the ground surface and the floor of the superstructure.

Patterns of artifact crossmends within and between pit strata, together with the presence of microfaunal remains in Zones A-D indicative of periodic stable surfaces on various strata, suggest an incremental filling of the cellar during the occupation of the cabin. None of the associated materials demonstrably postdate the Cherokee Removal, and it is assumed that the entirety of the feature matrix accumulated during the original occupation of the cabin, circa 1835–June 1838. Therefore, the pit cellar must have become a receptacle for ashes and garbage soon after it's construction, and refuse gradually accumulated within the wooden cellar liner prior to the military arrest of the cabin occupants in June 1838.

The position of the Christie Cabin, as indicated by the location of Feature 1, appears anomalous by comparison to the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site and other Removal period farmsteads in sheltered settings. The cabin was situated in an open riverbottom, a location fully exposed to northerly and westerly winds. The adjacent knoll probably moderated the cabin exposure, and formed a reflective backdrop and heat sink that helped to warm the dwelling during winter months. The cabin inhabitants had ready access to fresh water; Kirkland Branch runs within 90m of the cabin, and numerous small springs issue from the base of the terrace on which the cabin is situated. Although more sheltered and solarized positions with equivalent access to water are

available nearby on the margins of the riverbottom, much of the bottom was marshy and would have hampered access to the small plot of arable land on the terrace crest.

The establishment of the Christie Cabin on a plot of land too small for the support of most households may indicate strategic considerations. The Christie Cabin commands a field of view for 500m upriver and 1500m downriver, with line of site communication to the main Christie residence and the Hogshooter Christie residence on the west side of Hanging Dog Creek. The position of the main John Christie residence adjacent to the Unicoi Turnpike was at once commercially advantageous (providing income opportunities through hostelry and produce sales to travelers) and potentially dangerous (due to the uncontrolled traffic of desperate characters). Occupants of the Hogshooter Christie and Christie Cabin Sites were positioned to give the main household notice to prepare for the arrival of travelers. Such line of sight communication between neighbors appears typical of Removal period Cherokee communities, and few residences in the study area were isolated from view of neighbors and kin.

Archaeological Assemblages

Surface collections and excavations at the Christie Cabin Site recovered substantial assemblages of commercially manufactured goods, aboriginal ceramics and carved stone tobacco pipes, and faunal remains. These materials document a relatively brief span of occupation (2.5–3 years) by a *métis* household of above average economic means. The following presentation of material assemblages is organized with respect to technofunctional categories that reflect discrete domains of artifact manufacture or acquisition and usage. In keeping with discussions and analysis of chattel goods in the preceding chapter, the Christie Cabin artifacts may be generally dichotomized as consumers' goods and producers' goods, with the vast majority of items classed as consumers' goods. These consumers' goods include items associated with food or beverage preparation, consumption, and storage , as well as other household related wares and furnishings. Clothing related items are considered a separate consumers' category, as are personal accouterments and jewelry. As components of domestic constructions, architectural fasteners and other hardware are also classed as consumers' goods. Producers' durable goods encompass components of agricultural hardware as well as tools related to nonagricultural tasks and ammunition used in extractive activities. A single coin represents monetary assets, a class independent of the producer-consumer dichotomy. Neither are faunal remains specifically referenced to this classification. Such remains reflect the presence of livestock, which might be accounted as producers' goods, and the transformation of stock into foodstuffs, which are classed as consumers' perishable commodities.

The most abundant consumers' goods represented in the Christie Cabin collections are commercially produced ceramic sherds (n=573), which include refined earthenwares (pearlware and whiteware) (n=542), soft paste porcelain (n=4), and alkaline glazed stoneware (n=26) (Table 6.5). These sherds constitute a minimum of 36 distinct ceramic vessels. Refined earthenwares and porcelains are primarily attributable to food service forms such as plates, platters, teacups, saucers, bowls, and pitchers, while the stoneware sherds represent portions of larger capacity food storage and processing containers such as jars and crocks and coarse service wares such as jugs and mugs. The majority of refined earthenware sherds appear to be early transitional whitewares (n=521), which exhibit white bodies, but also evince blue pooling in crevices, a characteristic of earlier pearlwares. Most of these whiteware sherds (n=292) are plain flatware specimens, and likely represent undecorated portions of edge decorated wares. Blue painted shell edge embossed plate rims (n=80) are the second most abundant whiteware category (Figure 6.19). Other edge decorated whitewares are plain shell edged (n=2), green embossed (n=1), and blue painted with embossed dots (n=1) (Figure 6.20). Light blue transfer printed plate fragments (n=33) exhibit the Canova Pattern, an Italianate motif produced by T. Mayer (Godden 1964:423) during the 1830s (Figure 6.19a). A single purple transfer printed plate or platter fragment bears a chinoiserie willow motif. Teacup fragments (Figure 6.21) are primarily polychrome hand-painted (n=40) with floral motifs of magenta flowers and dark green foliage on exterior surfaces. Many cup rims exhibit single narrow black, red, or dark green bands on the interior or exterior surfaces (n=9). Only one fragment of a cup handle was recovered, and the majority of cups in the assemblage appear to be handleless "London" style teacups. Saucers (Figure 6.21) are primarily polychrome hand-painted with red and green floral motifs (n=22) or sponge decorated in pink and pale green ("rainbow" stick spatter) (n=3). Two whiteware bowls are represented, one with a scalloped blue shell edge rim and one decorated with a polychrome hand-painted floral design. Annular or banded hollow ware pieces are represented by seven sherds with blue and black bands, one large bowl fragment with pale blue and brown bands (51m), two green rim sherds with embossed dots and one green rim with a rouletted pattern (Figure 6.20). These annular wares probably represent hollow ware vessel forms such as large serving bowls, pitchers, and mugs.

Fourteen refined earthenware sherds that exhibit a distinct bluish cast are classified as pearlwares. These represent at least one blue shell edged plate, a blue edged plate with embossed dots, and a plate with a plain embossed floral pattern. Four sherds of soft paste English porcelain recovered from the site surface derive from a single plain teacup.

Alkaline glazed stoneware sherds (n=26) in the assemblage derive from at least five vessels (Figure 6.20n–p). Four of these were thin walled vessels (6mm, 5mm, 3mm, 2mm) which

Table 6.5. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274).

Ware	Form	Part	Interior	Exterior	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware					
	jar	body	plain	plain	2
	jar	rim	plain	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	base	plain	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	body	plain	plain	18
	hollow (indet.)	rim	plain	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	2
	indeterminate	indeterminate	plain	plain	1
				total	26
pearlware					
	plate	rim	blue shell-edged	plain	3
	flat (indet.)	rim	blue edge decorated (embossed dots)	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	embossed edge (molded foliage)	plain	2
	plate	base (with footring)	plain	plain	4
	plate	marley	plain	plain	1
	saucer	base (with footring)	plain	plain	1
	flat (indet.)	base	plain	plain	1
	flat (indet.)	base (with footring)	plain	plain	1
				total	14
porcelain (soft paste)					
	cup	body	plain	plain	1
	cup	rim	plain	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	2
				total	4

Table 6.5. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) (cont.).

Ware	Form	Part	Interior	Exterior	N=
refined eathenware (indet.)					
	bowl	rim	plain	green edge decorated (rouletted)	1
	flat (indet.)	base	plain	plain	2
	indeterminate	base	plain	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	3
				total	7
whiteware					
	plate	rim	blue edge decorated (embossed dots)	plain	4
	plate	rim	blue shell-edged	plain	62
	bowl	rim, body & base	blue shell-edged	plain	1
	plate	rim, body, & base	blue shell-edged	plain	17
	platter	rim	plain shell-edged	plain	2
	plate	body	embossed edge (molded foliage)	plain	1
	saucer	body	embossed edge (molded foliage)	plain	2
	indeterminate	body	embossed edge (molded foliage)	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	rim	plain	green edge decorated (embossed dots	2
	bowl	rim	plain	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	1
	bowl	rim & body	plain	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	rim	hand-painted black band below lip	hand-painted polychrome	3
	cup	rim	hand-painted black band below lip	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	1
	cup	rim	hand-painted red band below lip	hand-painted polychrome	4
	cup	rim	hand-painted red band below lip	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	3
	cup	rim	plain	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	rim & body	plain	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	body	hand-painted green band below lip	plain	1
	cup	body	plain	hand-painted polychrome	18
	cup	body	plain	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	12
	cup	body/base	plain	hand-painted polychrome	1

Table 6.5. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) (cont.).

Ware	Form	Part	Interior	Exterior	N=
whiteware					
	saucer	rim	hand-painted (black band below lip)	plain	1
	saucer	rim	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	plain	3
	saucer	rim	hand-painted polychrome	plain	7
	saucer	rim, body & base	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	plain	2
	saucer	base (with footring)	hand-painted polychrome	plain	6
	saucer	body	hand-painted (blue)	plain	1
	saucer	body	hand-painted polychrome	plain	5
	saucer	body	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	plain	3
	flat (indet.)	body	hand-painted polychrome	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	body	hand-painted polychrome	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	hand-painted (blue)	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	plain	2
	indeterminate	body	plain	hand-painted polychrome	2
	indeterminate	body	plain	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	1
	plate	base	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	blued maker's mark	1
	plate	base	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	maker's mark	2
	plate	base	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	3
	plate	base (with footring)	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	5
	plate	body	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	5
	indeterminate	body	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	1
	plate	marley	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	3
	plate	rim	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	8
	saucer	rim	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	1
	plate	rim, body, & base	transfer printed (blue; "Canova" pattern)	plain	4
	plate	base	transfer printed (purple; "Willow" pattern)	plain	1
	hollow	body	plain	annular	9
	hollow	body	plain	banded (green, black, brown)	1

Table 6.5. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) (cont.).

Ware	Form	Part	Interior	Exterior	N=
whiteware					
	saucer	base (with footring)	spatter decorated (red/green)	plain	2
	flat (indet.)	body	spatter decorated (red/green)	plain	1
	saucer	rim	spatter decorated (red/green)	plain	2
	saucer	rim, body & base	spatter decorated (red/green)	plain	1
	plate	rim	plain	plain	1
	plate	body	plain	plain	7
	plate	marley	plain	plain	16
	plate	base	plain	plain	21
	plate	base (with footring)	plain	plain	30
	plate	base (with footring)	plain	portion of maker's mark	1
	saucer	rim	plain	plain	2
	saucer	marley	plain	plain	1
	saucer	body	plain	plain	7
	saucer	base (with footring)	plain	plain	6
	cup	rim	plain	plain	3
	cup	body	plain	plain	7
	cup	handle	plain	plain	1
	cup	base (with footring)	plain	plain	2
	cup	footring	plain	plain	1
	bowl	rim	plain	plain	1
	flat (indet.)	body	plain	plain	15
	flat (indet.)	marley	plain	plain	4
	flat (indet.)	base	plain	plain	11
	flat (indet.)	base (with footring)	plain	plain	4
	hollow (indet.)	base	plain	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	base (with footring)	plain	plain	1
	hollow (indet.)	body	plain	plain	3

Table 6.5. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site (31CE274) (cont.).

Ware	Form	Part	Interior	Exterior	N=
whiteware					
	hollow (indet.)	rim	plain	plain	1
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	137
	indeterminate	footring	plain	plain	1
	indeterminate	rim	plain	plain	7
	plate	rim	spalled (indet.)	spalled (indet.)	1
	indeterminate	body	burned (indet.)	burned (indet.)	2
	indeterminate	body	indeterminate	indeterminate	1
				total	521

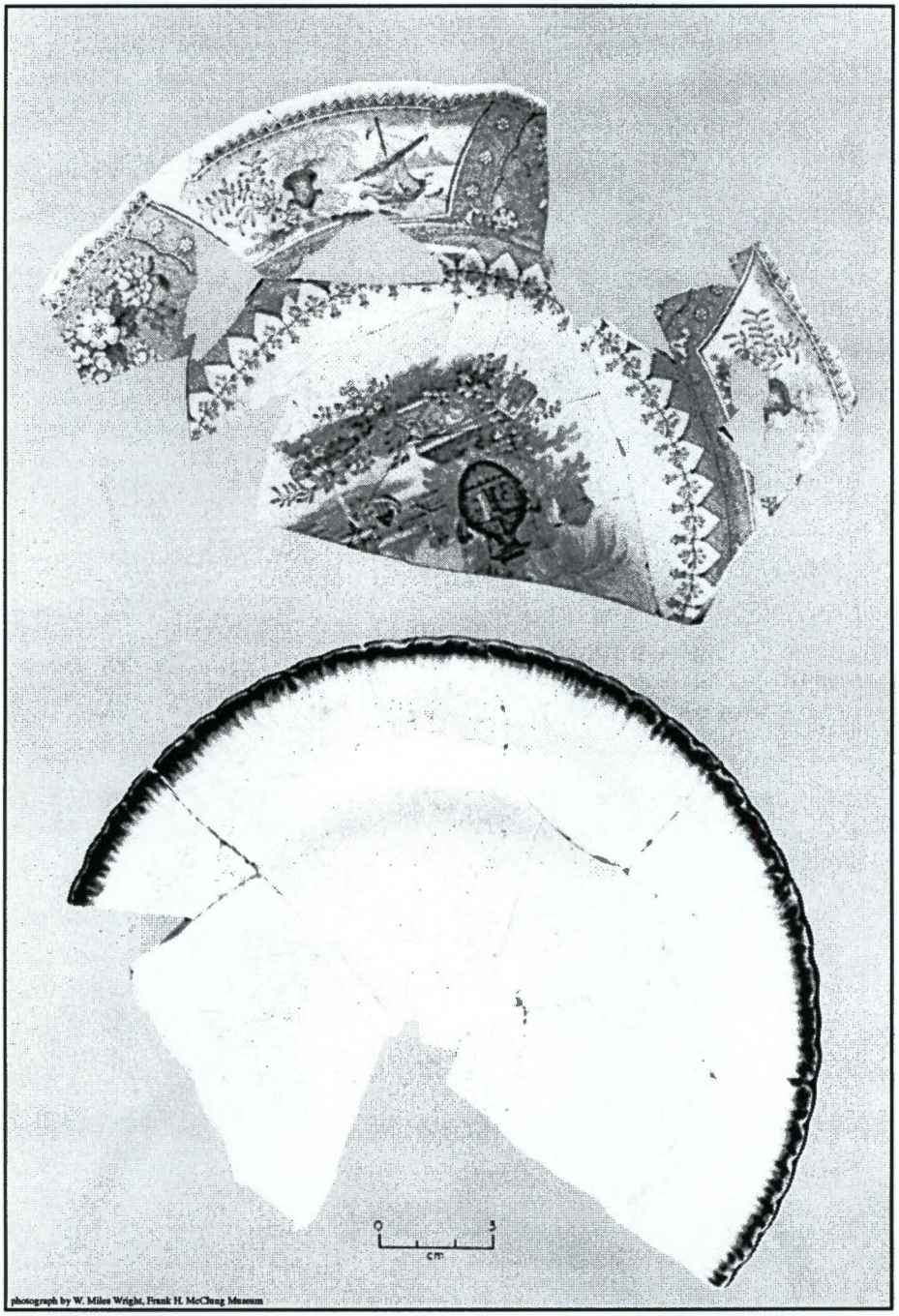


Figure 6.19. Whiteware plates from the Christie Cabin Site. top: T. Mayer "Canova" pattern blue transfer printed; bottom: blue shell edge decorated.

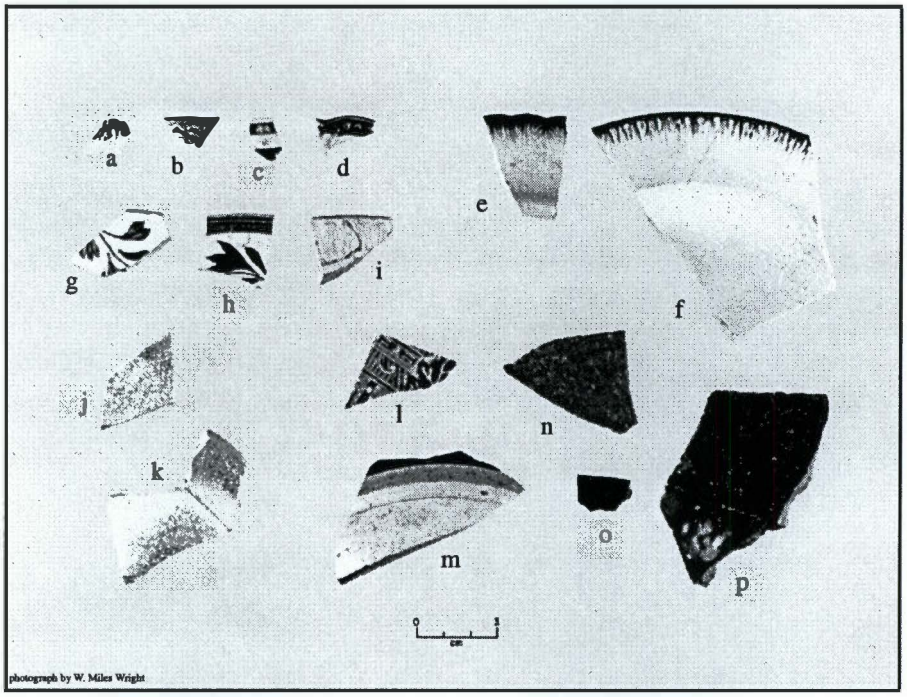


Figure 6.20. Commercially manufactured ceramics from the Christie Cabin Site. a: red sponge decorated whiteware; b: rouletted annular decorated whiteware; c: annular decorated whiteware; d: blue embossed edge decorated whiteware; e–f: blue shell edge decorated whiteware; g–h: polychrome hand-painted whiteware; i: plain shell edge decorated whiteware; j–k: "rainbow" spatter decorated whiteware; l: red transfer printed pearlware; m: annular decorated creamware; n–p: alkaline glazed stoneware.

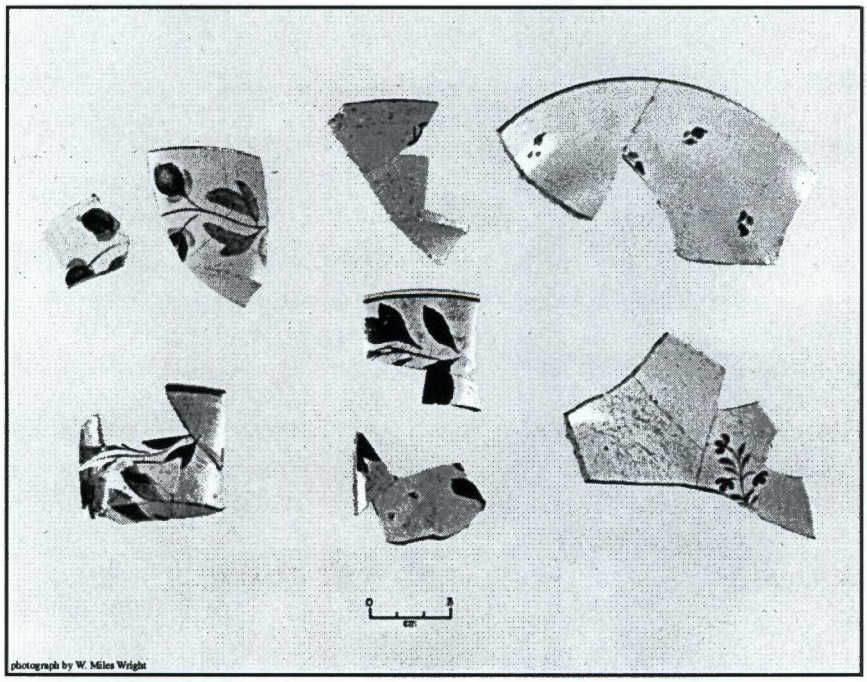


Figure 6.21. Polychrome hand-painted whiteware teacup and saucer fragments from the Christie Cabin Site.

probably represent smaller service containers such as jugs, pitchers, or mugs. The fifth is a much larger, thicker walled (11.2mm) vessel such as a demijohn or heavy crock.

A minimum of 36 commercially manufactured ceramic vessels are represented in the Christie Cabin Site assemblage. These include eight 10" plates, four 8" plates, one platter, eight 4" London style teacups, one soft paste porcelain cup, five 6" saucers, four pieces of annular decorated hollowware, and five pieces of alkaline glazed stoneware. The abundance of refined earthenwares and stoneware in the assemblage is consistent with John Christie's 1842 spoliation claim, which includes four sets (32) of "delf" plates, two sets (16) of teacups and saucers, three "delf" bowls, and four "delf" pitchers valued at a total of $15.25. Hunter's store records also document Christie's December 1837 purchase of a set of cups and saucers for $.75. The high frequency of tablewares associated with an occupation as brief as that of the Christie cabin (≈2.5 years) indicates an especially high rate of acquisition, use, breakage ,and discard. This probably reflects a pattern of daily usage in Western style food consumption, as contrasted with the low use frequency hypothesized of similar wares in the *Chewkeeaskee* household. The wide range of vessel forms represented in the Christie Cabin assemblage indicates differentiation and specificity in food service and consumption. Although few of the plates, cups, and saucers in the Christie Cabin assemblage are identical, the refined earthenwares can be grouped into decorative "sets" of blue edge decorated plates, and floral hand-painted cups and saucers. The regularity of decorative motifs on these ceramics suggest that the Christie household not only adopted Western food service technologies, but also incorporated the Western aesthetic of matched tablewares.

Westernized dining habits are further indicated by the incidence of flatware, including portions of three table knives, one fork, an iron tablespoon, and a small iron teaspoon (Figure 6.22; Table 6.6). The table knives (Figure 6.22b,c) are represented by two blades with rat-tailed tangs and a third rat-tailed tang. One complete blade measures 14.9cm in length and 2.4cm in width, and exhibits a slightly excurvate edge and rounded tip. The fork is broken in the shank and consists of a handle with two checker engraved bone scales riveted to a full iron tang (Figure 6.22d). The tablespoon is complete, and measures 20.3cm in length (Figure 6.22a). This spoon, which may originally have been tin plated, exhibits substantial wear along the left lateral edge of the bowl. The iron teaspoon is represented by a bowl and a portion of the handle. The spoon bowl is intact and measures 4.3 cm in length and 2.8 cm in width. A distal fragment of the shank exhibits a simple spatulate terminus.

Table utensils are common elements of Cherokee spoliation claims, and more than 25% of claims from the study area include sets of table knives and forks; 22% of study area claims list tablespoons or teaspoons. Values assigned to knives and forks average $.25 per place setting. Values assigned to iron tablespoons range from $.125 to $.75 each; teaspoons were valued at $.05

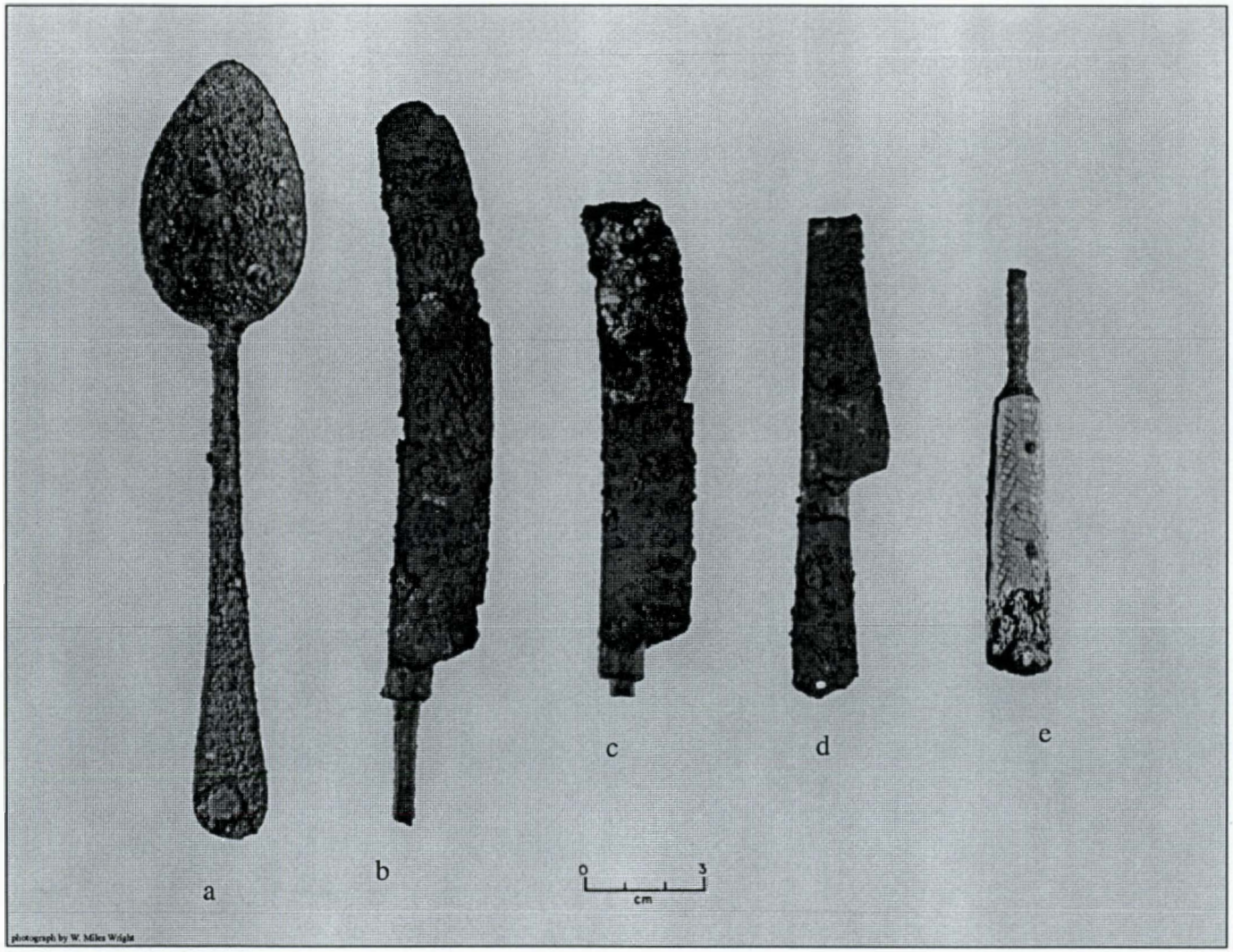


Figure 6.22. Tablewares from the Christie Cabin Site. a: iron tablespoon; b–c: rat-tailed table knife blades; d: full tanged table or butcher knife; e: bone handled fork.

Table 6.6. Commercially manufactured items recovered from 31CE274.

Item	Material	Condition	Modifier	N=
Kitchen Related Items				
Dutch oven	cast iron	fragment (body)		5
kettle	cast iron	fragment (body)		4
kettle	cast iron	fragment (rim)		1
cast iron vessel (indet.)	cast iron	fragment (pode)		1
fork	bone; steel	handle only	checkered bone handle; flat tang	1
table knife	steel	blade	blade with rattail tang	2
table knife	steel	tang only	rat-tail tang	1
tablespoon	iron	complete		1
teaspoon	iron	broken; complete		1
butcher knife	steel	1/3 blade & tang	blade with flat tang, cast bolsters	1
butterdish (frag.)	glass	fragment	pressed "Lacy" glass (Princess Feather Medallion)	2
pharmaceutical vial	glass	fragment	blown with open pontil; pale gray tint	11
whiskey flask	glass	fragment	olive-amber; "SUCCESS TO THE RAILROAD"	4
container glass	glass	fragment	colorless	1
bitters bottle	glass	fragment	paneled bottle; dark olive green	2
tinware strainer	sheet iron	fragment	rectangular pierced iron sheet	9
tinware vessel	sheet iron	fragment (rim)	rolled vessel rim	2
tinware vessel	sheet iron	fragment (body)	form indet.	6
Household Goods/Furnishings				
trunk handle	iron	complete	recurvate tin box/trunk handle	1
grease lamp wick holder (?)	sheet iron	complete		1
Clothing Hardware				
button	iron	fragmented	2 pc sheet iron (South Type 23)	3
button	iron	complete	2 pc. cast iron (4 hole)(South Type 21)	1
button	bone	complete	bone (5 hole) (South Type 19)	8
button	brass	complete	brass disk with attached loop eye (South Type 18)	1
button	mother of pearl	complete	mother of pearl (4 hole)	1
shoe nail	brass	complete	brass tack; clinched tips	3

Table 6.6. Commercially manufactured items recovered from 31CE274 (cont.).

Item	Material	Condition	Modifier	N=
Sewing Paraphernalia				
straight pin	brass	shank only	brass	1
straight pin	brass	complete	brass; expanded head	3
straight pin	brass	complete	brass; solder wrapped head	4
Personal Paraphernalia				
glass bead	glass	complete	aqua blue (Kidd & Kidd Type WI6)	1
glass bead	glass	complete	brick red (Kidd & Kidd Type IIa)	1
glass bead	glass	complete	turquoise blue (Kidd & Kidd Type IIa)	1
earring	brass; glass	complete	brass frame with 3 blue glass sets	1
earring bangle	glass	complete	teardrop shaped facetted blue glass	2
tobacco pipe (fragment)	clay	fragment	stub stemmed clay elbow pipe	7
tobacco pipe (fragment)	clay	fragment	stub stemmed clay elbow pipe (fluted)	8
mirror back	sheet iron	complete	tinned; domed disk with crimped edge	1
mirror glass	glass	fragment	flat with squared edge, silvering residue	1
Architectural Hardware				
iron nail	iron		machine cut; fragment, size indet.	39
iron nail	iron		machine cut, flooring ('L' head)	6
iron nail	iron		machine cut (6d)	1
iron nail	iron		machine cut (8d)	2
iron nail	iron		machined headed	6
iron nail	iron		paneling	2
iron nail	iron		roofing	2
iron brad	iron		machine cut	4
iron tack	iron		cut	7
iron nail\rivet	iron		hand forged; expanded tip	1
iron rivet	iron			1
flat glass	glass		pale gray tint	21
flat glass	glass		pale green tint	8
flat glass	glass		squared edge	2

Table 6.6. Commercially manufactured items recovered from 31CE274 (cont.).

Item	Material	Condition	Modifier	N=
Agricultural Activities Hardware				
axe steel	iron		steel insert only	1
chain	iron		iron trace chain; 2 links	1
chain link	iron		iron lap link	1
harness buckle	iron		iron; square frame with tongue	1
harness ring	iron		iron	1
horseshoe	iron			1
horseshoe	iron		iron	1
horseshoe	iron		small keg shoe	1
horseshoe nail	iron			3
iron band	iron		central perforation	1
iron ferrule	iron		cylindrical band	1
plowshare (tongue)	iron		iron; square eye	1
Specialized Artisan Equipment				
iron tongs jaw	iron		farrier's hoof tester	1
Firearms/Munitions				
lead ball	lead			1
lead droplet/sprue	lead			1
lead rod	lead		cut with pincers	1
gunflint (?)	flint		English flint flake	1
Miscellaneous				
wire	iron		iron	2
wire/rod	iron		iron	1
iron slag	iron			1
iron fragment (indet.)	iron			3

to $.125 each. John Christie's own spoliation claim includes two sets of table knives and forks valued at $3.00, and Christie's account at Hunter's store documents purchase of six spoons for $.50.

More specialized tablewares are represented by two conjoining pieces of a pressed (Lacy) glass butterdish (Figure 6.23a). These fragments exhibit relief stars with abstract foliage on a stippled field, bordered by a cable motif. This pattern corresponds to the "Princess Feather Medallion with Star," a composite motif produced during the 1830s by the Boston and Sandwich Glass Company (McKearin and McKearin 1941). Although pressed glass dishes are well represented in contemporary Anglo-American probate inventories from adjacent areas (see McMinn County Court Clerk 1937), they appear rarely in Cherokee spoliation claims. The Robert Muskrat household, John Christie's Cluster 1 cohort, reported a glass butter plate worth $1.00, while Will of Stecoah claimed two butter plates worth $.25. The incidence of relatively expensive pressed glassware at the Christie Cabin Site connotes indulgence in Western luxury display items by the Christie household.

Other glassware in the cabin assemblage includes 18 fragments of glass bottles and vials (Table 6.6). At least one pharmaceutical vial (2.1cm dia.) is represented among 11 fragments of thin, pale gray tinted blown glass. These include a base with an open pontil scar (Figure 6.23b). Glass medicine vials are represented in three spoliation claims from the study area, and are assigned values of $.125 each. Original content of the vial is not known, but it may have contained oil of peppermint (Richard Polhemus, personal communication 1993) or eyewash (David Jurney, personal communication 1995). Medicinal compounds available at Hunter's include sweet oil, opadeleoc, laudanum, balsam, castor oil, calomel, and "clap medocin" (probably mercury) (Hunter 1836-1838).

Two dark olive green paneled bottle fragments probably represent a bitters bottle, and two small colorless glass chips may derive from tumblers or other leaded glass tableware. Four olive-amber "orange-peel" bottle fragments are attributable to a single whiskey flask. One of these fragments exhibits embossed lettering "SUC.." and probably represents a portion of the inscription "SUCCESS TO THE RAILROAD," found on historical whiskey flasks of the railroad type. This corresponds with the pint sized horse and cart railroad flasks first produced during the late 1820s by the Coventry Glassworks (McKearin 1953:39). Whiskey flasks are represented in two spoliation claims from the area, and are valued at $.25 each. Such flasks were typically produced as generic commemoratives by glass companies, which then sold the flasks to distributors, distillers and decanters to be filled with their own products. It is possible that a member of the Christie household acquired the flask with content from Edward Christie, who

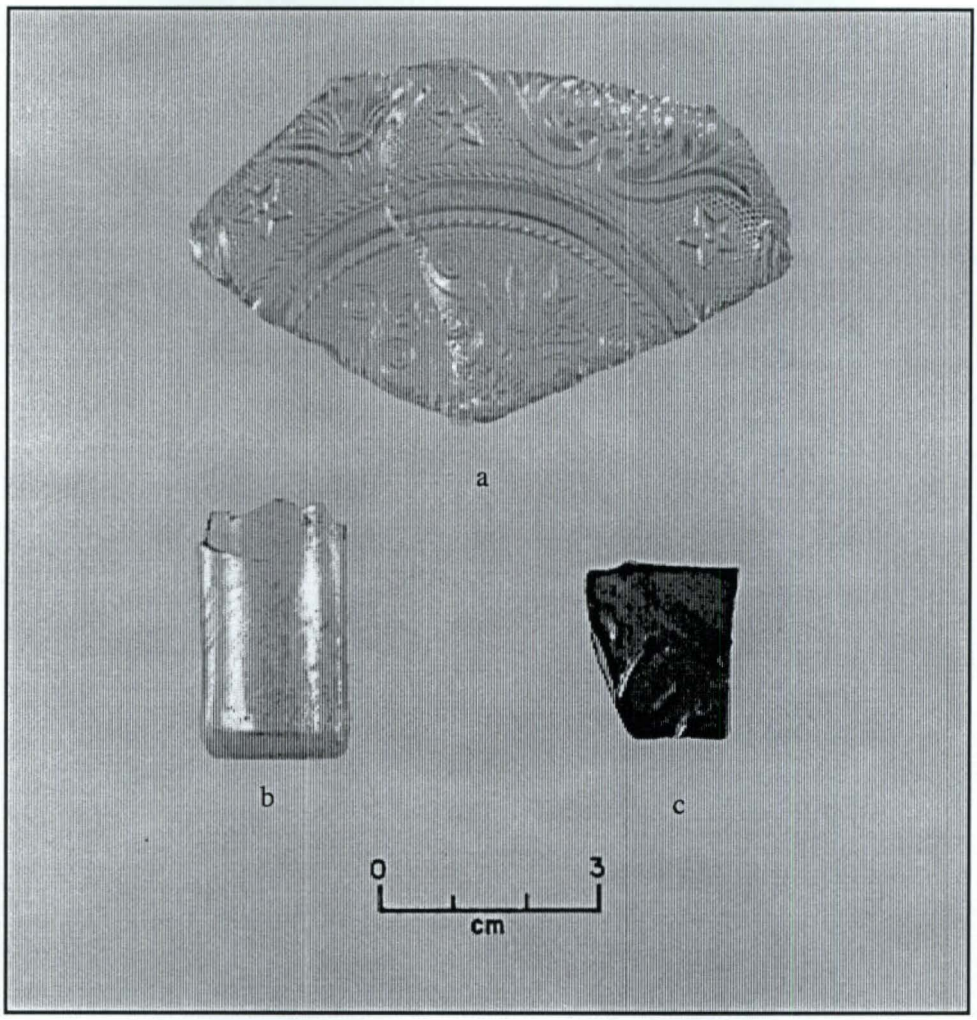


Figure 6.23. Container and serving glassware from the Christie Cabin Site.
a: "Lacy" glass butterdish fragment; b: pharmaceutical bottle;
c: whiskey flask marked "SU[CESS TO THE RAILROAD]".

operated a distillery at the mouth of the Valley River. Hunter's store accounts document John Christie's purchase of three quarts of rum and a pint of whiskey in 1837 (Hunter 1836–1837).Food processing and preparation activities are represented by cast iron cooking vessel fragments, tinware, a butcher knife, and aboriginal ceramic sherds. The cast iron cooking vessel fragments (n=9) from the site represent both hemispherical kettles and flat based Dutch ovens (Table 6.6; Figure 6.24a, b). More than 90% of spoliation claims for household goods include cast iron pots or ovens, and such vessels constituted the most highly valued goods in many study area households. Values assigned to cast iron vessels range from $.25 to $10.00 per pot (kettle) [median=$2.75) and $.75-$10.00 per Dutch oven (median=$2.50). John Christie's own spoliation claim includes five cast iron pots valued at a total of $19.50. Cast iron vessels were subject to breakage due to impact and extreme thermal shock, and the fragility of such vessels is illustrated by the incidence of shards from two or more vessels at the Christie Cabin Site. The loss of such expensive cookware would certainly have caused consternation in the Christie household, especially since Hunter's Store records indicate limited and infrequent availability of such wares.

Eight fragments of sheet iron recovered from Feature 1 derive from one or more tinware containers (Table 6.6). Six of these are body fragments from hollowware containers with curved walls; two are rolled rim fragments. Spoliation claims from the study area document a variety of tinware containers, including cookware such as kettles, pans and coffee pots; tablewares (plates, cups, mugs); dry storage containers (boxes and canisters); and utility containers such as buckets and pails. John Christie's spoliation claim indicates two tin buckets ($1.00 ea.), four tin water pails ($2.75), and four tin pans ($2.00). Hunter's store records also document John Christie's purchase of a tinware coffee pot ($.75) and a tin pan ($.50). These inexpensive and durable wares were common items in most Cherokee households during the Removal period, but such wares deteriorate quickly and are underrepresented in the archaeological record.

Two kitchen utensils, a butcher knife and fragments of a sheet metal strainer, were recovered from Feature 1 (Table 6.6). The butcher knife (Figure 6.22d) is represented by medial third of the blade and tang, and exhibits extreme resharpening wear. The knife had cast bolsters and a full flat tang, which is perforated for the riveted attachment of scales. Such butcher knives were available at Hunter's Store at a cost of $.50 each, and a number of Cherokee spoliation claims from the study area include butcher knives in sequences of kitchen goods. It should be noted, however, that butcher knives also served as personal utility tools, and the functional identification of this artifact as a kitchen related item is tentative.

Nine perforated tinned sheet iron fragments derive from a square or rectangular metal strainer of undetermined dimensions (Figure 6.24c). Tinned sheet metal strainers are documented in 23 spoliation claims from the study area, including the claim of John Christie's brother,

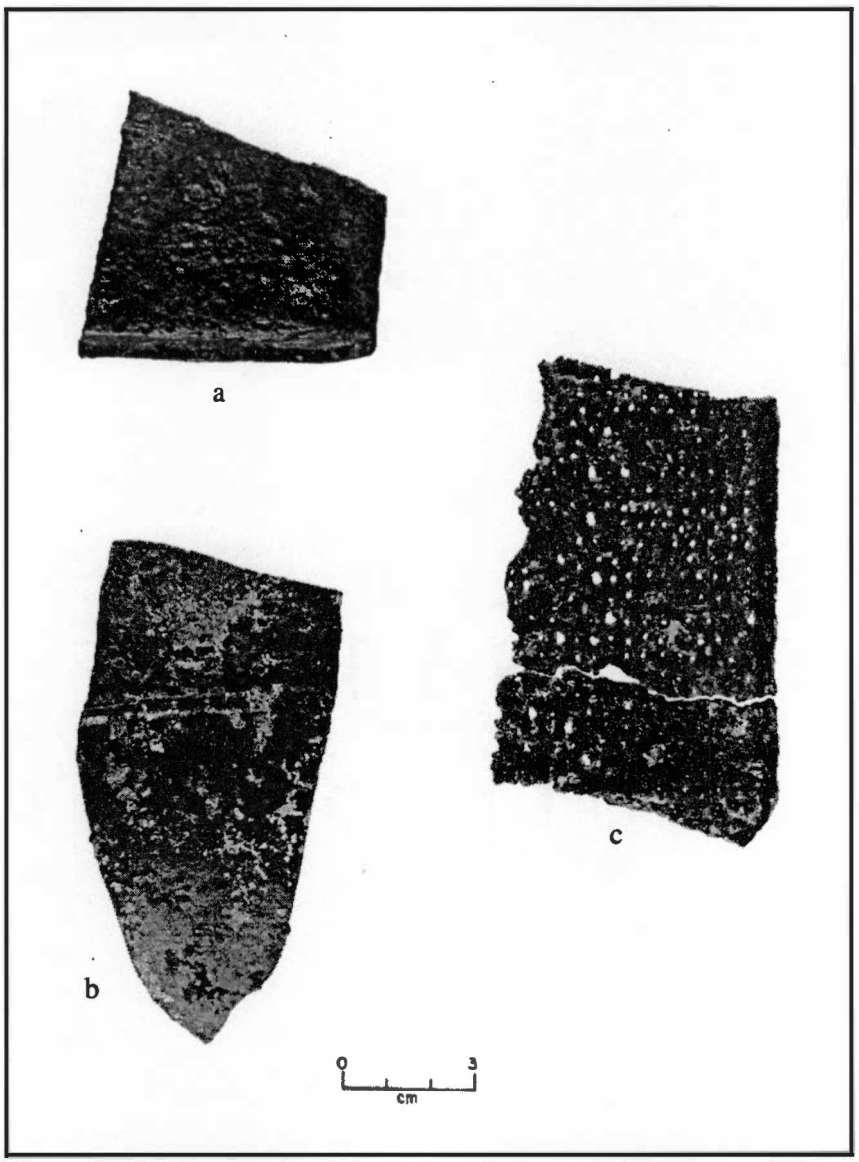


Figure 6.24. Iron cookware and utensils from the Christie Cabin Site. a: cast iron Dutch oven fragment; b: cast iron kettle fragment; c: sheet iron strainer or skimmer fragment.

Edward. A number of these are specifically identified as milk strainers, which were used to filter debris in the transfer of fresh milk from milking buckets to cooling pans. Values assigned to tinware strainers range from $.25 to $.75 apiece, with a median value of $.25. Such strainers are disproportionately represented in the claims of English-speaking Cherokee households, who appear more than four times as likely to report such items as their monolingual counterparts.

The high frequencies and considerable diversity of commercially manufactured food preparation and service wares in the Christie Cabin Site assemblage indicates that the household adopted Western food technologies and dining habits in detailed form and content. However, the family's wholesale assimilation of such technologies did not occasion abandonment of traditional food preparation technologies, nor, presumably traditional foodways. Surface and excavated contexts at the Christie Cabin Site yielded a total of 146 ceramic sherds attributable to vessels of local native manufacture (Table 6.7; Figure 6.25). Feature 1 yielded nine aboriginal sherds that are uneroded and display unworn edge breaks, thereby indicating contemporaneity of the aboriginal ceramics with other pit contents and a firm association with the Christie occupation of the site. All of the native manufactured wares from 31CE274 are referable to the Qualla ceramic series (Egloff 1967; Keel 1976) and, like the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead sherds, closely resemble Galt ceramics characteristic of early nineteenth century Cherokee sites in the upper Etowah River drainage (Caldwell 1955, Hally 1986, Ledbetter et.al. 1987, Riggs 1993).

Table 6.7. Qualla series ceramic sherds recovered from 31CE274.

Surface Treatment/Decoration	N=
body sherds	
check stamped	37
rectilinear complicated stamped	10
linear stamped (indet.)	12
stamped (indet.)	11
plain	12
smoothed (obliterated)	16
eroded	35
rim sherds	
rimstrip (vertically notched)	1
rimstrip (plain)	2
plain	7
eroded	3
	146

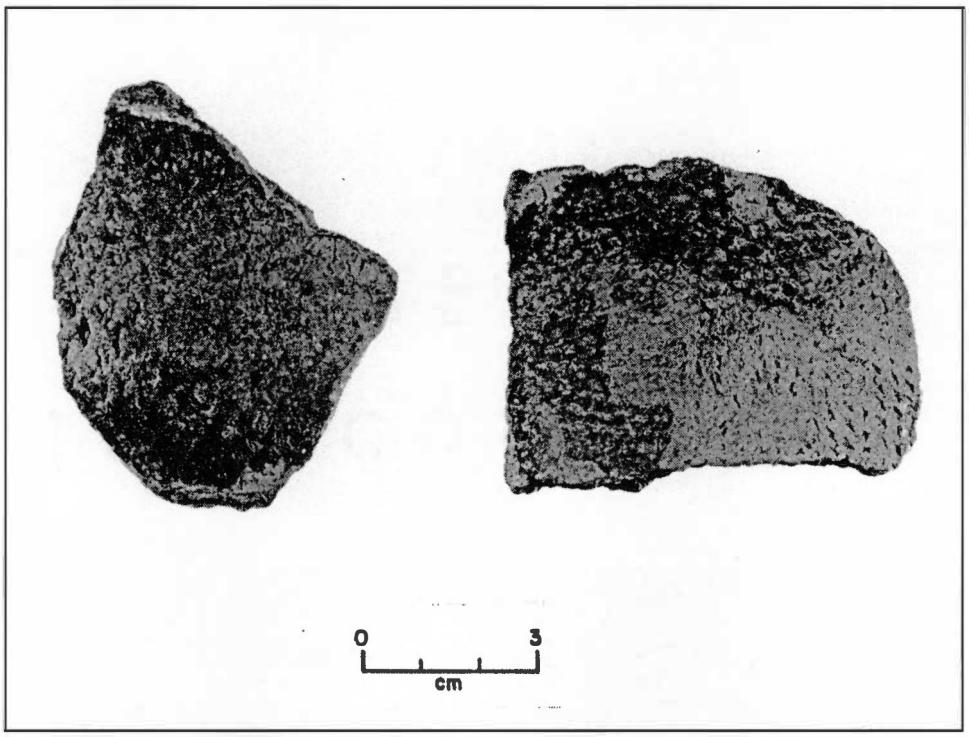


Figure 6.25. Qualla check stamped ceramic sherds from Feature 1, 31CE274.

Paste characteristics of Christie Cabin ceramics generally resemble those documented for *Chewkeeaskee* Farmstead sites ware. Aplastic content ranges from moderately abundant (~20%) medium sand to abundant grit to sparse inclusions of crushed quartz up to 1.5mm in diameter. All sherds exhibit moderate to abundant inclusions of small mica flecks; these probably representnaturally occurring components of the pottery clays. Observed sherd colors are typically buff, tan, or pale gray, although larger sherds recovered from Feature 1 appear medium brown or grayish brown. Exterior firing clouds are present on uneroded sherds from Feature 1. Surface treatments observed on sherds from 31CE274 include check stamped (n=37), rectilinear complicated stamped (n=10), linear stamped (n=12), plain (n=12), and smoothed (n=16) treatments. The primary rectilinear complicated stamped motif from the Christie Cabin consists of columns of horizontal cells (~30mm × 3mm) separated by paired columns of equilateral (3 mm) cells; a similar motif is described from late eighteenth century Cherokee contexts at Coosawattee (Garrow 1979) and the Poole site (Riggs 1993), both in northern Georgia. At least two distinct check stamped motifs are represented, one with diamond shaped cells approximately 3mm × 2.2mm, the other with small square cells averaging 1.8 mm × 1.8 mm. Plain wares in the assemblage are well smoothed, but do not appear to have been burnished.

Rims (n=13) from the Christie Cabin are either vertical or slightly everted in profile. Lip forms are squared (n=4), rounded (n=4), or tapered (thinned) and rounded (n=1). Seven of the rims are plain, two evince plain appliqué rimstrips, and one exhibits a vertically notched appliqué rimstrip. Unique combinations of vessel paste, surface treatments, and rim morphologies indicate a minimum of six discrete vessels represented in the Christie Cabin assemblage. These vessels include low, flaring walled pans, medium sized globular jars with slightly constricted necks, and at least one small bowl.

The incidence of native ceramics in the Christie Cabin assemblage reflects the continued (if attenuated) practice of traditional Cherokee foodways by English-speaking *métis* households. In particular, the presence of hominy jars indicates the preparation of lye processed corn and the fermentation of *kanohena*, the staple of traditional Cherokee diet. This preparation process required a full complement of hominy jars, cane riddles, mortars and pestles, sifters and fanners, and it is likely that the Christie family maintained this entire toolkit. However, John Christie's spoliation claim omits mention of any such goods, even the "dirt" pots clearly evident in the archaeological record. Such omission may represent a conscious disavowal of native forms for presentation to a Western audience (the U.S. claims commission) or may simply reflect the devaluation of traditional goods in more extensive claims of highly valued consumer goods.

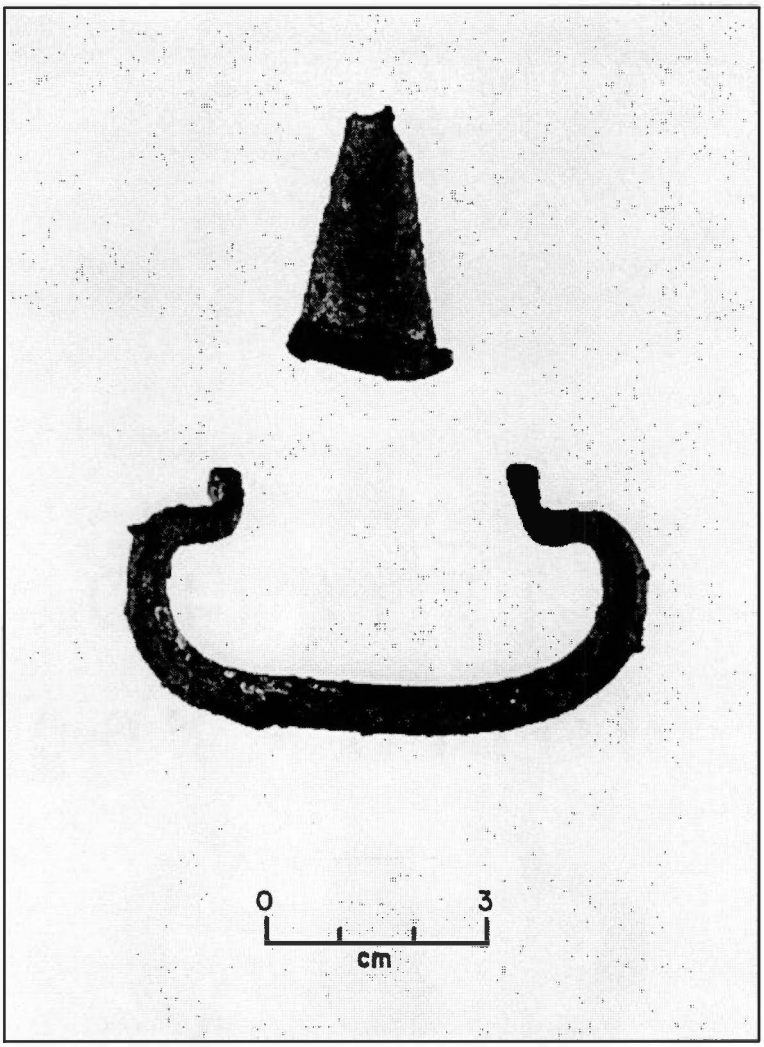
Excavations at the Christie Cabin Site recovered only two household items not directly related to kitchen or food consumption activities (Table 6.6). A recurvate forged iron handle

(Figure 6.26b) is tentatively identified as the handle of a tin trunk or box. This 'C' shaped iron object measures 7.1cm in length and 3.6cm in depth, with a maximum thickness of .7cm. Tin-clad boxes with similar hardware were apparently manufactured over a long period, and examples with identical handles are illustrated in the 1865 Russel and Erwin Manufacturing Company hardware catalog (Association for Preservation Technology 1980). Tin trunks and boxes are specifically documented in eight spoliation claims from the region and are valued at $.25-$2.00 each. These trunks and boxes generally functioned as repositories for cash, jewelry, and small personal valuables.

A rolled sheet iron cone (Figure 6.26a) is tentatively identified as a homemade wick holder for a grease lamp (Richard Polhemus, personal communication 1992). This hollow cone, which consists of a single piece of metal, tapers from a 1.7cm opening at the large end to a .57cm opening at the tip. The lower edge of the cone is irregularly rolled and it appears to have been crimped by contact with a mandrel. To have functioned as a wick holder, this cone would have held a twisted, grease-soaked rag inserted through its smaller orifice and supported above a bowl or tinful of tallow.

Grease lamps were inexpensive and expedient lighting equipment used in many southern American homes long after the advent of whale oil and coal oil lamps. The incidence of any lighting paraphernalia at the Christie Cabin is noteworthy. Spoliation claims include very fewreferences to candlemolds, candlesticks, candlestands, or other lighting equipment, and 80% of such equipment was reported English-speaking families.

Buttons, shoe tacks, and straight pins recovered from the Christie Cabin Site indicate the probable presence of Western style clothing and footwear and suggest clothing production or mending activities. Surface and feature contexts at the Christie Cabin Site yielded 14 buttons, including eight bone buttons with recessed faces and five holes (South Type 19), three two-piece japanned sheet iron buttons (South Type 21), a two-piece cast iron button with four holes in a recessed center, a small pearl button (South Type 22), and a gilt brass disk button with soldered eye (South Type 18) (Figure 6.27). Three sizes of bone buttons, 16mm, 13mm, and 10mm, probably derive from several different articles of clothing, such as shirts, frocks, pants, and vests. All of these buttons exhibit a central drill hole surrounded by four attachment holes, a morphology that corresponds with South's Type 19 (South 1964). The fragmented two piece hollow sheet iron buttons (South Type 21) originally consisted of sheet iron crimped over a wooden disk with an attached eyelet. These large (≈23mm diameter) buttons, which exhibit traces of a black paint or lacquer, were probably fasteners for a piece of heavy outerware, such as an overcoat. The pearl button measures 10mm and exhibits four attachment holes and engraved tickmarks around the margin of the face. Such shell buttons were imported from England and



6.26. Household equipment from the Christie Cabin Site.
top: rolled sheet iron cone (possible wick holder);
bottom: wrought iron handle from a tin trunk or box.

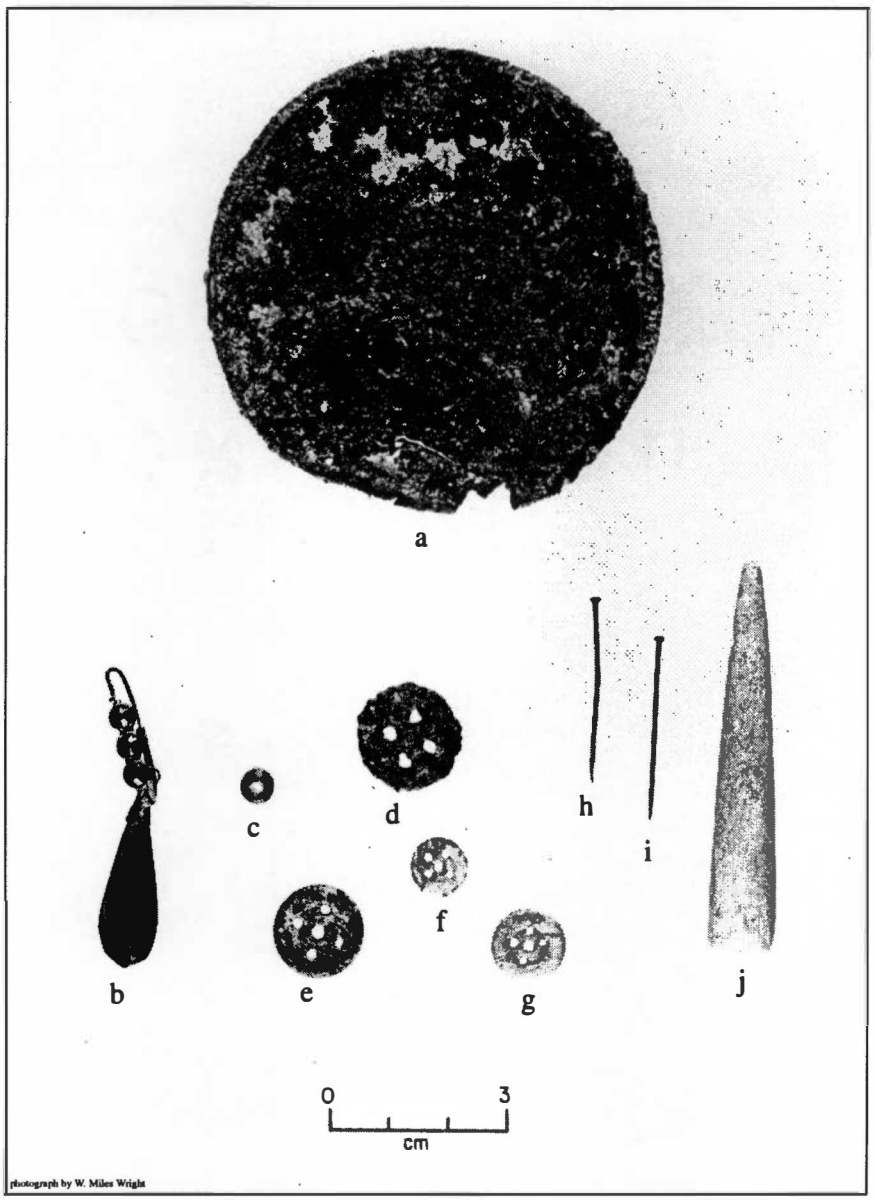


Figure 6.27. Personal items from the Christie Cabin Site. a: tinned sheet iron mirror back; b: brass earring with blue glass sets and pendant; c: glass bead; d: cast iron button; e–g: bone buttons; h–i: silvered brass straight pins; j: talc rod/pencil.

France at the time of the Removal (Claussen 1994). This button was probably a fastener for a woman's bodice. A single large (21mm) brass disk button with soldered loop eye was collected from the site surface. The face of the button reveals traces of gilding; the reverse is marked with a foliage wreath and the word "GILT." Such one-piece cast brass buttons were producedthroughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and were frequently used as closures for heavy outerware. All of the buttons recovered from 31CE274 were probably available at Hunter's Store. Account books indicate that bone buttons were sold there for $.38 per gross or one penny each, pearl buttons for $.18 per dozen and gilt buttons for $.50 per dozen (Hunter 1836–1838). Hunter's records also indicate that Willie Christie purchased "buttons and needles" for $.25 in March 1837. The Christie household probably also acquired buttons as part of ready-made clothing.

Two small (7mm, 10mm) brass tacks with expanded heads and clinched tips are identified as shoe nails that fastened leather shoe uppers and soles. These indicate the presence of western style hard soled shoes in the household, and are consistent with John Christie's purchase of six pairs of ready-made shoes at Hunter's Store between December 1836 and October 1837. Use of manufactured shoes by members of the Christie household corresponds to Evans' ca. 1835 statement that: "Moscassins are yet extensively used by both men and women; but shoes are coming into use" (1977:12) among the Cherokees of southwestern North Carolina. Hunter's accounts document ready-made shoes as some of the goods most frequently purchased by Cherokee customers (Hunter 1836-1838).

Sewing activities are indicated by six brass straight pins recovered from Feature 1 (Figure 6.27h,i). Three of these are silver plated with solder wrapped heads; the other three are plated with integral expanded heads. Measurements of complete pins range from 31mm to 33mm. Hume (1970:254) indicates that technology for producing one-piece expanded head pins was introduced in 1824, and the mix of pins in the Christie assemblage reflects the gradual transition between the two types. Sewing pins were available at Hunter's Store, and accounts document John Christie's purchase of one paper of pins for $.25 .

Personal paraphernalia recovered from Christie Cabin Site contexts includes personal ornamentation items such as glass beads and earrings, grooming items such as mirrors, and tobacco pipes. Two of glass beads are small (2-3mm) embroidery types (Kidd and Kidd type IIa); one is brick red, the other is turquoise blue. Such beads were typically incorporated in larger composite pieces such as bandolier bags, sashes, garters, belts, and moccasins. The third bead is an aqua blue wire wound necklace bead (Kidd and Kidd Type WI6) which measures 5mm in diameter (Kidd and Kidd 1970); this was presumably a component of a larger strand worn as a necklace. The brass earbob, which measures 32mm plus a 29mm pendant, is an ellipse with hinged wire closure (Figure 6.27b). Three dark blue faceted circular glass insets adorn the front

side of the earring. A cone shaped brass bangle is attached to the bottom of the earring. This bangle served as the set for a transparent, dark blue teardrop shaped pendant measuring 29mm. Two such pendants were recovered, indicating the disposal of the earring pair. These pendants are faceted, and the largest facet of each evinces vestiges of a painted stylized floral pattern. Pendant earrings, termed eardrops, were available at Hunter's store for $.50 per pair.

A complete tinned sheet iron disk (Figure 6.27a) recovered from Feature 1 is identified as the back or frame of a small hand mirror. The disk, which measures 7.75cm in diameter, is domed, with a convex exterior surface and a concave interior. The interior surface retains fragments of decayed wood, presumably a backing for support of the actual circular mirror. This item probably represents one of the small "shaving glasses" sold at Hunter's for $.25. Christie's account at Hunter's includes a shaving box, a kit that may have contained a straight razor, mirror, and brush. Such small personal mirrors were favored trade items from the inception of the British trade, and mirror fragments are well documented in eighteenth century archaeological contexts (Newman 1986). Contemporary accounts (e.g., Adair 1930 [1775]) note that Cherokee consumers used such mirrors for personal ornamentation as well as grooming, an indication of the incorporation of such items into expressly native frameworks of meaning and use. It is likely that nineteenth century Cherokees employed mirrors according to more Western modes.

Feature 1 also yielded a plate glass fragment with a squared, ground edge and vestiges of silver backing. This fragment probably represents a second square or rectangular mirror. It cannot be determined whether the frament represents a small, hand held personal item or a portion of a larger, wall mounted looking glass. Larger looking glasses are documented as household furnishings in the spoliation claims of 35 Cherokee families from the study area, including the claims of five native Baptist preachers and four members of the westernized Walker lineage (Tuckaseegee). Although such mirrors certainly served in personal grooming, the open and permanent display of large, wall mounted mirrors in Cherokee households may also have constituted public statements concerning Western rules governing the proper furnishing or "appointments" of domestic interiors.

Surface and feature contexts at the Christie Cabin Site produced a number of fragments of commercially manufactured and locally manufactured tobacco pipes (Figure 6.28), items accounted as personal accouterments. Sixteen fragments of low fired molded clay elbow pipes comprise a minimum of four distinct pipes (Figure 6.28a). All evince fluted stems and large capacity (~15ml) plain bowls. Similar stub-stemmed elbow tobacco pipes were commercially produced throughout the nineteenth century and were widely available at low cost (Walker 1975). Hunter's Store sold stub stemmed clay elbow pipes for $.10 and $.25 each (Hunter 1836-1838).

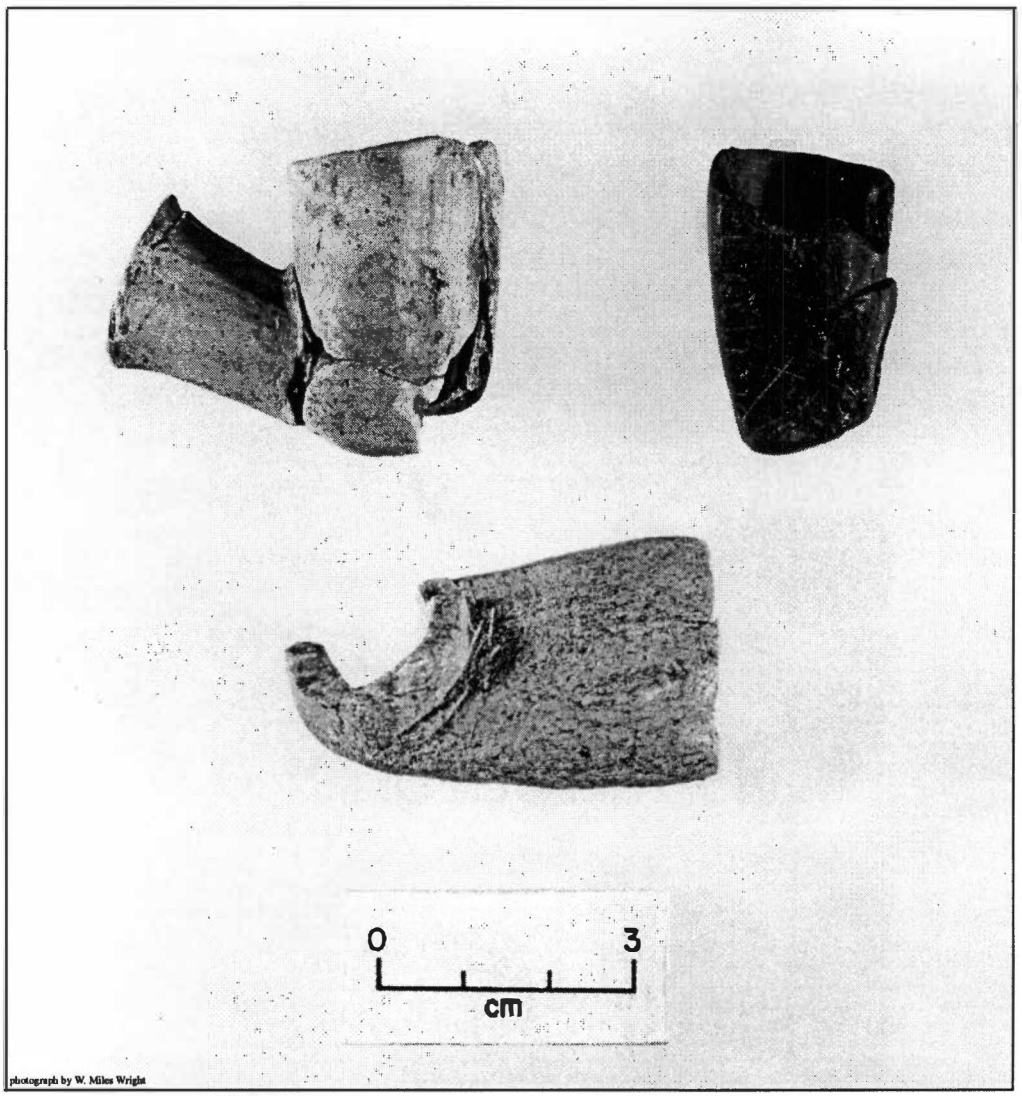


Figure 6.28. Tobacco pipes from the Christie Cabin Site. top left: commercially manufactured ball clay elbow pipe; top right: carved chlorite schist pipe; bottom: carved talc pipe preform.

Four native manufactured carved stone tobacco pipes are also represented in the assemblage (Figure 6.28). A complete chlorite schist pipe (Figure 6.28b) appears to have been broken, extensively reworked, and reused. This pipe resembles commercially available stub stemmed clay pipes in size and overall morphology. The bowl of this pipe is conical in profile and generally square in cross section, with rounded corners and convex, rounded sides. The corners of the bowl exhibit a series of perpendicular tick marks executed after the pipe was completed and polished. File marks are evident at the base of the bowl, and the interior of the bowl retains vestiges of pipe dottle. The stem is vestigial as a result of breakage and repair, but appears to originally have been square in cross section.

A second carved chlorite schist pipe is represented by the base and lower third of the pipe bowl. The base is slightly keeled, with two facets joining along a low central ridge. The bowl is well polished, but retains vestigial file marks. The bowl measures 15.8mm in diameter, with a minimum wall thickness of 1.4 mm. The remaining stub of the pipestem measures 9mm in diameter, and exhibits a bore of 5mm. A fragment of a third chlorite schist pipebowl recovered from the midden adjacent to Feature 1 measures 1.9mm in thickness and exhibits file marks over the exterior surface. The fourth carved stone pipe is an unfinished talc blank broken in manufacture (Figure 6.28c). The broken bowl remnant measures 3.8mm in thickness. The stem is heavy and thick (8.8mm) and exhibits large facets from rough carving. The stem split during the drilling process, and the remnant drill bore indicates that several attempts were made to realign the bore before the blank failed. The selection and use of talc, an inferior material for pipe carving, suggests that the artisan who produced this artifact was inexperienced at pipe production, and the use of talc certainly contributed to the failure of the piece. The incidence of the broken pipe blank, and associated talc debris, indicates that pipe production was actually undertaken at the site.

Christie cabin contexts yielded an unusually high frequency of tobacco pipes for a single household occupation less than three years in duration. The Christie family's consumption of tobacco was considerable, as indicated by John Christie's purchase of 4.5 pounds of pipe tobacco and three cigars at Hunter's Store between January and October 1837 (Hunter 1836–1838), yet these purchases appear hardly commensurate with the number of pipes represented at the site.

In addition to carved stone tobacco pipes, Feature 1 also yielded a carved talc object of undetermined function (Figure 6.27j). This long (6.55cm), tapered rod exhibits a flat base on the expanded (.85cm) distal end. Although the function of this object is uncertain, it resembles talc pencils used for marking iron. Other objects recovered from the site, including a tongs jaw and a piece of slag, suggest that ironworking may have been undertaken by the occupants of 31CE274;

the talc object may have functioned in this context, in which case it may be more appropriately classed with producer's goods.

The coin was recovered from beneath the cellar floorboards of Feature 1.is an 1835 silver half-dime piece is in very good condition, and appears to experienced limited circulation prior to deposition. The presence of this coin at the base of the Feature 1 deposits indicates the accumulation of these deposits during or after 1835, and suggests loss (or placement) of the coin by an individual involved in the construction of the cabin cellar.

Architectural components and other construction hardware recovered from the Christie cellar include several types and sizes of iron fasteners (nails, brads, tacks, and rivets) and fragments of flat glass panes (possible window lights) (Figure 6.29). Fifty-eight machine cut nails represent an array of sizes (6d-10d) and forms (e.g., 'L' head flooring, paneling, roofing). Brads (n=2) are distinguished as small (<2cm) cut nails with attenuated heads; tacks (n=6) are short (<2cm) nails with expanded (~5mm) heads. One rivet is a short (2.5cm) segment of square iron rod (.61cm dia) with bradded or mushroomed ends. A second rivet or nail (Figure 6.29a) is hand-forged from round stock, with an expanded head and a clinched, spatulate tip.

The relative abundance and diversity of fasteners at 31CE274 is noteworthy. As indicated by Welch and Jarrett's property descriptions, the majority of Cherokee structures in the region were cribbed "treen" buildings with a minimum of iron components. Welch and Jarrett's valuations document only 85 structures with nail attached roofing and ten structures with nail attached weatherboards or ceilings. In most Cherokee structures of the period, nails were concentrated in plank doors or doorway shutters; other nails may have been used as hooks for hanging items on ceiling joists and walls. Welch and Jarrett's description of the cabin at 31CE274 includes no mention of roofing nails or components attached with nails, although John Christie's primary residence boasted a nailed roof. It is likely that the majority of nails recovered from Feature 1 are attributable to less visible components of the cabin, such as interior battens applied to the cabin chinks. Some of the smaller nails probably derive from the cellar lining itself, although none were noted *in situ* in the pit fill. Tacks and brads recovered from Feature 1 almost certainly relate to nonarchitectural constructions, such as furniture and other household items.

Nails were available for sale at Hunter's store at $.16-$.25 per pound, but accounts indicate relatively few purchases of these items by Cherokee customers. Spoliation claims from the study area document seven instances of nails, including a claim for twelve pounds of nails by Barrow, a blacksmith from Cheoah (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842).

Thirty-one fragments of flat pane glass recovered from Feature 1 are tentatively identified as shards of window lights. Thicknesses of these fragments range between 1mm to 1.4mm with an average value of 1.2mm. This range is consistent with documented window glass from contexts

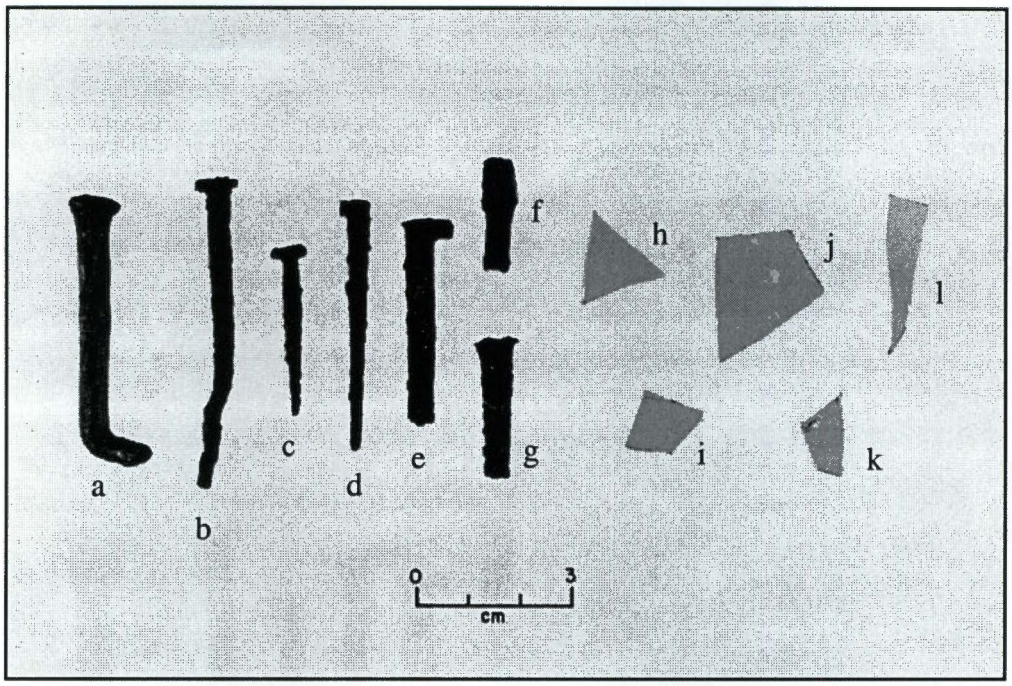


Figure 6.29. Nails and flat glass from the Christie Cabin Site. a: wrought nail/rivet; b: cut paneling nail; c: cut roofing nail; d–e. cut "L" head nails; f–g: horseshoe nails; h–l: flat/pane glass.

dating to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. While it is possible that these pane glass fragments derive from looking glasses (mirrors), none exhibit diagnostic silvering residue. The presumed incidence of window glass in the Christie Cabin assemblage is unusual inasmuch as federal property appraisers documented glass windows as part of only one building (the Baptist Mission house) in the region (Welch and Jarrett 1837). Cherokee improvement claims from the study area indicate only two residences with glass window lights, those of Ann Reed Hyatt of Tusquittee and *Atohee* of Cheoah (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). However, John C. Frémont, who conducted a survey along the Hiwassee River from the Tennessee state line to Beech Creek, noted: "That night we stopped at the log house of an Indian. It was a handsome specimen of forest architecture; a square built house standing on a steep bank of the Hiwassee, with glass paned windows"(1956:33). The rarity of glass window lights in Cherokee residential structures is understandable; relatively few Cherokee structures had any window openings, and glass panes were expensive and so fragile that they would require frequent replacement.

Producers' durable goods are represented in the Christie Cabin assemblage by ammunition, hardware related to agricultural activities, and hardware which may relate to specialized non-farm artisan activities (i.e., ironworking). Munitions are represented in the Christie Cabin collections by one cast lead ball (11.5mm; .41cal), a section of round lead bar cut with pincers, a lead sprue or droplet, and a possible gunflint fragment. These items denote the probable presence of firearms in the household, and lead waste indicates the casting of lead bullets or shot on site. John Christie's spoliation claim documents one rifle valued at $18.00, and Christie's account at Hunter's store indicates periodic fall and winter purchases of powder and lead. One of these purchases occurred in conjunction with purchases of powder, lead, stirrups, and a saddle blanket by John Christie's sons and nephews. This suggests "gearing up" episode in preparation for an extended fall hunting trip. Such hunts were typical activities for Cherokee males in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the incidence of "long hunts" is not well documented for the Removal period.

A number of iron items recovered from Feature 1 are referable to agricultural, generalized farm activities, or specialized artisan craft activities. These include an axe steel, a plowshare fragment, horseshoes and horseshoe nails, chain, and harness hardware (Figure 6.30). The axe steel is a lozenge shaped edge insert (Figure 6.30h) broken from a lapped and welded iron axehead. This steel measures 76mm in length, and is triangular in cross section. The thicker, broken edge of the object displays battering damage, and the steel was apparently recycled as a wedge after initial breakage. Axes were essential household tools that served such varied functions as land clearing, chopping wood for fuel, felling trees for fences and structures, preparing timbers for use in structures, and butchering animals. American pattern steel pollaxes

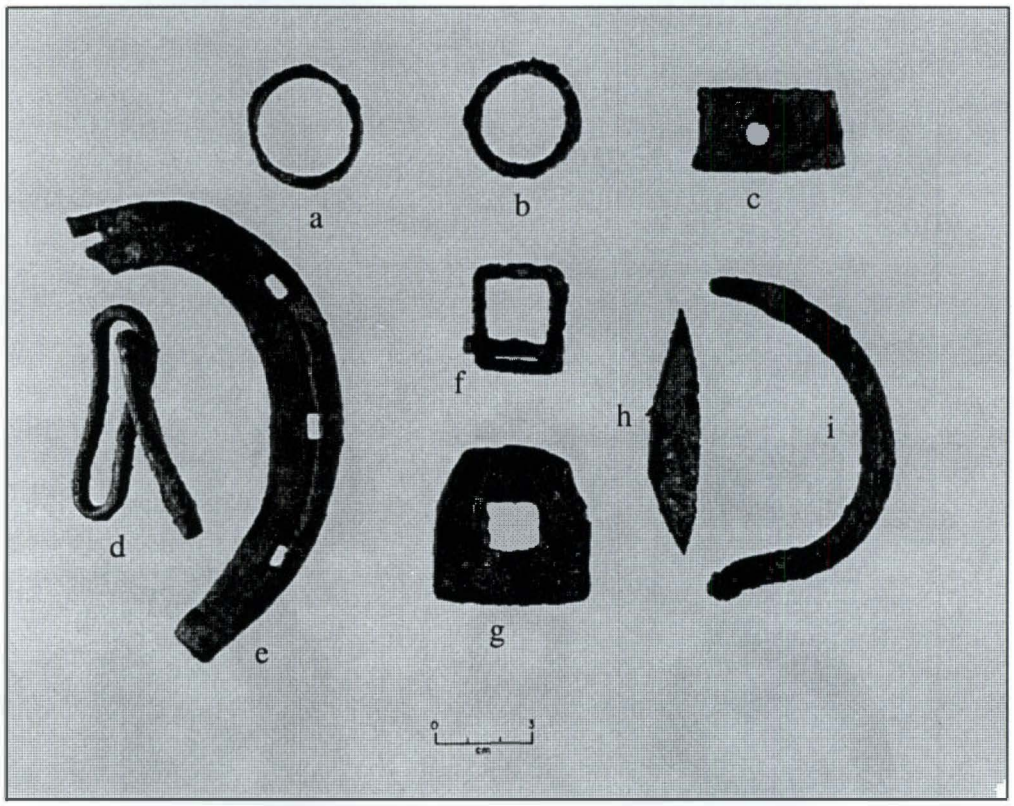


Figure 6.30. Agricultural and activities hardware from the Christie Cabin Site. a: iron harness ring; b. iron ferrule or sleeve; c. iron band (poss. barrel band); d: trace chain links; e: horseshoe branch; f: iron harness buckle; g: plowshare tongue; h: axe steel; i: iron farriers' tongs jaw.

were omnipresent on Cherokee farmsteads, and 80% of spoliation claims from the study area include one or more felling axes. Most households owned at least two axes, and one claim includes six axes. Values assigned to felling axes range from $1.00 for a 'half worn' ax to $3.00 for a new ax; Hunter's accounts document John Christie's purchase of a Collins Patent axe for $3.00 (Hunter 1836–1838). Christie's spoliation claim lists two axes valued at $5.00.

Harness and draft hardware includes an iron harness buckle, a harness ring, a section of chain, and a lap link. The iron harness ring (36mm dia.) (Figure 6.30a) and square frame iron harness buckle (3.4cm × 3cm) (Figure 6.30f) probably derive from draft harness rather than riding tack. Draft harness (also known as gears or gearing) is documented in half of the spoliation claims from the study area, with assigned values ranging from $1.00 to $8.00 per set. John Christie's own claim includes a complete set of plow gearing (harness, traces, collar, and singletree) valued at $8.00. Trace chains, which connected draft harness and singletrees to plows, are represented by two waisted links (6.7cm each) of forged chain (Figure 6.30d). A third, unconnected chain link (4.85 cm l.) with open, offset ends appears to be a lap link for piecing draft chains together.

This equipment was probably used in plow cultivation with John Christie's five horses (valued at $315.00) and six plows (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). These plows include one barshear (@$7.00) for deep tilth, one coulter (@1.00) for breaking clods, and four shovel plows (@$8.00) for shallow cultivation. A single plowshare tongue recovered from Feature 1 is probably attributable to a shovel plow. This plate iron fragment (Figure 6.30g) is 4mm thick and 49mm wide, with a square (1.45cm) central perforation for bolt insertion. The distal end of the tongue appears to have been hot chiseled from the remainder of the plowshare.

Two other objects, an iron ferrule and an iron tongs fragment, cannot be specifically ascribed agricultural functions, but are more generally referable as producers' equipment. The ferrule is a cylindrical iron band 2.3mm thick, 1.7cm wide and 3.6cm in diameter. This is probably a reinforcing band for an agricultural or construction tool, but cannot be definitively attributed. The iron tongs are represented by a "C" shaped jaw (Figure 6.30i). This iron stock is square in cross section, and measures 10cm in total length, and 9.5mm in thickness. The proximal end is broken below the hinged joint; the distal end tapers to a rounded finial. This object is tentatively identified as the jaw and bit of a pair of farriers' hoof testers, common elements of blacksmiths' toolkits. Smiths' tongs are identified in several spoliation claims from the study area, but none are specifically identified as hoof testers. Claims records do not indicate any ironworking equipment at Christie's. Other possible evidence for ironworking and farriery at 31CE274 include a single fragment of iron slag recovered from Feature 1, modified iron scrap (e.g., plowshare tongue, iron band segment), two heavily worn horseshoe fragments and three shoe nails, and a possible ironmarking pencil. Any ironworking activity at the Christie Cabin Site must have been very

limited, however, since smithing typically generates large quantities of slag and other debris. In contrast to evidence from the Christie Cabin Site, investigations of the forge area at the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987) recovered substantial amounts of slag and scrap iron related to the operation of a Cherokee blacksmith shop.

Possible evidence for farriery and ironworking by the Christie household suggests the family's expansion and diversification of economic production activities through assimilation of nontraditional artisan crafts. Practice of such artisan crafts as part of a multifaceted agrarian economic program appears characteristic of Anglo-American yeoman strategies and may be interpreted as further evidence for the Westernization of the Christie household. The family's proximity to the Unicoi Turnpike provided ample opportunity for Christie family smiths to offer specialized repair or fabrication services for cash, and such farrier and forge work could have appreciably expanded the household income.

Feature 1 deposits yielded a small, diverse assemblage of faunal remains which indicate that the household maintained a broad diet of domestic and wild resources (Table 6.8). The assemblage is dominated by domestic taxa, and includes remains of pigs (*Sus scrofa)*, goats (*Capra hiscus*), chickens (*Gallus gallus)*, ducks (*Anas* sp.), and peafowl (*Pavo real*) as well as wild species such as turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.), bullfrog (*Rana catesbiana*), various fishes, and freshwater bivalves (*Pleurobema*; *Fusconaia, Lampsilis*).

Pig bones (NISP=9; MNI=2) are the most abundant large mammal remains in the Christie Cabin assemblage. In addition to those elements that are positively identified as pig, it is likely that the majority of unidentified large mammal (NISP=6) and medium sized mammal (NISP=237) bone fragments are also attributable to pigs, since goat (NISP=1) is the only other large to medium sized mammal specifically identified in the collection. The relative abundance of pig remains in the Christie Cabin assemblage reflects the general importance of swine in Cherokee subsistence during the nineteenth century. The prevalence of pig bones and the absence of deer bone in the Christie Cabin assemblage suggest that pork played a preeminent role in the household diet. The incidence of pig remains in the assemblage may also reflect the commercial importance of swine to the Christie household. John Christie's spoliation claim documents loss of 30 stock hogs valued at $120.00 and eight large brood hogs valued at $40.00, numbers substantially in excess of subsistence needs. It is likely that the Christie family derived income from sales of hogs to Anglo-American drovers who regularly traveled the Unicoi Turnpike, and Christie's herd in June 1838 may have been reduced by fall, 1837 sales of hogs in anticipation of the impending removal.

A single goat (*Capra hiscus*) horn core recovered from Feature 1 indicates the presence, and probable consumption, of goats at the Christie Cabin Site. Although John Christie's spoliation

Table 6.8. Faunal remains recovered from 31CE274.

Common name	Taxon	Element	N=
pig	*Sus scrofa*	cervical vertebra	2
pig	*Sus scrofa*	innominate	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular canine	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	maxillary incisor	2
pig	*Sus scrofa*	maxillary premolar	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	patella	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	third phalanx	1
goat	*Capra hiscus*	horn core	1
squirrel	*Sciurus sp*	parietal	1
rat	*Rattus rattus*	mandible	1
rat	*Rattus rattus*	maxilla	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	cervical vertebra	3
small rodent	Cricetidae	femur	3
small rodent	Cricetidae	humerus	3
small rodent	Cricetidae	long bone fragment	11
small rodent	Cricetidae	lumbar vertebra	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	mandible	4
small rodent	Cricetidae	maxilla	3
small rodent	Cricetidae	molar	10
small rodent	Cricetidae	radius	2
small rodent	Cricetidae	rib	3
small rodent	Cricetidae	scapula	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	skull fragment	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	ulna	1
small rodent	Cricetidae	vertebra	2
large mammal	Mammalia	indeterminate fragment	5
large mammal	Mammalia	long bone fragment	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	astragulus	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	caudal vertebra	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	indeterminate fragment	211
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment	6
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	rib fragment	16
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	vertebra	2
turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	carpometacarpus	2
turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	phalange (first)	1
turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	ulna	1
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	eggshell fragment	752
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	humerus	1
peafowl	*Pavo real*	phalange	1
cf. duck	cf. Anatidae	rib	1
large bird (indet.)	Galliformes	femur	2
large bird (indet.)	Galliformes	long bone fragment	1
large bird (indet.)	Galliformes	tibiotarsus	2
small bird (indet.)	Passeriformes	tarsometatarsus	1
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	femur	2
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	humerus	2

Table 6.8. Faunal remains recovered from 31CE274 (cont.).

Common name	Taxon	Element	N=
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	pelvis	2
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	radius	2
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	tibia	1
bullfrog	*Rana catesbiana*	tibio-fibula	1
toad (indet.)	*Bufo*	humerus	1
toad (indet.)	*Bufo*	long bone fragment	1
toad (indet.)	*Bufo*	scapula	1
smallmouth bass	*Micropterus dolmeive*	parasphenoid	1
redhorse	*Moxostoma sp.*	maxilla	2
redhorse	*Moxostoma sp.*	preoperculum	1
redhorse	*Moxostoma sp.*	quadrate	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	indeterminate fragment	13
fish (indet.)	Pisces	operculum	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	parasphenoid	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	pharangeal	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	scale	103
fish (indet.)	Pisces	spine	64
fish (indet.)	Pisces	vertebra	1
freshwater bivalve	*Fusconaia barnesiana*	valve	1
freshwater bivalve	*Lampsilis fasciola*	valve	2
freshwater bivalve	*Pleurobema oviforme*	valve	1
bivalve (niad indet.)		valve	4
terrestrial gastropod		shell	79
indeterminate		indeterminate fragment	67

claim does not list goats, the incidence of goat remains does not appear unusual; five percent of spoliation claims from the study area include goats , which were presumably maintained as meat sources (see Chapter 5 discussion). The incidence of goat remains indicates that the Christie household expanded their repertoire of domestic livestock beyond the typical horse-cattle-swine-chicken configuration prevalent in the region. Such diversification and specialization of household production is a characteristic of Western agrarian systems, and is interpreted as further evidence of the Westernized orientations of the Christie family.

A squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.) parietal recovered from Feature 1 is the sole physical evidence for exploitation of wild mammalian species by the Christie household. A large number of small rodent remains recovered from Feature 1 probably represent the entrapment and death of pests within the pit. The rodent runs observed around the outer margin of Feature 1 indicate rodent activity between the pit wall and cellar lining prior to the filling of Feature 1 and the abandonment of the Christie cabin.

Maintenance and substantial use of poultry by the Christie household is indicated by remains of chickens and chicken eggs, ducks, turkeys, and peafowl. Feature 1 fill yielded a single chicken (*Gallus gallus*) humerus and large quantities of fragmented chicken eggshell, occurrences consistent with Christie's spoliation claim for 24 chickens (@$6.00). A single duck (Anatidae) rib in the collection may represent either wild or domestic waterfowl; Christie's spoliation claim lists 28 domestic ducks valued at $7.50, the fifth largest flock reported in the study area. Cherokee families probably maintained flocks of domestic ducks for both meat and eggs, but ducks were most important as a source of high quality feathers and down for stuffing mattresses and pillows.

The most unusual element of the Christie Cabin faunal assemblage is a single peafowl (*Pavo real*) wing phalanx. The significance of peafowl at the Christie cabin is unclear. The bird may simply represent an exotic dietary item, or the Christie family may have maintained the living peafowl as a display item, a guard bird, or as a source of feathers for traditional personal ornamentation. Cherokee ethnographer James Mooney noted: "The Indian has always been noted for his love of feather decorations, and more than any from his native birds he prized the beautiful feathers of the peacock" (1900:504). Mooney relates a Cherokee story, collected from John Axe (who lived seven kilometers from the Christies), that involved an eighteenth century Cherokee conjurer who obtained peacock feathers for a headdress, which he claimed to have received from the star spirits (Mooney 1900:399). Spoliation claims from southwestern North Carolina include reports of ostrich feathers used for personal ornamentation, and peacock plumage was probably analogous. Conversely, the Christies, like many contemporary southern Anglo-Americans, may have displayed living peafowl as signals of wealth, gentility, and worldliness. Comparable use of

peafowl by other *métis* families is suggested by an 1836 account of Principal Chief John Ross' flock:

> ...In casting a look up into the wide spread branches of a majestic oak, standing within the enclosure of the garden, and which overshadows the spot where lies the remains of his dear babe, and most beloved and affectionate father, he (John Ross) there saw, perched upon its boughs, that flock of beautiful peafowls, once the matron's care and delight... (Cherokee Nation 1836).

Three wealthy, westernized *métis* families (James Lasley, John Walker, Jr., and George Still) documented the loss of peafowl (@$1.00 ea.) in their Removal period spoliation claims, and the incidence of peafowl in these contexts connotes a display function (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). However, Jack Still, George's brother, reported loss of a "bunch of peacock feathers," a suggestion that the peacock feathers were themselves valued and marketable items. Peafowl would certainly have impressed both Cherokees and Anglo-Americans who traveled the Unicoi Turnpike near the Christie cabin, and the exotic fowl may have functioned to signal a Westernized, outward looking orientation on the part of the Christies. Whether maintained for display, meat, or feathers, the peafowl must have appeared highly incongruous with the cabin and its grounds.

Four turkey elements recovered from Feature 1 indicate the consumption of turkey by the Christie household. Wild turkeys were a common component of Cherokee diet and turkey remains are well represented in nineteenth century faunal assemblages from the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987) and Chota (Bogan et al. 1986). A number of Cherokee households in the study area also maintained flocks of domestic turkeys for table use and perhaps for sale to Anglo-American drovers (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). However, these domestic turkeys were probably derived directly from wild stock, and their osteological remains are likely indistinguishable from those of wild birds.

A single small passerine tarsometatarsus indicates the probable dietary use of small songbirds by the Christie household. Consumption of small birds appears to have been common in both traditional and Westernized Cherokee households, and small songbird remains occur in most well preserved Cherokee faunal assemblages.

Amphibian remains from the Christie Cabin Site include both bullfrog (*Rana catesbiana*) (NISP=10) and toad (*Bufo* sp.) (NISP=3) bones. As with the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin assemblage, the bullfrog bones probably represent food remains, while the toad remains may be incidental inclusions in the cellar pit. Feature 1 deposits also yielded a large number of fish remains, including bones of redhorse (*Moxostoma* sp.) and smallmouth bass (*Micropterus dolmiedes*) and scales of both catostomids and centrarchids. Fish were an important dietary supplement for Cherokee families in the study area, who took them by angling, spearing, poisoning and

entrapment. Hunter's accounts indicate that members of the Christie household purchased fishhooks in April 1837, and Army survey notebooks depict an active fishweir located in the Hiwassee River at the mouth of Hanging Dog Creek near the home of Hogshooter Christie. This fishtrap, which was located approximately one kilometer downstream from 31CE274, was probably operated by the Christie family.

Four niad valves in the collection represent three locally available species (*Fusconaia barnesiana*; *Lampsilis fasciola*; *Pleurobema oviforme*). The dietary significance of these species is unclear, and incidence of these valves may reflect the collection of such shells for use as potters' tools rather than the gathering of live bivalves for food. None of the shells exhibit wear patterns clearly indicative of use as pottery scrapers.

Discussion

Historic documentation of 31CE274 indicates that the site was the location of a small Cherokee farmstead owned by John Christie, a well-to-do Anglo-Cherokee *métis* who resided on a nearby improvement. The farmstead, which consisted of a small (144ft^2) log cabin with three acres of cultivated land and several fruit trees, was probably occupied by a segment of the John Christie household for less than three years prior to the mass Removal of 1838. Archaeological investigations of the site defined the site extent (650m^2) and boundaries, collected archaeological materials exposed on the site surface, and excavated a single pit context. This context represents a substructure storage facility (pit cellar) associated with the Christie Cabin.

Material collections from 31CE274 include a large and diverse array of commercially manufactured goods, as well as aboriginal ceramics and carved stone pipes, and remains of both domestic and wild fauna. The overall size and diversity of the material assemblages is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that it represents a single household occupation over a two to three year span. None of the other Removal period Cherokee contexts examined in this study exhibit similar diversity or density of materials.

Material assemblages reflect an agrarian lifestyle that was, at least superficially, comparable to that of southern Anglo-American yeoman farmers. The abundance and diversity of commercially manufactured goods indicates that consumption of "store bought" wares was aprominent aspect of the Christie family lifestyle, and suggests that the household produced sufficient surplus income for the purchase of both necessities and luxury items. This indicates a far greater degree of market participation and economic "competence" than is evident from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin assemblages.

Assemblages recovered from 31CE274 appear somewhat incongruous with historical descriptions of the Christie farmstead. The three acre agricultural plot at 31CE274 could not have

produced sufficient salable surplus for the Christie cabin household to have purchased the goods represented in the archaeological record. It is likely that the Christie cabin household was economically linked to the larger John Christie household, which maintained significant productive capacity in terms of agricultural plots and livestock (as indicated by documentary records). John Christie's spoliation claim documents a range and abundance of household possessions comparable to that represented at 31CE274.

Although the predominance of commercially manufactured goods and domestic fauna suggest a relatively acculturated, westernized outlook on the part of the Anglo-Cherokee Christie family, aboriginal artifacts associated with the Christie cabin suggest the demarcation of a parallel native identity. The presence of substantial numbers of aboriginal ceramics in the assemblage indicate maintenance of certain aspects of the traditional dietary practice, such as preparation of lye processed corn and sour corn mush. While the Christie household could set a formal table, the annular decorated bowls may have occasionally held *kanohena*, bean bread, and wasp nest soup. Production of carved stone pipes within the Christie household reflects the exercise of traditional craft skills. The degree to which such material markers of native culture were consciously exhibited by this household is uncertain, but it appears that a measure of native Cherokee identity was maintained, or even cultivated, by members of the Christie cabin household, despite overt expressions of Western affinity.

Sataka Cabin Site (31CE279)

The *Sataka* Cabin Site (31CE279) represents a Removal period occupation by the *Sataka* [English translation: Heavy] household, a monolingual fullblood Cherokee family of moderate economic standing. The site is located on a broad, level second terrace 155m southwest of the Beech Creek–Hiwassee River confluence, approximately 5.9km west of Murphy, in Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figures 6.1, 6.2). The site elevation is approximately 1475 ft AMSL, and the site is inundated by Hiwassee Reservoir except during maximum winter drawdown of the lake. Site sediments are moderately deflated as a result of seasonal reservoir fluctuation, but vestigial sandy silt loam A horizon soils are present over much of the landform. Diagnostic materials exposed on the site surface indicate a Removal period Cherokee component approximately 400m^2 in extent situated on the terrace crest. The landform also exhibits evidence of substantial Archaic period and historic Anglo-American occupations.

Historical Context

Army Corps survey sketchmaps of the Shallowford area of the Hiwassee River depict the residential structure and improvements of *Sataka* immediately southwest of the confluence of the Hiwassee River and Beech Creek, which the surveys identify as "*Sartarga*'s [*Sataka*'s] Creek."

This farmstead, which was occupied by a one adult male, one adult female, and two children (Henderson Roll 1835), consisted of the following improvements:

Sataka - living on the west side of Hiwassee on a branch below the mouth of Nottely

1 log cabin 14-16 ft. puncheon floor hewed joists stick & clay chimney st.[one] b.[ack]			$28.00
1 cabin 14 ft sqr. wood chimney			$20.00
1 Hot House			$7.00
8 acres upland in cultivation	$8		$64.00
40 peach trees 50.	2 apple trees	3.50	$27.00
13 small apple trees .75			$9.75

One improvement on the East side of the River in Toocloah Town [at Grape Creek]

1 hewed log corn house 8-12 floor & roof	$15.00
1 small cabin quite old	$5.00
4 acres Bottom in cultivation $8.00	$32.00
5 small peach trees .12 1/2	$.62 1/2

(Welch and Jarrett 1837:265)

In the cluster analysis of real properties data, this composite property is grouped with the *Chewkeeaskee* farmstead as part of the 203-member Cluster 1, a group characterized by simple, yet sufficient housing and agricultural properties capable of producing small surpluses for market use. A post-removal improvement claim filed by *Sataka* indicates additional property holdings of six acres, another cabin, four more peach trees and eight apple trees (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). Other losses claimed by *Sataka* (Table 6.9) include standing crops worth $273.00,

Table 6.9. Chattel property losses by the *Sataka* household as a result of military removal (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842).

Item	n=	Value	Item	n=	Value
bedstead	1	$2.00	rifle gun	3	$75.00
table	1	$3.00	chicken	30	$3.75
chair	4	$2.00	cattle	6	$44.00
pot	4	$15.00	corn (dry)		$10.00
plate	8	$2.00	cow & calf	2	$15.00
tin cup	4	$0.50	hog	8	$32.00
basin	2	$4.00	horse	3	$240.00
spoon	5	$0.50	bridle	1	$2.00
wooden spoons		$0.50	gearing	1	$2.00
tin dipper	1	$0.50	collar & hames	1	$3.00
mortar	1	$0.50	shovel plow	2	$4.00
water pail	4	$2.00	mattock	1	$3.00
salt		$2.00	weeding hoe	4	$4.00
basket	10	$3.50	drawknife	1	$0.50
canoe	1	$10.00	hammer	1	$0.50
cotton cards	1	$1.00	iron wedge	1	$2.00
spinning wheel	1	$3.00	beans		$10.00
scissors	2	$1.00	cabbage		$4.00
comb	2	$1.00	Irish potatoes		$10.00
hasp & staple	2	$0.50	beans (growing crop)		$4.00
padlock	2	$1.50			

$334.75, producers' durable goods worth $109.00, and consumers' durable goods worth $40.00 . The cluster analysis of chattel properties (Chapter 5) classified *Sataka*'s inventory with Cluster 4, a group distinguished by high scores for producers'equipment. The *Sataka* inventory appears somewhat anomalous, however, inasmuch as this classification is based on extremely high values for firearms ($75.00), and expansion or intensification of agrarian strategies are not indicated. High values ($14.50) for goods manufactured in native traditions (e.g., wooden spoons, mortar, baskets, canoe) suggest a relatively traditional cultural orientation for the *Sataka* family.

Army troops arrested members of the *Sataka* household in June 1838, and the family emigrated to Oklahoma with Hildebrand's Amohee district detachment during the fall and winter of 1838. Once in Indian Territory, the family settled near Richard Taylor at Beatie's Prairie, Delaware District.

Archaeological Investigations

Field reconnaissances of the *Sataka* cabin locality in 1991 and 1993 identified a historic Cherokee site component defined by diagnostic materials distributed over a 400m² area of the terrace surface. The site surface is moderately deflated as a result of reservoir fluctuation and patches of yellowish brown clay loam subsoil are apparent along the front slope of the terrace, where the majority of artifacts were exposed. However, the core of the site is probably situated on the terrace crest, which retains 5-10cm of strong brown sandy loam A horizon soils that are partially obscured by a thin (≤1cm) layer of lake deposited silt. One circular pit feature (.6m dia., .45m depth), and one linear, ditchlike feature are apparent on the deflated terrace frontslope, but no diagnostic materials are clearly associated with these contexts and the cultural affiliation of these features is not demonstrated. Other discrete contexts (e.g., substructure cellars) may be present beneath remnant topsoils on the terrace crest.

Material Collections

Diagnostic Removal period materials recovered from the site surface include Qualla series ceramics (n=80), whiteware sherds (n=21), two coarse stoneware sherds, a fragment of dark olive-green bottle glass, an English pistol flint, and a fragment of a carved chlorite schist tobacco pipe (Tables 6.10, 6.11). Qualla series ceramics from 31CE279 exhibit paste colors, temper, and surface treatments consistent with those observed in the Christie Cabin and *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Sites collections (Table 6.10). Surface treatments present in the *Sataka* Cabin Site collection include check stamped (n=35), plain (n=8), rectilinear complicated stamped (n=2), linear stamped indeterminate (n=6), and smoothed or obliterated (n=13). One rim sherd exhibits a narrow appliqué rimstrip decorated with a series of right oblique oriented notches. The highly fragmented

Table 6.10. Qualla series ceramic sherds from the Sataka Cabin Site (31CE279).

Surface Treatment/Decoration	Size *	N=
body sherds		
check stamped	4	1
check stamped	3	2
check stamped	2	20
check stamped	1	10
rectilinear complicated stamped	2	2
linear stamped (indet.)	2	5
stamped (indet.)	2	2
plain	1	2
plain	2	4
plain	3	1
residual	1	3
residual	2	9
smoothed	1	5
smoothed	2	7
rim sherds		
rimstrip (right oblique notched)	2	1
plain rimstrip	2	1
check stamped	2	2
linear stamped (indet.)	2	1
plain	2	1
smoothed	2	1
	total	80

*maximum surface dimension in centimeters

Table 6.11. Commercially manufactured items from the Sataka Cabin Site (31CE279).

ceramics

ware	decoration	n=
whiteware	sponge decorated	3
whiteware	hand-painted (polychrome)	13
whiteware	plain	3
whiteware	transfer printed (blue)	1
whiteware	shell edge embossed (blue)	1
stoneware (alkaline glazed)		1

other mass produced goods.

Item	Note	n=
dark olive-green bottle glass fragment		1
English blade gunflint	pistol flint; exhausted	1

nature of the sherd collection precludes secure identification of vessel forms or estimation of minimum vessel count, but both globular jars and flaring rim pans are represented. Commercially manufactured ceramics recovered from 31CE279 include 3 plain whiteware body sherds, 13 polychrome hand-painted whiteware body sherds, one transfer printed whiteware body sherd,three spatter decorated whiteware body sherds and one blue shell edge decorated rim sherd (Table 6.11). Vessel forms could not be determined. An exhausted English blade gunflint recovered from the site surface measures only 16.5mm in width, and is identified as a pistol flint (Table 6.11). The small fragment of dark olive-green bottle glass from the site surface probably derives from a blown wine or rum bottle.

The carved chlorite schist pipe bowl fragment recovered from 31CE279 closely resembles stone pipe fragments from the Christie Cabin (31CE274) and *Kianna* Cabin (31CE288) sites. The bowl fragment appears to be a portion of a truncated cone with a flat base, and is polished to a smooth matte finish.

Discussion

The archaeological contexts and artifacts observed at 31CE279 are consistent with a Removal period Cherokee occupation, and almost certainly represent facilities and debris generated by the *Sataka* household. The suite of artifacts collected from the site surface resembles materials recovered from well controlled contexts at the nearby Christie Cabin and *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Sites. These artifacts, including Qualla series ceramics, early whitewares, dark olive-green bottle glass, a gunflint, and a carved stone pipe fragment reflect a characteristic array of debris generated by relatively traditional Cherokee households of moderate economic means.

The low density of materials evident on the site surface is instructive. Because the site is moderately deflated, all of the material content of the former plowzone or A horizon is concentrated within the vestigial topsoil or is collapsed onto a single surface. These are optimal conditions for site discovery, and it is likely that the Removal period materials collected from the site surface represent the majority of diagnostic artifacts that survived in surficial contexts. However, the site was not particularly apparent upon initial inspection, and discovery of the Removal period component required close scrutiny of the site surface.

Kianna Cabin Site (31CE288)

The *Kianna* Cabin Site is located on the east side of the Nottely River near River Mile 2.5 (Figure 6.1). The site is situated at the foot of Rocky Fence Ridge, approximately 90 m from the river's edge and at the high water mark of Hiwassee Reservoir. Distributions of materials on the exposed and deflated surface indicate a total site approximately 200m^2 in extent. Although the site appears to be confined below the waterline of Hiwassee Reservoir, it may extend above the reservoir onto U.S. D.A. Forest Service lands.

The site elevation is approximately 1520 ft AMSL and the site is covered by Hiwassee Reservoir only during maximum pool. Because the site is subject to wave action during the summer months, site sediments are extremely deflated, and a yellowish brown clay loam subsoil is apparent across the site surface. Above the shoreline of Hiwassee Reservoir, the surviving A horizon consists of 15-20cm of dark brown sandy loam with abundant gravels. Large quartzite boulders stranded on the site surface may have been present and partially buried during the Removal period site occupation, or may have been dislodged from locations upslope by mining and quarrying activities on Rocky Fence Ridge.

Historical Context

The Removal period Cherokee residence at this location is indicated by a December 1837 Army survey sketchmap which depicts the Nottely River Valley between Sneed Branch and Cane Creek (Figure 6.31). Annotations to this sketchmap identify the residence simply as "Indians." However, Welch and Jarrett's valuations indicate only two farmsteads on the east side of the Nottely River below Cane Creek; those of *Lawlo* and his son, *Kianna*. *Lawlo*'s cabin (31CE280) is identified as the residence nearest to Cane Creek, which the surveys label as *Lolo*'s Creek. The other improvement apparently corresponds with the Removal period component at 31CE288:

Kianna living on N.E. side Highwassee River above Whiplash's field	
one old cabin 13-13 stick & clay chimney board roof	$15.00
7 acres bottom in cultivation @ 8	$56.00
36 peach trees @ .50	$18.00
One Impt on the East side of Notly River opposite Chatowee	
one cabin 13-13 1/2 floor wood chimney stone back	$20.00
one acre upland in cultivation	$8.00
	$117.00

(Welch and Jarrett 1837:25)

Welch and Jarrett's appraisal indicates that *Kianna* resided in Cootlohee, but owned the improvement at 31CE288. The 1835 census enumerates the *Kianna* household in sequence with others from Cootlohee, and does not indicate any households between that of *Lawlo* and the mouth of the Nottely River. It would appear, therefore, that the cabin was not occupied on a full-time basis between 1835 and 1838. The cabin at 31CE288 may represent a pre-1835 residence of

Figure 6.3.1 1838 survey notes indicating the location of the *Kianna*, *Lawlo*, and *Chatowee* cabins.

the *Kianna* household, or it may simply be a field house associated with *Kianna*'s agricultural plot. It is also possible that some of the *Lawlo-Kianna* kindred occupied the site after 1835, but were not acknowledged by Welch and Jarrett, whose primary interest was attribution of ownership.

Kianna's family remained in the region after the 1838 removal and joined *Lawlo* and other relatives in the Buffalo Town enclave in Graham County (Thomas 1840). It is likely that *Kianna* and his household were part of the *Lawlo* band that escaped from the emigration detachment. Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, the *Kianna* family is not documented by Hunter's store records nor by any post-Removal spoliation claim.

Archaeological Reconnaissance

A 1991 reconnaissance of the *Kianna* Cabin locality identified a small (<200m^2), diffuse scatter of Qualla series ceramics, whiteware sherds and other diagnostic artifacts on a severely deflated surface at the base of the valley sideslope. Despite excellent surface visibility and the complete exposure of B horizon soils due to deflation, no evidence of pit features, postmolds, or midden deposits were observed on the site. Apparently, such contexts have been obliterated in the below pool portion of the site, but a portion of the site (with features) may survive above pool on Forest Service lands. Auger tests of the adjacent above pool area did not identify any discrete feature contexts or other evidence of the Removal period occupation.

Material Collections

Artifacts recovered from 31CE288 (Tables 6.12, 6.13) include ten Qualla series ceramic sherds (Figure 6.32l-r). Seven of these sherds exhibit check stamped surfaces; the remainder are eroded. These ceramics evince distinctive aplastic inclusions, with moderately abundant crushed micaceous schist and garnet fragments as well as the more typical crushed quartz inclusions.

Commercially manufactured ceramics (n=9) from 31CE288 are all whitewares (Table 6.13) Four sherds exhibit hand-painted decoration, two are transfer printed and the remaining three are plain (Figure 6.32a-g) . These sherds represent a minimum of four discrete vessels. Container glass from the site surface includes two dark olive-green bottle glass fragments and one fragment of an olive-amber whiskey flask. The flask fragment (Figure 6.32h) exhibits relief arrowpoints and a portion of an eagle's wing, and apparently represents one of the eagle flasks popular during the 1820s and 1830s (McKearin 1953).

A pewter spoon shank fragment (Figure 6.32j) from the site surface exhibits beveled edges and a hexagonal cross section. This probably represents a teaspoon, a common household item documented in many spoliation claim inventories. A probable fishgig tine (Figure 6.32k) is square in cross section, and tapers from a thickness of 1.2cm at the broken proximal end to a point at the

Table 6.12. Aboriginal artifacts recovered from the Kianna Cabin Site (31CE288).

Qualla Series Ceramic Body Sherds

Surface Treatment	Size (cm)	N=
check stamped	1	1
check stamped	2	2
check stamped	3	3
check stamped	5	1
eroded	2	3

Carved Stone

Item	Raw Material	Note	N=
carved tobacco pipe	chlorite schist	broken in manufacture	1
carved object (indet.)	talc	possible tobacco pipe finial	1

Table 6.13. Commercially manufactured artifacts recovered from the Kianna Cabin Site (31CE288).

Ceramic Sherds

Ware	Form	Part	Interior Decoration	Exterior Decoration	N=
whiteware	cup	body	plain	hand-painted (polychrome; broad line	1
whiteware	cup	rim	plain	hand-painted (polychrome; broad line	1
whiteware	plate	body	transfer printed (black)	plain	1
whiteware	plate	rim	transfer printed (red & black)	plain	1
whiteware	plate	base	plain	plain	1
whiteware	indet.	body	handpainted (blue)	plain	1
whiteware	indet.	body	handpainted (black)	plain	1
whiteware	indet.	body	plain	plain	2

Other Mass Produced Goods

Item	Decoration/Modification	N=
pewter spoon shank		1
iron fishgig prong		1
dark olive-green bottle glass frag.		2
olive-amber whiskey flask frag.	embossed eagle with arrows	1

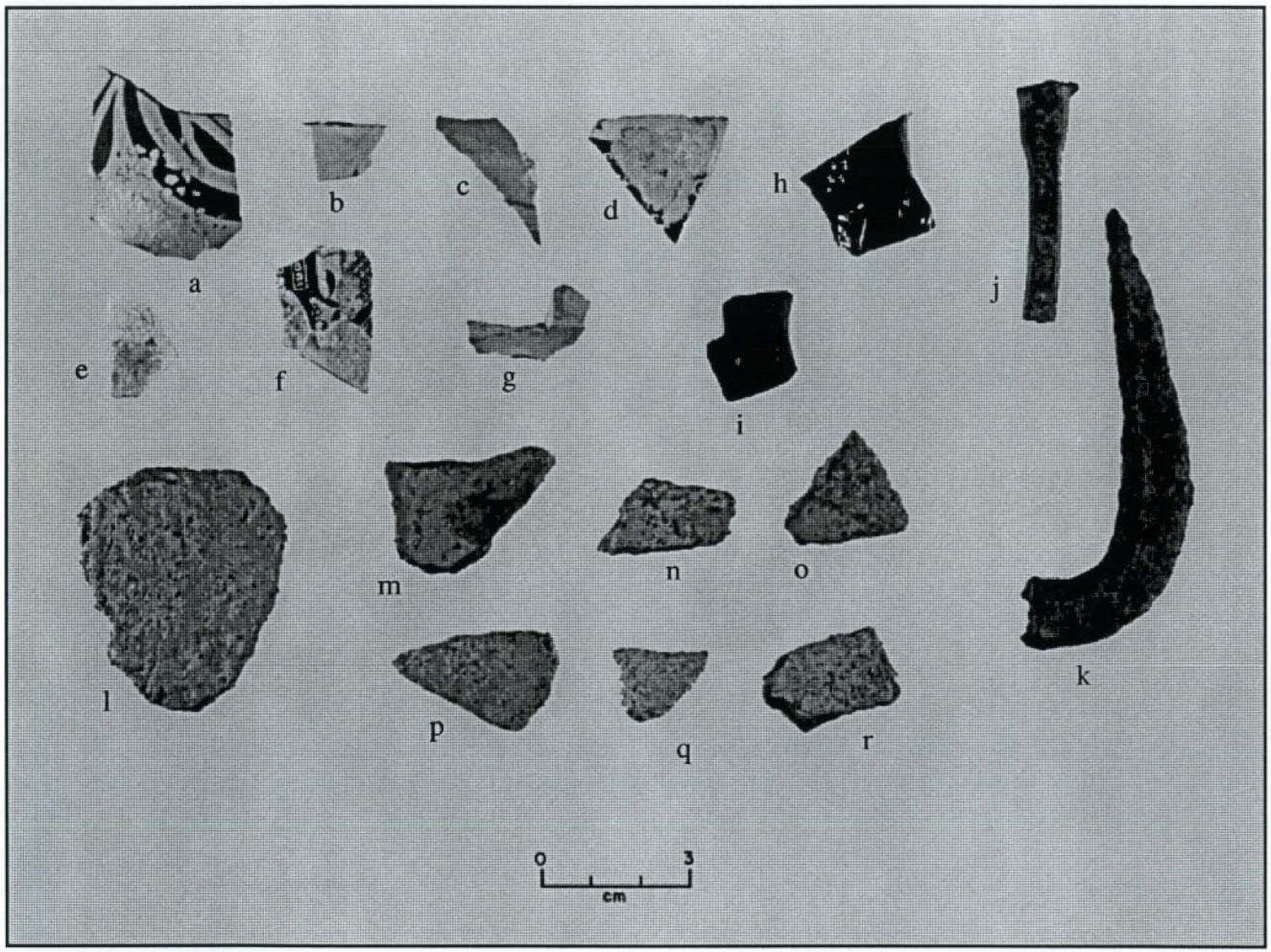


Figure 6.32. Removal Period artifacts recovered from the surface of the Kianna Cabin Site (31CE288). a: hand-painted whiteware sherd; b.,d.,f: transfer printed whiteware sherds; e: spatter decorated whiteware sherd; c.,g: plain whiteware sherds; h: olive-amber glass whiskey flask fragment; i: chlorite scist tobacco pipe preform; j: pewter spoon fragment; k: iron fishgig tine; l–r: Qualla series ceramic sherds.

distal end over a length of 9.5cm. Iron fishgigs are documented in a number of Removal period spoliation claims from the study area, including that of Buzzard, who lived one mile upriver. Such gigs were most likely used to take redhorses and other fish in the shoals during spring spawning runs.

Two carved stone objects were also recovered from the site surface. The carved chlorite schist pipe blank (Figure 6.32i) appears to have been broken in the manufacturing process (Table 6.12). The outer surfaces of this pipe appear to be carved to final dimensions and smoothed preparatory to final polishing. Failure of the blank occurred during drilling for the stem bore. The pipe is diminutive, measuring only 1.51cm in length, 1.8cm in height, and 1.3cm in thickness. In addition to the pipe, a 2.6cm x 1.2cm x .21cm carved talc fragment was recovered from the site surface. The function of this piece is undetermined; it may represent a fragment of a decorative appendage from a tobacco pipe.

Discussion

The *Kianna* Cabin Site illustrates the small size, low density, and vulnerability of many Removal period Cherokee residential sites. The small (n=25), yet highly diverse artifact collection recovered from the site surface appears to represent the entire constellation of materials that have survived in the archaeological record. Unless some portion of the site survives above pool, the erosional action of Hiwassee Reservoir has eradicated all contexts relating to the cabin occupation, and collection of the few artifacts present on the site surface removed all evidence of the Cherokee component. The site was identified only because site sediments were sufficiently degraded so that all of the site content was exposed. Similar, but better preserved sites would be virtually invisible to archaeological survey, even when such investigations are guided by documentary evidence.

Comparison of the artifact collections from the *Kianna* Cabin Site with the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site and Christie Cabin Site collections illustrates the degree of intersite variability in the archaeological record of Removal period Cherokee residences. Despite the small size of the collection, it includes forms not represented in other assemblages (e.g., fishgig, pewter spoon). The *Kianna* Cabin Site collection comprises more commercially manufactured goods than are represented in the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site assemblage, but includes proportionately more native goods than does the Christie Cabin Site assemblage. This suggests rather continuous variation between the extremes represented by the Christie Cabin and *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin assemblages. Such a continuum corresponds with patterns of interhousehold variability indicated by spoliation claims and property valuations from the study area.

Brush Picker Cabin Site (31CE541)

The Brush Picker Cabin Site (31CE541) is located on an upland saddle approximately 600m southwest of the confluence of Micken Branch and the Hiwassee River (R.M. 82.5) in western Cherokee County, North Carolina (Figure 6.1). The site is situated at the maximum pool line of Hiwassee Reservoir (1524ft AMSL), and portions of the site appear to be located both above and below the reservoir pool line. All of the presumed site area is under the jurisdiction of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Soils evident on the above-pool portion of the site consist of a thin (10-15cm) sandy loam A horizon underlain by a clay loam subsoil. Reservoir induced deflation has removed the A horizonrom the below pool portion of the site, and the B horizon and schist bedrock are completely exposed.

Historical Context

Notebooks of John C. Frémont's reconnaissance of the Hiwassee River trail between the Tennessee state line and Hanging Dog Creek depict a Cherokee improvement in an upland saddle on the southwestern side of Micken Branch near its confluence with the Hiwassee River (Figure 6.33). Frémont's marginal notes label the improvement "Brush Picker," the English equivalent of the Cherokee given name *Connausuteeskee*. Unfortunately, no other Removal period documents refer to Brush Picker, nor do they indicate a *Connausuteeskee* resident along the Hiwassee River, and it is difficult to associate this occupation with any particular Cherokee household in the 1835 census or 1836–1837 valuations. The site most likely corresponds to a farmstead that Welch and Jarrett attributed to *Oonakah*, who lived "on a branch [running into the west side of Hiwassee River below Persimmon Creek] below *Saloolataney*". The appraisers' description of *Oonakah*'s improvements depict a very modest Cherokee farmstead:

Oonakah- living on a branch below Saloolatany	
One cabin 12 ft sqr wood chimney shed in front	$14.00
One cabin wall 12 ft sqr hewed logs	$6.00
$2^{1/2}$ acres of upland in cultivation $8	$20.00
	$40.00

(Welch and Jarrett 1837:278)

An 1841 spoliation claim by *Oonukuh* or Trout" identifies him as "a man about 40 years of age on Hiwassee River below Beech Town, North Carolina" (Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1843). This claim (Table 6.14) indicates that *Oonukuh* avoided military deportation in 1838, and joined the Buffalo Town (Graham County) enclave in the post-Removal era. Both the property appraisal and spoliation claim indicate that the *Oonukah* household ranked among the large, impoverished basal tier of Cherokee society in North Carolina.

Figure 6.33. 1838 Army survey sketchmap indicating the Brush Picker cabin location.

Table 6.14. Household possessions claimed by Oonukuh in 1841 spoliation claim (Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners 1846-1847).

Item	n=	Value	Item	N=	Value
pot	1	$2.00	pistol	1	$5.00
pot	1	$3.50	corn	60 bu.	$60.00
pot	1	$5.00	ax	2	$6.00
plate	8	$1.00	hoe	2	$1.00
pantaloons	2	$2.00	plow	1	$3.00
tuck comb	1	$0.50	yearling	1	$3.00
basket	4	$1.00	cow & calf	1	$15.00
pack basket	2	$1.00	hog	13	$18.00
pail	2	$1.00			

Archaeological Investigations

A 1993 archaeological reconnaissance (Riggs and Kimball 1996) of the Brush Picker Cabin locality identified a small (≈300m²) surficial scatter of material including 11 Qualla series ceramic sherds, 13 sherds of early whiteware, five alkaline glazed stoneware sherds, six sheet iron vessel fragments, and three carved chlorite schist fragments (Tables 6.15, 6.16). Associated artifacts were observed up to the edge of the normal summer pool exposure, and it is likely that the site extends above pool. Small diameter auger testing of both above pool and below pool portions of site failed to locate any discrete subsurface contexts, but is suspected that the site includes an as yet undiscovered substructure pit cellar.

Material Collections

Whiteware sherds recovered from the site surface are highly fragmented, and vessel forms are not readily discernible. Decorative treatments apparent on these sherds are consistent with a Removal period occupation span, and include blue shell edge embossed rims with scalloped margins, pale blue spatter decorated bodies, and fineline hand-painted bodies. The alkaline glazed stoneware sherds exhibit clear, pale gray-green glaze of the early Edgefield type observed at the *Chewkeeaskee* and Christie cabin sites. One of these stoneware sherds represents a portion of the neck and shoulder of a large jug; others are body sherds that derive from large hollowware vessels of undetermined form.

Locally produced ceramics recovered from the site surface exhibit temper, paste, and surface treatments characteristic of the Qualla ceramic series. Check stamped surface treatments (n=7) predominate, and at least three different check patterns are represented. Four rectilinear complicated stamped sherds all appear to represent a herringbone motif. A single rectilinear complicated stamped rimsherd appears to derive from a low, vertical walled jar without rim elaboration.

Table 6.15. Aboriginal artifacts from the Brush Picker Cabin Site (31CE541).

Qualla Series Ceramic Sherds		
Surface Treatment/Decoration	Size*	N=
body sherds		
check stamped	5	1
check stamped	3	5
check stamped	2	1
rectilinear complicated stamped	2	1
rectilinear complicated stamped	3	2
rim sherd		
rectilinear complicated stamped	4	1

Lithic Artifacts		
Item	Raw material	n=
carved stone fragment	chlorite schist	3

* maximum dimension, 1 cm increments

Table 6.16. Commercially manufactured items from the Brush Picker Cabin Site (31CE541).

Ceramic sherds				
Ware	Form	Portion	Decoration	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware	hollowware (indet.)			5
whiteware sherd	plate	rim	blue shell edge decorated	2
whiteware	saucer	body	hand-painted (blue)	2
whiteware	indet	body	plain	6
whiteware	indet.	body	sponge decorated (blue)	2
whiteware	indet.	body	spalled	1
Other Mass Produced Goods				
sheet iron vessel fragment.				6

Three large (50-60g) chunks of chlorite schist recovered from the surface of 31CE541 exhibit flattened surfaces and scars indicative of rough carving with a metal knife. These carved stone objects most likely represent raw material or debris from the production of stone tobacco pipes. This is consistent with the observed incidence of carved chlorite schist pipes and pipe preforms at other Removal period Cherokee archaeological sites in the region.

Discussion

Reconnaissance of the Brush Picker Cabin Site identified an artifact array that is consistent with a Removal period Cherokee residential occupation and which presumably corresponds with the Brush Picker residence documented by the 1838 Army sketchmaps. This occupation may correspond to the historically documented *Oonukah* household, but the association is not clearly demonstrable. The range of materials represented is comparable to the *Kianna* and *Sataka* site collections, and may be interpreted as 'typical' evidence of an occupation by a conservative, relatively impoverished Cherokee household. The low density of materials evident on the site surface, despite excellent visibility afforded by deflated soils, is also consistent with the character of the *Chewkeeaskee*, *Kianna*, and *Sataka* sites. Such low artifact densities likely denote a combination of factors, including brevity and low intensity of site occupation, as well as the material poverty of the majority of Cherokee households in the region. The very low artifact densities evident in the surface deposits of most Removal period farmstead sites render such components very difficult to locate and identify even under optimal survey conditions.

Buzzard Cabin Site (31CE284)

The Buzzard Cabin Site (31CE284) represents another monolingual fullblood household occupation in the *Nana-tsu-gun* locality. The site is located on the northwest side of the Nottely River at R.M. 3.9, approximately 6.4km southwest of Murphy, North Carolina and 1.4km upstream from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (Figure 6.1). The Buzzard Cabin Site occupies a low, linear colluvial lobe that extends from the foot of the uplands onto the Nottely River bottoms. A small, perennial stream (Laurel Branch) is located approximately 75m northwest of the site. Elevation of the Buzzard Cabin Site is approximately 1523-1527ft AMSL, and the majority of the site is situated below maximum pool level of Hiwassee Lake, within the Tennessee Valley Authority's jurisdiction. However, the westernmost portion of the site, including the probable location of the cabin itself, is above reservoir pool and is within the U.S.D.A. Forest Service's jurisdiction.

Site sediments consist of a thin (~15cm), medium brown sandy loam *A* horizon underlain by a yellowish brown clay loam subsoil. The site surface beneath the maximum pool level of Hiwassee Lake is heavily deflated and the subsoil is completely exposed across much of the site

area. The southeastern edge of the site area is disturbed by a talc prospect coring which produced a crater approximately 2.5m wide and .65m deep. Spoil from this prospect pit obscures approximately 20m² of the total 175m² site area.

Historical Context

The December 1837 Army survey sketchbooks for the lower Nottely River Valley survey depict a Cherokee farmstead labeled "Buzzard" on the northwest side of a bend of the Nottely River at R.M. 3.9 (Figure 6.34). The 1835 census indicates that Buzzard was the head of an all fullblood household that consisted of two adult males, one adult female, and one juvenile male. Hunter's account records indicate that Buzzard's wife was named *Sohkena* or Blue. One Buzzard household member was literate in Sequoyan; none read English. Welch and Jarrett's 1837 description of the family's home and farm depict a small subsistence farmstead typical of the region:

> *Sulu* (or Buzzard) living on the west side of Notley, below *Clauseenah*
>
one cabin 13-14 puncheon floor stick & clay chy			$25.00
1 old corn house 12 ft sq			$10.00
6 acres bottomland in cultivation		$9	$54.00
10 large apple trees	$2.50	2 peach trees $.75	$26.50
1 small apple tree			$.50
			$116.00

> (Welch and Jarrett 1837:262)

A spoliation claim (Table 6.17) filed in 1842 by Buzzard's adult heirs (John Buzzard, John Hale, *Guhgahwahleskee*) indicates that the family emigrated to Indian Territory in *Chuwaluga*'s Detachment under the direction of James Wafford. They resettled in Delaware District inWafford's Town, where Buzzard died about 1840. The spoliation claim indicates that the family maintained considerable wealth in horses (six horses worth $345.00) but owned little else of value besides firearms (three guns worth $70.00). The household maintained a large assemblage of traditional native goods, including wooden spoons, cane baskets and sifters, a mortar and pestle, pack baskets, a blowgun and two canoes. Although the claim also documents a substantial array of commercially manufactured goods as well, the prominence of native goods suggests a conservative household orientation. In the cluster analysis of real property data, the Buzzard case is grouped with the lowest wealth Cluster 7 group of farmsteads, yet in the analysis of chattel property, the Buzzard inventory classifies with *Sataka* in Cluster 4, the group characterized by high scores for producers' goods. Like the Sataka case, the Buzzard inventory groups with Cluster 4 on the basis of high firearms scores rather than equipment for agrarian modes of production.

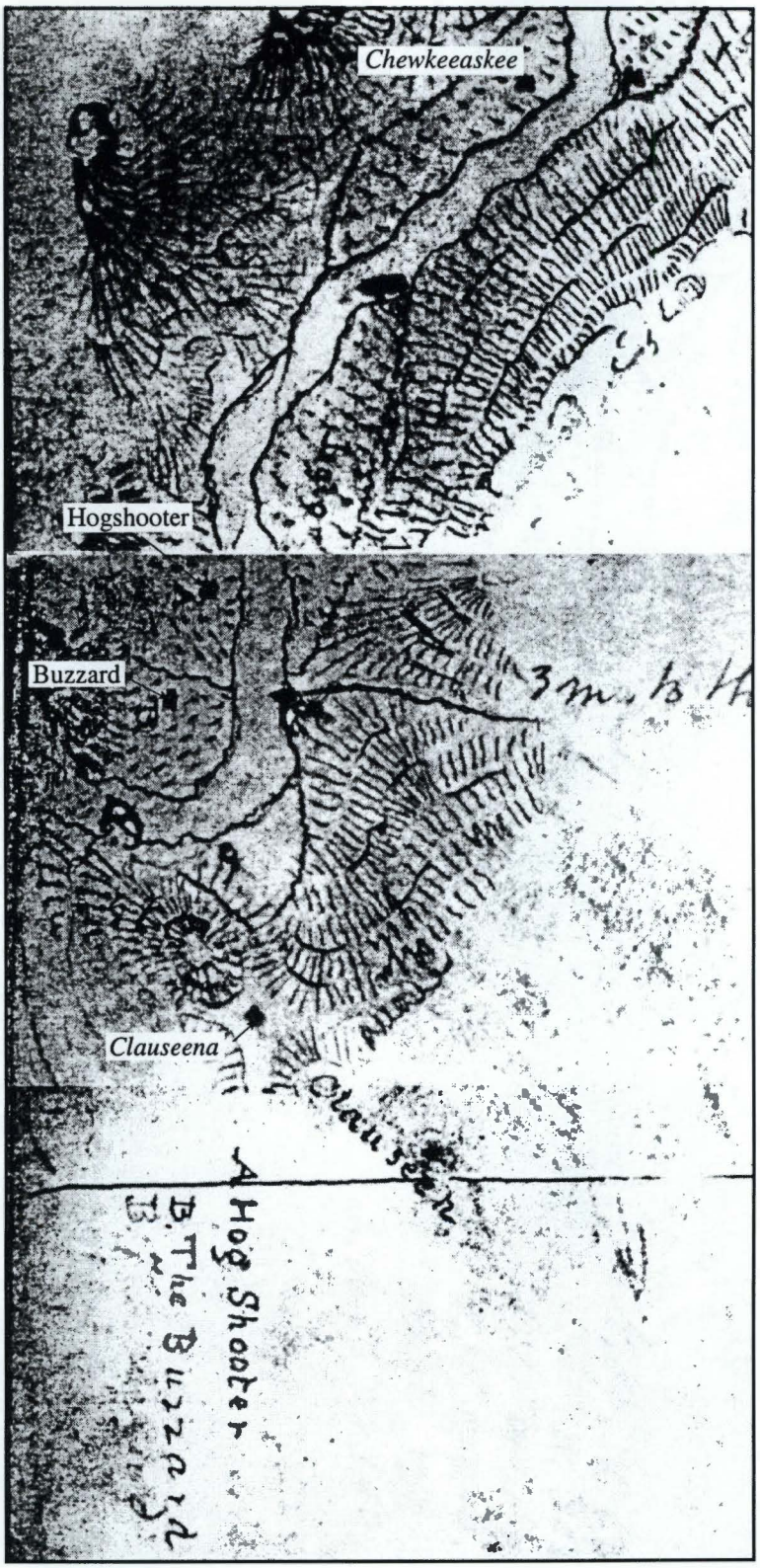


Figure 6.34. 1838 Army survey sketchmap indicating the *Chewkeeaskee*, Hogshooter, Buzzard, and *Clauseenah* cabin locations.

Table 6.17. Chattel property lost by the Buzzard household as a result of military removal (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838-1842).

Item	N=	Value	Item	N=	Value
table	1	$3.00	gun	1	$15.00
chair	3	$2.25	gun	1	$25.00
crockeryware		$1.88	gun	1	$30.00
teacups & saucers	1 set	$1.00	blowgun	1	$0.50
tin cup	4	$0.50	fishgig	1	$1.00
tin cup (pint)	5	$0.31	auger	1	$1.00
tin cup (quart)	1	$0.25	ax	6	$12.00
knives & forks		$2.25	chisels		$1.00
spoon	6	$0.75	file	2	$0.25
wood spoon	6	$0.75	weeding hoe	8	$6.00
pot	1	$6.00	gears	2	$6.00
pot	2	$1.00	plow	2	$4.00
pot	2	$5.00	chicken	110	$13.75
pot	2	$8.00	cow & calf	1	$15.00
tin pan	2	$2.00	hog	4	$24.00
tin pan	4	$2.00	hog	10	$40.00
coffee pot	2	$1.50	horse	1	$20.00
bowl	4	$1.00	mare & colt	1	$60.00
bottle	3	$0.75	horse	1	$70.00
jug	1	$2.00	horse	1	$105.00
baskets & sifters	10	$5.25	horse	1	$90.00
mortar & pestle	1	$1.50	keeler	3	$1.50
water pail	3	$3.00	saddle	1	$14.00
back basket	3	$2.25	bridle	1	$1.50
tin buckets with lids	2	$1.00	canoe	2	$20.00
spinning wheel	3	$9.00	corn	1 acre	$10.00
cards	3	$3.00	potatoes	1 patch	$4.00
salt		$1.50	beans	1 patch	$3.00

Archaeological Investigations

Archaeological reconnaissance of the Buzzard Cabin Site identified a nineteenth century Cherokee site component defined by a sparse scatter of diagnostic materials exposed on the deflated site surface. These materials included 19 Qualla series ceramic sherds (Table 6.18), one alkaline glazed stoneware sherd, and a fragment of a reworked brass kettle (Table 6.19)

Table 6.18. Qualla series ceramic sherds from the Buzzard Cabin Site (31CE284).

	Surface Treatment/Decoration	Size*	N=
Body sherds			
	check stamped	2	6
	check stamped	3	1
	rectilinear complicated stamped	3	1
	eroded	1	1
	eroded	2	1
	indeterminate	2	2
	linear stamped (indet.)	3	1
	linear stamped (indet.)	4	1
	smoothed (obliterated)	2	2
	stamped (indet.)	4	1
		1	1
Rim sherds			
	rimstrip (vertically notched) on rectilinear complicated stamped neck	4	1
			19

*maximum dimension of sherd surface in centimeters

Table 6.19. Commercially manufactured items from the Buzzard Cabin Site (31CE284).

Item	Note	N=
brass sheet fragment	probable kettle fragment; cut & folded	1
iron fragment (indet.)		1
alkaline glazed stoneware	hollowware (indet.) body sherd	1

distributed over a 200m² area. Despite a thorough inspection of the deflated site surface and selective coring of site sediments with a small-diameter auger, no evidence of intact subsurface contexts was identified.

Material Collections

Aboriginal ceramics recovered from the surface of 31CE284 are all grit tempered wares with pale tan or buff bodies and stamped surface treatments. These include six check stamped sherds and two rectilinear complicated stamped sherds. A single rim exhibits an appliqué rimstrip decorated with vertical notches.

The alkaline glazed stoneware sherd derives from the body of a large hollowware vessel. The glaze is clear, and light grayish-green in color, a characteristic of the earlier, Edgefield type wares found at the Christie Cabin and Chewkeeaskee Cabin Sites. A single piece of sheet brass recovered from the site surface measures 7.2cm x 1.6cm x .03cm. This irregular fragment is crimped and its edges are burred, as if it were cut from a larger stock with shears. This most likely represents a recycled brass kettle fragment. Such reworked brass kettle debris is documented in numerous historic Cherokee contexts, and is generally attributed to native manufacture of sheet brass ornaments (Harmon 1986, Riggs 1987).

Discussion

Although limited in scope, the materials collected from the surface of the Buzzard Cabin Site appear consistent those evident at other nineteenth century Qualla phase sites in the Hiwassee Reservoir locality, and most closely resemble the surface collections from the nearby *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site. The rather low diversity of the collection, and the very limited incidence of commercially manufactured goods is somewhat unexpected in view of the substantial numbers of table service wares and other consumers' goods documented by the household's spoliation claim. However, the predominance of aboriginal ceramics in the surface collection accords with the prominence of traditional technologies in the spoliation inventory. The small size and low diversity of the surface collection appears more consistent with the character of the farmstead itself, which indicates a lower socioeconomic status for the household than does the spoliation claim.

John Wayne, Jr., Cabin Site (31CE627)

The John Wayne, Jr., Cabin Site represents an apparently brief Removal period household occupation by a monolingual fullblood family of moderate means. The site is located on an upland toeslope approximately 168m (550ft) north of the Hiwassee River at River Mile 68.2, within Apalachia Reservoir (Figure 6.1). The historic Cherokee site component at 31CE627 covers an estimated 1000m^2 of a low, eroded, upland spur (Figure 6.35) that projects into the river floodplain. Site elevation is approximately 1280ft (389m) AMSL, slightly below the maximum pool level of Apalachia Lake, and within the normal daily fluctuation range of the reservoir. The slope of the site surface ranges between 3° and 10°, and the western and southern boundaries of the site are defined by abrupt slope transitions (>20°). The site area probably also encompasses the narrow, above pool portion of the spur situated on U.S.D.A. Forest Service lands. Intact sediments on the above pool portion consist of 10-12cm of grayish brown gravely sandy loam underlain by yellowish brown stony clay loam subsoil. Deflation of the below pool site surface has resulted in the loss of 30-45cm of site sediments, and the subsoil is completely exposed. The

Figure 6.35. Aerial view of the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site.

site surface exhibits a heavy load of stranded clasts of various sizes; micaceous schist outcrops on the slope immediately south of the site area.

Historical Context

John C. Frémont's February 18, 1838 survey notes for the Hiwassee River trail between the Tennessee state line and Hanging Dog Creek depict a Cherokee farmstead complex situated on the north side of the river near mile 68 (Figure 6.36), with marginal annotations that identify the farmstead as that of "John O'Weyne 2d." Nathaniel Smith documented this "John Wayne, Jr." household in 1835 and indicated a household composed of five fullblood Cherokee members, with two females over age 16, one female under age 16, one male over age 18, and one male under 18 years of age. The family possessed two houses and farmed 15 acres on which they produced 200 bushels of corn in 1834. Federal appraisers Welch and Jarrett described the family farmstead as:

John Wayne (or *Tequanney*) living on the N.E. side of Highwassee River above George, has

one hewed log cabin 13 ft square stick & clay chimney board roof door locked	$30.00
one ditto log cabin 12ft square stick and clay chimney board roof also locked	$25.00
3 other small buildings @ $6 ea	$18.00
one other new hewed log cabin on a hill off from the river 13ft sqr stick & clay chimney stone back and jams board roof nailed on	$32.00
14 acres bottom land in cultivation @ $10	$140.00
25 peach trees @ $.50 9 apple trees @ $1.00	$21.50

(Welch and Jarrett 1837:4)

The cluster analysis of Cherokee real properties indicates that John Wayne's farmstead was most similar in scale and content to those of Cluster 3, a group of 27 farmsteads characterized by substantial, well finished hewn log dwellings and sufficient agricultural holdings to produce marketable surplus. Co-members of this group include town leaders, Christian ministers, and westernized slaveholders. Such development of larger agricultural plots and construction of more formal, permanent housing may indicate John Wayne, Jr.'s aspiration to the economic status and lifestyles typical of southern Anglo-American yeoman landholders. Attainment of such material status by his father, John Wayne, Sr., is evident from real property descriptions and chattel property claims, and John Wayne, Jr. may have been led to emulate familial trends.

The absence of John Wayne, Jr. or *Tequanney* from other key Removal period sources (e.g., Hunter's store accounts, spoliation claims, Page's emigration roster) may indicate use of a parallel (but, as yet, undetermined) synonym. It is likely that John Wayne, Jr. emigrated to the west, as did his parents, yet the younger Wayne's immediate neighbor and probable kinsman, *Wattatokah* ,remained in the east and continued to reside along the Hiwassee River near the state line.

Figure 6.36. 1838 Army survey sketchmap depicting the John Wayne, Jr. cabin.

Archaeological Investigations

A 1995 reconnaissance of Apalachia Reservoir (Riggs et al. 1996) identified a nineteenth century Cherokee site component (31CE627) on an exposed upland spur (Figure 6.37) in the locality that Frémont's 1838 sketchmap indicates as the "John Wayne, 2nd" farmstead. Frémont's field sketch depicts Wayne's primary dwelling at the foot of the upland next to a small spring branch in the riverbottom immediately west of 31CE627. This presumably represents the "hewed log cabin 13 ft square stick & clay chimney board roof door locked" described by Welch and Jarrett. Site 31CE627 is presumed to correspond with the "new hewed log cabin on a hill" indicated by Welch and Jarrett's appraisal.

Surface reconnaissance of this location identified ten Qualla series ceramic sherds, a cast iron vessel fragment, and a cut nail sparsely distributed over a 1000m^2 area on the southern and eastern sides of the spur (Figure 6.37). Intensive inspection of the deflated surface also identified three subsurface pit features in the southwestern quadrant of the site. Two of these pits are adjacent, approximately 9.6m southwest of the reservoir shoreline. The third pit is situated 9m farther southwest. These features were obscured by thin layers of unconsolidated subsoil and were initially distinguished by their differential moisture retention and by the incidence of ceramic sherds atop one of the features. Closer inspection revealed that the pit margins were defined by narrow (~1-2mm) drying cracks as a result of the shrinkage of the pit fill matrices. These drying cracks delineated the perimeter of each pit, revealing rectangular plans that measure 1.26m x. 95m, 1.15m x .74m, and 1.0m x .97m. The depths of surviving pit fill were not assayed. The shapes and dimensions of these pits are consistent with substructure cellars documented at a number of nineteenth century Cherokee residential sites, and their incidence and spatial separation may be interpreted as evidence for two distinct structures. Welch and Jarrett's property appraisal does not indicate a second building with the new cabin on the hill, but the family may have constructed an ancillary structure after the appraisal.

Material Collections

The nineteenth century Cherokee association of the component is indicated by ten Qualla ceramic series sherds, a cast iron vessel fragment, and a cut nail fragment recovered from the site surface (Figure 6.38; Tables 6.20 and 6.21). These sherds evince light to medium yellowish brown, moderately compact paste tempered with moderate quantities of crushed grit. The single rimsherd (Figure 6.38a) exhibits a partially smoothed, plain surface decorated with a plain appliqué rimstrip. This sherd derives from a large, recurvate walled jar. Five plain sherds from the surface of Feature 3 refit to form the base of a flat bottomed pan measuring 17cm in diameter. Two sherds evince slightly smudged check stamped surfaces; one of these appears to be the basal

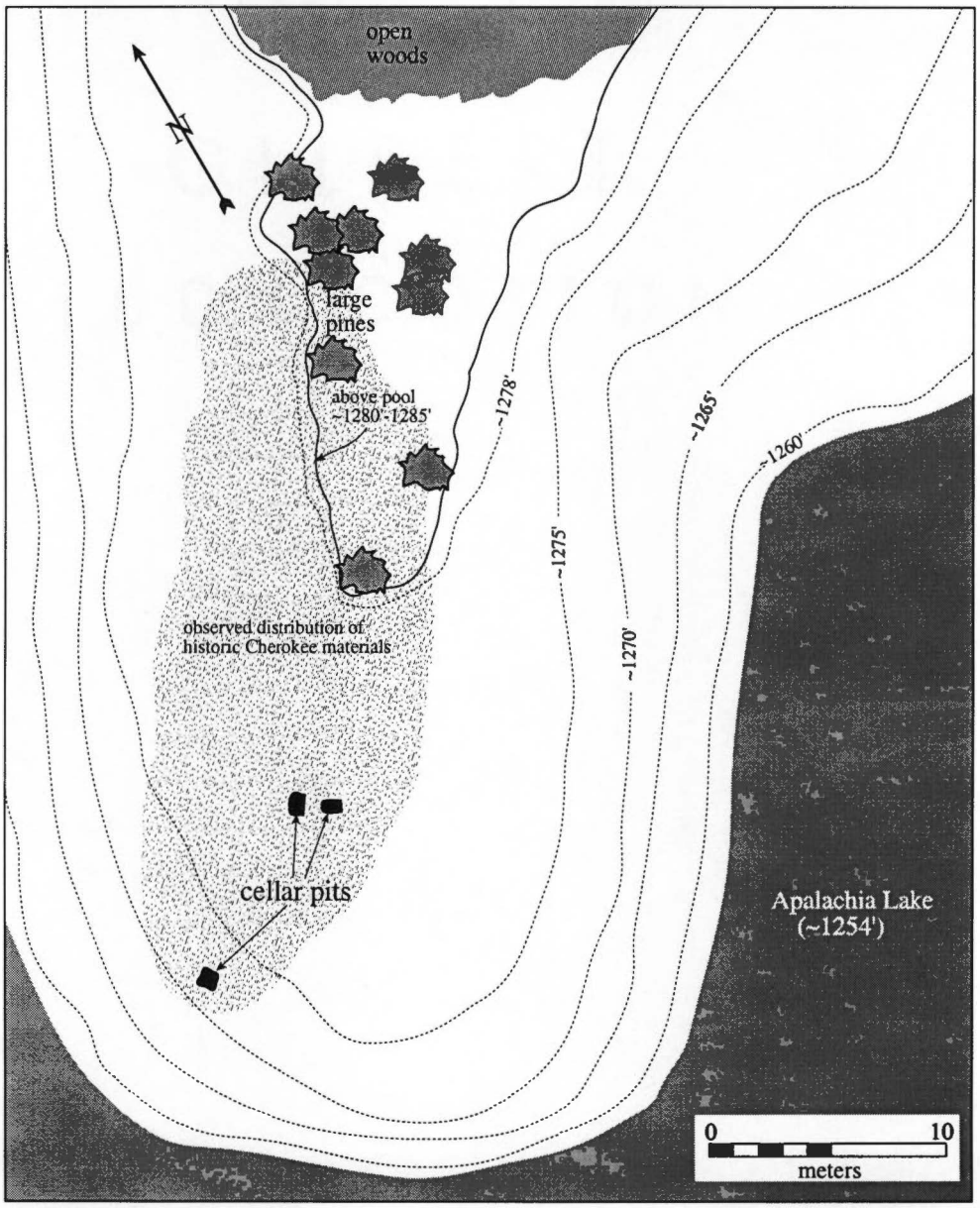


Figure 6.37. Field plan of the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site (31CE627).

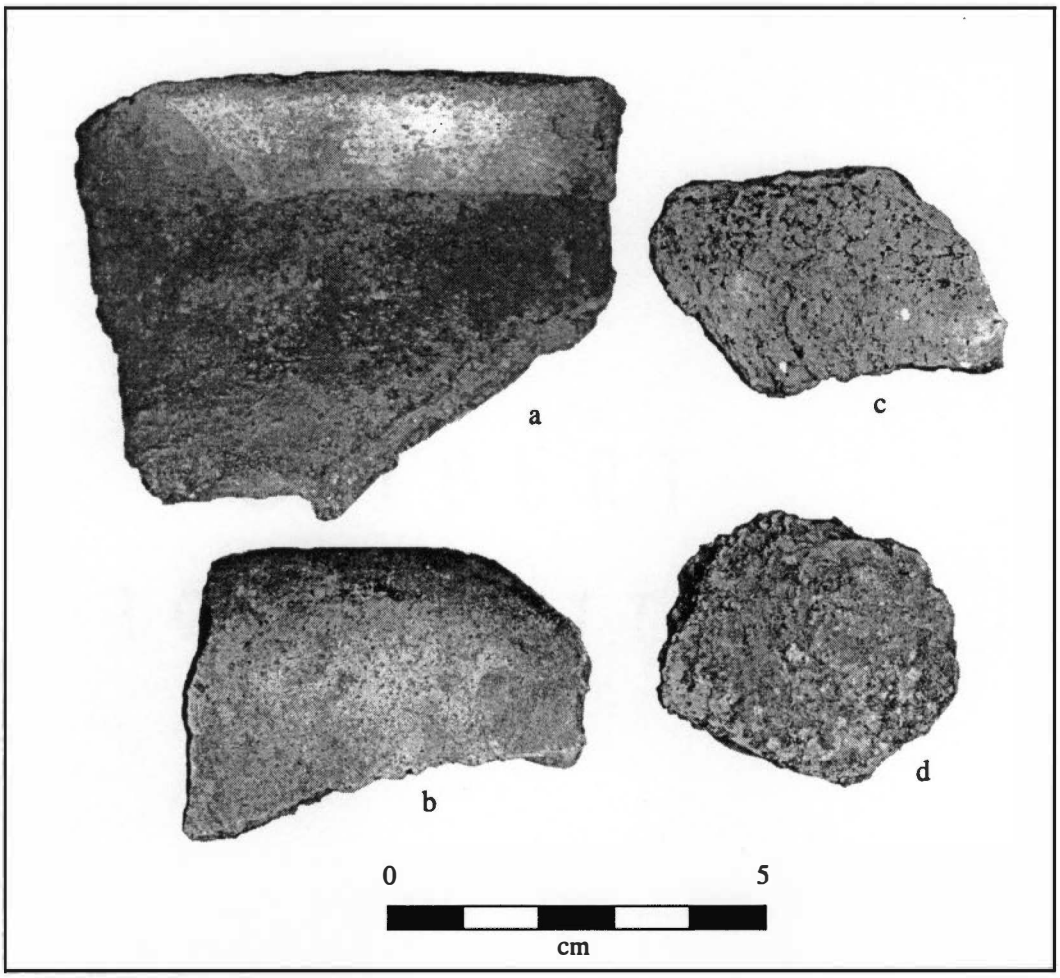


Figure 6.38. Qualla series ceramic sherds from the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site: a. rough plain jar rim with plain appliqué rimstrip; b. plain flat pan base; c. and d. check stamped body sherds.

Table 6.20. Qualla series sherds recovered from the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site (31CE627).

Portion	Surface Treatment/Decoration	Size*	N=
rim sherd			
	coarse plain rim with plain rimstrip	8	1
body sherd			
	plain (pan base)	7.5	1
	plain (pan base)	10	1
	plain (pan base)	7.6	1
	plain (pan base)	5.8	1
	plain (pan base)	5.5	1
	check stamped (basal disk)	4	1
	check stamped	5	1
	smoothed/obliterated	3.8	1
	smoothed/obliterated	2.1	1
	*note: size refers to maximum linear dimension in centimeters		

Table 6.21. Commercially manufactured artifacts recovered from the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site (31CE627).

Item	Size*	N=
cast iron kettle rim fragment.	7.4	1
cut nail fragment	3	1
*note: size refers to maximum linear dimension in centimeters		

disk of a globular jar. The remaining two body sherds have smoothed surfaces. Two commercially manufactured artifacts recovered from the site surface, a cast iron kettle body fragment and a machine headed cut nail, appear consistent with other Removal period assemblages from the study area and are attributed to the historic Cherokee component (Table 6.21).

The low density and limited range of materials evident at the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site may reflect a relatively brief span of site occupation (< two years). The precise nature of this occupation is unknown; the John Wayne, Jr. household may have maintained residence in their earlier dwelling and devoted the "new" cabin to some specialized use that involved a limited assortment of household goods. By comparison to the presumed location of the earlier dwelling, the position of the buildings appear problematic. Although the hilltop location of 31CE627 provides a commanding view of the approaches on the Hiwassee River trail, it occupies an exposed position subject to northwesterly winds, and is situated almost 200m from the nearest secondary water source (discounting the Hiwassee River itself). These characteristics appear inconsistent with use of the hilltop cabin as a primary dwelling, and suggest some ancillary function.

Post-Removal Era Anglo-American Site Components

The survey efforts in 1991 and 1993-1994 identified sixteen nineteenth century Anglo-American farmstead components which appear to immediately postdate the Cherokee Removal of 1838. The artifact assemblages associated with four of these sites (31CE273, 31CE363, 31CE530, 31CE586) best document the material lifestyles that Anglo-American households developed within the same geographical environments as their Cherokee predecessors. These assemblages present nearly contemporaneous material models of Southern Appalachian Anglo-American agrarian life for comparison with Removal period Cherokee archaeological assemblages, providing a scale of material evidence against which the differential assimilation of western lifestyles by Cherokee households can be gauged.

The Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273)

The most complete archaeological record of an Anglo-American farmstead occupation considered in this study derives from the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273), a location initially investigated in order to document a Removal period site occupation by the *métis* household of Nancy Hawkins, Jr., and Elijah Sourjohn (a.k.a. Ezekiel Butler). Although investigations discovered a cellar pit in the historically documented location of the Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin, excavation of this feature recovered an assemblage attributable to the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century. These materials are interpreted as evidence of a post-Removal Anglo-American occupation of the Hawkins-Sourjohn farmstead.

The Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site is located on the southeast side of the Valley River approximately 400m south-southwest of the Murphy High School (Figure 6.1). The site occupies a small (≈700 m^2) colluvial bench at the base of Wilscot Mountain and overlooks the Valley River floodplain . Site elevation is approximately 1550 ft (472m) AMSL. The site area is generally triangular in form and is clearly delimited by microtopographic features. A small perennial spring branch skirts the north and west edges of the site; a large spring and its overflow borders the south side of the site. The eastern edge of the site is defined by an abrupt slope change (4^{o}-20^{o}).

Historical Context

Notebooks of the 1838 Army survey of the Franklin Road through the lower Valley River Valley depict the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site at the foot of the uplands on the east side of Valley River at River Mile 1.5 (Figure 6.39). The cabin and adjoining fields are identified with the notation "Elijah Sourjohn." Welch and Jarrett's valuations indicate that the house and property at this location actually belonged to Nancy Hawkins, Jr., wife of Elijah Sourjohn and daughter of

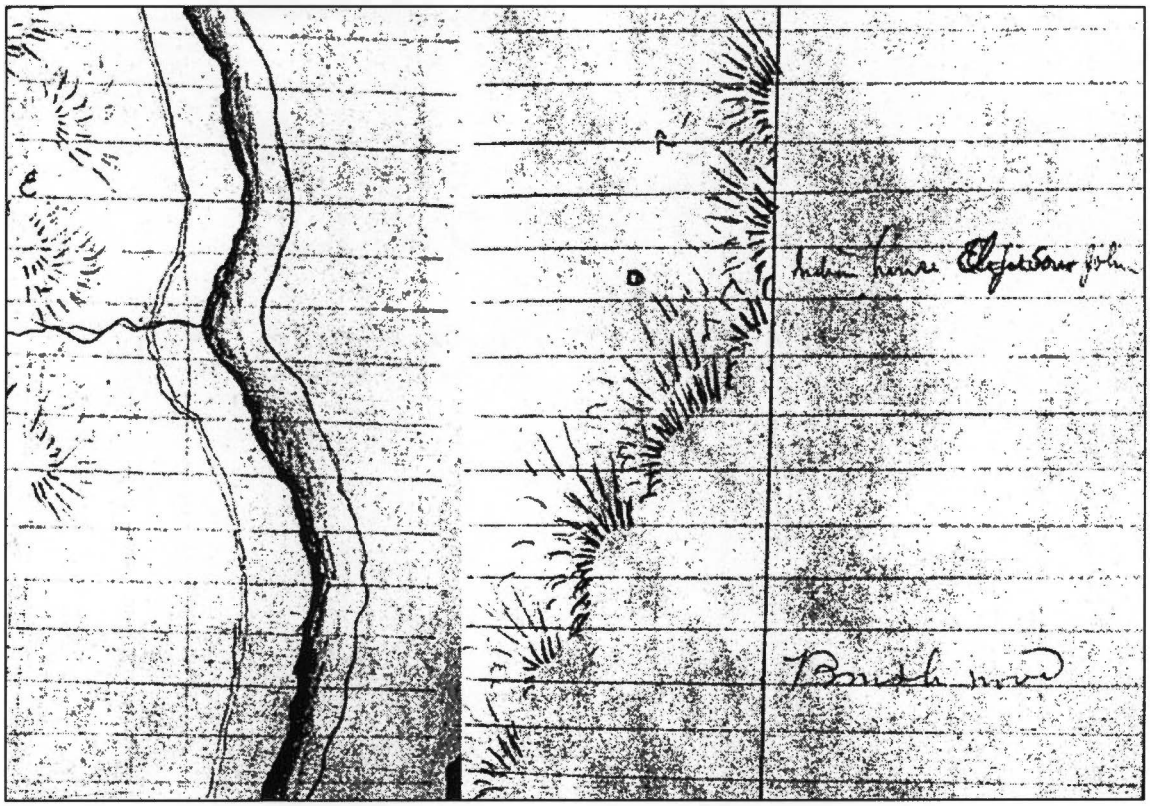


Figure 6.39. 1838 Army survey sketchmap indicating the location of the "Elijah Sourjohn" cabin.

James Hawkins, who lived on the opposite side of Valley River. The federal agents' appraisal of the property indicates small-scale built improvements but substantial farmland:

> Nancy Hawkins, Jnr, wife of Elijah Sower John living on South Side of Valley River above Wilson [Christie]
>
One small hewed log cabin 10-10, puncheon floor stick & clay chimney, stone back, etc.	$16.00
one small cabin, 12-12, part floored	$9.00
one corn crib at the house	$4.00
one small crib in the field	$2.00
24 acres in cultivation @ 8.00	$192.00
77 peachtrees @ .50	$38.00

> The valuation of the above impt. is claimed by Old Will but Ned Christie & Jas Hawkins told us that Nancy Hawkins bought the impt. two years before the Treaty and has lived on it ever since and that no one had a claim to the impt. but Nancy
> (Welch and Jarrett 1837:49)

Despite the occupation chronology implied by the valuation, Nancy Hawkins and Elijah Sourjohn do not appear in the 1835 census because they had emigrated from the Nottely River to Arkansas in 1834 (United States Congress 1836). They returned to Valley River by 1836 (Hunter 1836-1838) and resided in the cabin at 31CE273 until the military removal of June 1838. The property was attributed to Nancy Hawkins because Elijah Sourjohn, as a previously enrolled emigrant to Arkansas who had received compensation for improvements, could not be further reimbursed for property in the east. Elijah Sourjohn and Nancy Hawkins emigrated to Indian Territory in Bell's detachment in the fall of 1838 and settled in Flint District near Nancy Hawkins' parents (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842).

After Removal, the Sourjohn property was acquired by A. Johnson King, William H. Thomas' business partner and co-proprietor of Thomas and King, the first store in downtown Murphy. King did not occupy the Sourjohn farm, and the actual residents of the Sourjohn house in the early post-Removal era are undocumented. The property changed hands several times in the ensuing decades. King died in 1868, and his son sold the tract in 1869 to Martha Welch Maroney, daughter of Cherokee leader John Welch. The Maroney family kept the property until 1923, when it was sold to E. A. "Bud" Voyles, whose family lived there until 1965. Local informants (Cloe Moore, personal communication, 1991) indicate the riverbottom that includes 31CE273 and the Murphy High School continued to be known as the Sourjohn Farm during the Voyles' tenure of the property, and Cherokee County deed records refer to the tract as the Sourjohn Farm.

The site is currently owned by Roger West and Kenneth Davis of Murphy, North Carolina. They razed the Bud Voyles house and outbuildings with heavy equipment in 1987 and currently maintain the site in pasture. A large springhouse associated with the original Voyles farm complex survives on the southern edge of the site, but is partially collapsed into the spring.

Archaeological Investigations

Field reconnaissance of the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site determined a high degree of congruence between the 1838 survey maps and the modern topography of the area; this correspondence allowed investigators to restrict field examinations to a 700m^2 area surrounding the former Voyles house. This area was covered in pasture at the time of investigation, and no diagnostic Removal period artifacts or cultural deposits were apparent in the limited surface exposures created on the site by cattle paths. Five 30cm^2 diameter shovel tests and one 1m^2 excavation unit were executed in order to obtain a sample of artifacts from the site deposits and to define the site stratigraphy (Figure 6.40). These units yielded a mixture of modern domestic and architectural debris, early twentieth century materials, and two fragments of mid-nineteenth century edge decorated whitewares. The stratigraphy evident in these excavated units appeared to be extensively disturbed down to subsoil at a depth of 25cm below ground surface. The extensive disturbance of *A* horizon deposits across the entire site area is attributed to the recent demolition of the Voyles house and the reported leveling of house debris with heavy equipment.

The condition of the uppermost deposits on the site complicated the task of isolating discrete Removal period contexts associated with the Sourjohn occupation. Original patterns of artifact distribution across the site appear to have been thoroughly eradicated, so that differential artifact density offered no clues to the location of pit features or other contexts buried beneath the upper disturbed layer. The prevalence of rubble and other debris from the Voyles house in the site matrix precluded use of a soil auger for locating pit contexts or other anomalies intrusive into the *B* horizon. An abundance of modern metal debris on the site rendered use of a metal detector impractical for isolating evidence of the Removal period component.

It was obvious, therefore, that location and identification of any discrete Removal period contexts at the site depended upon stripping off the recently disturbed soil from the site surface in order to expose a substantial area of the undisturbed *B* horizon surface. With permission of the site owners, a bulldozer was used to strip approximately 20-30cm of disturbed soils from an area approximately 400m^2 in extent. Two cultural constructions were evident in this exposure. One was a mortar and fieldstone foundation footer associated with the Voyles house. This partial footer measures 4.3m in length and .42m in width, with a footer trench measuring approximately .5m in width. The footer is oriented parallel with the existing roadbed, and appears to correspond with a portion of the northwestern wall of the original Voyles house.

The other feature was a rectangular pit with rounded corners which measured 1.18m x 1.24m (Figure 6.41). Materials evident on the surface of the feature, including alkaline glazed stoneware sherds, spatter decorated whiteware sherds, hog bones, and iron chain, indicated a temporal

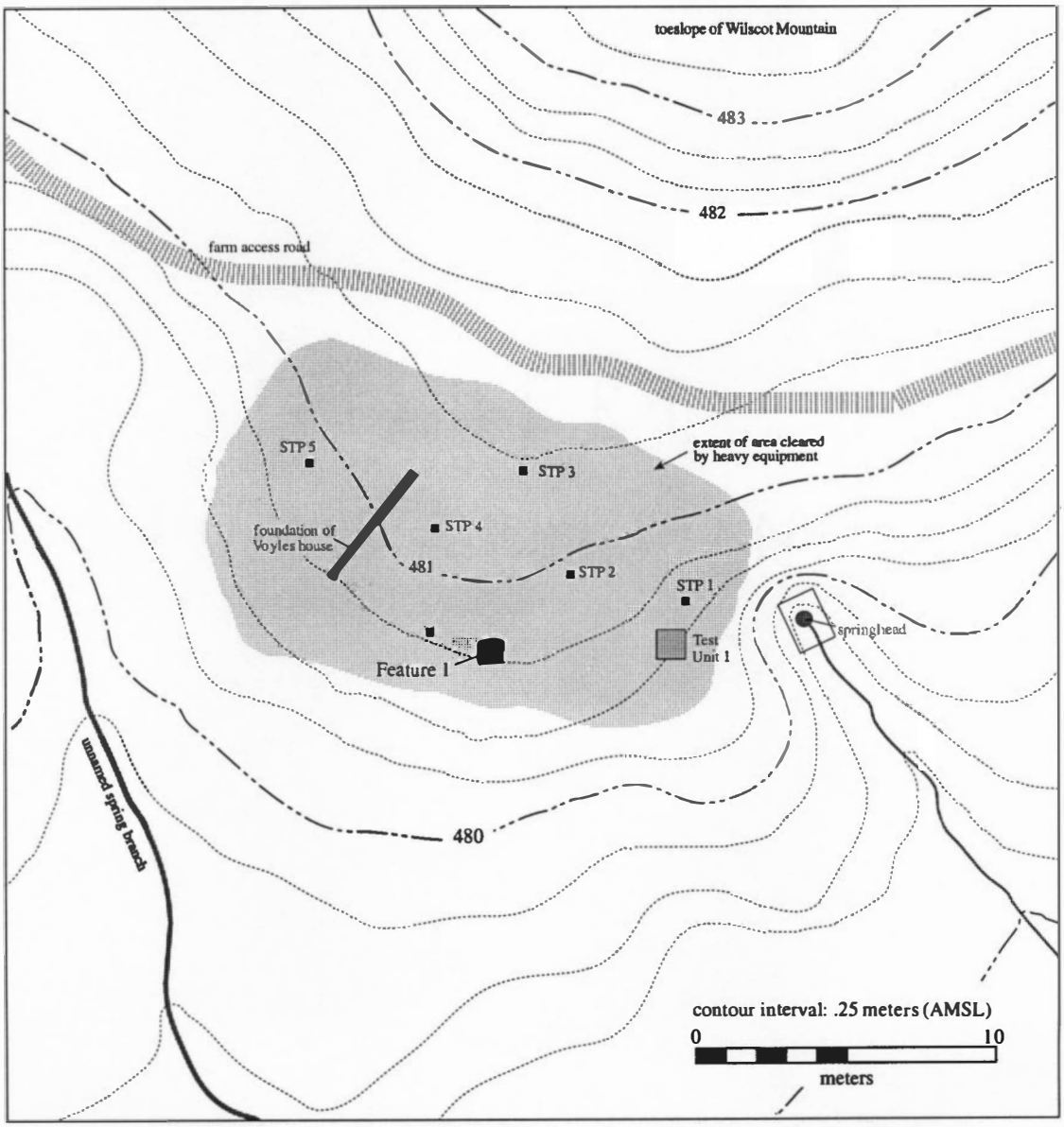


Figure 6.40. Topographic map of the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273).

Figure 6.41. Surface of Feature 1 (cellar pit), Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site.

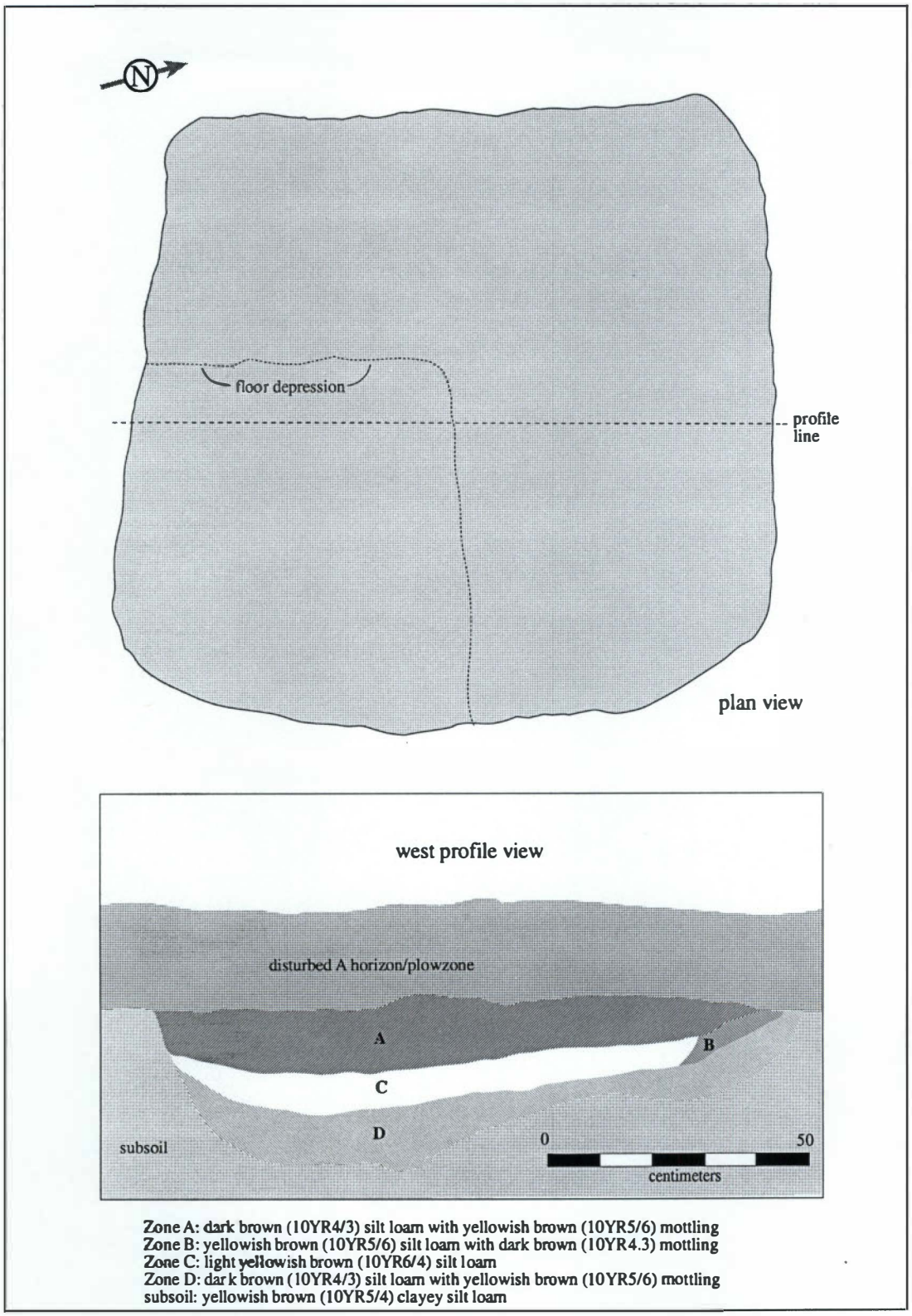
ssociation in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. This pit feature, designated Feature 1, was initially interpreted as a substructure pit cellar associated with the Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin.

The pit feature matrix was hand excavated in quadrants in order to expose two profile views. Fill from the southeastern quadrant of the feature was removed as four arbitrary ten centimeter levels; the remaining quadrants were excavated by reference to internal stratigraphy. Maximum depth of the pit feature was 38cm below the surface of subsoil. All excavated feature fill was water screened through window mesh with the exception of two liter soil samples retained from each stratum.

The excavated pit was basin shaped in cross section, with insloping walls and an irregularly stepped floor (Figure 6.42). Four strata within the fill of Feature 1 were distinguished by minor differences in soil color and differential amounts of charcoal inclusions. Artifact crossmends between Zones A and B and between Zones C and D indicate rapid episodic filling of the feature. Temporally diagnostic artifacts recovered from Feature 1 indicate a site occupation that postdates the Removal period by ten to 20 years. The associated material assemblages cannot, therefore, be construed to represent the Hawkins-Sourjohn occupation of the site. Instead, assemblages from Feature 1 are illustrative of the material lifestyle of the Anglo-Americans who took possession of the Valley River region after 1838. Because A.J. King and his family owned the site between 1838 and 1868 but did not reside on the property, it is hypothesized that the site was occupied by King's tenants, and that Feature 1 deposits may be attributed to this occupation. However, the pit facility itself may date to the Hawkins-Sourjohn period. The close correspondence between the location of Feature 1 and the historically mapped location of the Hawkins-Sourjohn residence is compelling, and the lack of a second pit cellar on the knoll suggests that Feature 1 was initially associated with the Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin. Elijah Sourjohn's 1842 spoliation claim (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842) indicates that the family's primary residential cabin on the property was newly constructed, and it is likely that a pit cellar associated with this building remained open and unfilled during the Cherokee occupation of the site. After the Removal, the Anglo-American occupants of the site may have retained the original cabin as a dwelling or outbuilding and eventually filled the pit cellar with their own refuse.

Material Assemblages

Material assemblages recovered from Feature 1 include an array of commercially manufactured items, faunal remains, and botanical remains dating to a nineteenth century occupation of the site. Commercially manufactured items recovered from Feature 1 (Tables 6.22, 6.23) include 93 ceramic vessel sherds, 38 fragments of container glass, six lamp chimney fragments, 27 nails and nail fragments, three pieces of window pane, eight buttons, three



Zone A: dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam with yellowish brown (10YR5/6) mottling
Zone B: yellowish brown (10YR5/6) silt loam with dark brown (10YR4.3) mottling
Zone C: light yellowish brown (10YR6/4) silt loam
Zone D: dark brown (10YR4/3) silt loam with yellowish brown (10YR5/6) mottling
subsoil: yellowish brown (10YR5/4) clayey silt loam

Figure 6.42. Plan and profile view of Feature 1, 31CE273.

Table 6.22. Commercially manufactured ceramic artifacts recovered from 31CE273.

Ware	Form	Portion	Interior	Exterior	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware					
	hollow		plain	plain	1
	hollow	body	plain	plain	1
	hollow	body	plain	plain	1
	hollow	body	plain	plain	3
	hollow	rim	plain	plain	1
	hollow	rim	plain	plain	1
	jar	body	plain	plain	1
				total	9
coarse earthenware					
	hollow	body	plain	plain	1
pearlware					
	plate	base with footring	transfer printed (blue)	plain	1
	mug	body	plain	annular	1
				total	2
yellowware					
	hollow	body	plain	annular/mocha	1
whiteware					
	hollow	body	plain	cut sponge decorated	1
	flat	rim	green shell edge decorated	plain	1
	cup	body	transfer printed (red)	transfer printed	1
	hollow	rim	plain	hand-painted polychrome; embossed	1
	cup	rim	plain	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	rim	hand-painted black band below lip	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	rim & body	hand-painted red band below lip	hand-painted polychrome	1
	cup	rim	plain	plain	1
	cup	body	plain	transfer printed (purple)	1

Table 6.22. Commercially manufactured ceramic artifacts recovered from 31CE273 (cont.).

Ware	Form	Portion	Interior	Exterior	N=
whiteware					
	cup	rim	hand-painted red band below lip	hand-painted red band below lip	1
	indeterminate	body	cut sponge decorated	cut sponge decorated	1
	indeterminate	body	plain	transfer printed (blue)	1
	hollow	body	plain	transfer printed (purple)	2
	cup	rim	hand-painted band below lip	plain	1
	cup	rim	hand-painted blue band below lip	plain	1
	flat		spatter decorated (green)	plain	1
	flat		transfer printed (red)	plain	2
	flat	body	cut sponge decorated	plain	1
	flat	body	plain	plain	2
	flat	body	transfer printed	plain	1
	hollow	body	plain	plain	1
	hollow	rim	hand painted (underglaze blue)	plain	1
	hollow	rim	transfer printed (pink)	plain	1
	indeterminate		plain	plain	5
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	2
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	2
	indeterminate	body	plain	plain	6
	indeterminate	body	transfer printed (blue)	plain	1
	indeterminate	footring	plain	plain	1
	plate	base with footring	plain	plain	1
	plate	base with footring	plain	plain	1
	plate	base with footring	plain	plain	1
	plate	body	plain	plain	7
	plate	body	transfer printed (red)	plain	1
	plate	rim	blue edge embossed; low relief band	plain	1
	plate	rim	blue hand-painted edge	plain	1
	plate	rim	blue hand-painted edge	plain	1
	plate	rim	blue shell edge decorated	plain	2

Table 6.22. Commercially manufactured ceramic artifacts recovered from 31CE273 (cont.).

Ware	Form	Portion	Interior	Exterior	N=
whiteware					
	plate	rim	plain	plain	4
	plate	rim	unpainted shell edge embossed	plain	1
	saucer	body	cut sponge decorated	plain	1
	saucer	body	hand-painted polychrome	plain	1
	saucer	rim	cut sponge decorated	plain	2
	saucer	rim	cut sponge decorated	plain	1
	saucer	rim	cut sponge decorated (with rim band)	plain	1
	saucer	rim	hand-painted polychrome (fineline)	plain	1
	saucer	rim	hand-painted red band below lip	plain	1
	saucer	rim	spatter decorated	plain	2
	saucer	rim	spatter decorated (green)	plain	1
	soup bowl	rim	blue hand-painted edge	plain	1
	teapot	base	plain	plain	1
				total	77
refined earthenware (indet.)					
	plate	body	indeterminate	indeterminate	1
	plate	rim	unpainted shell edge embossed	plain	1
	hollow	rim	plain	annular (prob. worm trail); embossed band	1
				total	3

Table 6.21. Commercially manufactured items recovered from 31CE273.

Item	Modifier	N=
container glass fragment	blue green tint	4
container glass fragment	colorless	8
container glass fragment	colorless leaded glass	1
container glass fragment	colorless leaded; tableware (?)	2
container glass fragment	colorless; tableware rim	1
container glass fragment	dark olive green	1
container glass fragment	dark olive green; bitters bottle	1
container glass fragment	olive green	1
container glass fragment	small panel bottle; pharmaceutical (?)	1
container glass fragment	vial (blown manufacture)	2
container glass fragment	vial; blue green tint	3
container glass fragment	vial; blue-green tint; post 1858 molds	1
container glass fragment	vial; colorless	2
glass decanter/cruet stopper	colorless leaded glass	1
glass tumbler fragment	press molded; leaded	3
glass fragment	lamp chimney (?)	6
sheet iron vessel fragment		146
sheet iron vessel fragment	rolled lip	1
knife handle	antler scales riveted on iron	1
knife handle (antler scale)		1
utensil handle (bone scale frag.)		2
cut nail		20
cut nail	10d	1
cut nail	3d	1
cut nail	4d	2
cut nail	5d	2
cut nail	7d	1
tack		2
flat glass	blue green tint	3
horsehoe		1
iron band	singletree band	1
iron chain		1
glass bead	red on white core (Kidd & Kidd Type IVa)	1
button	bone [4 holes] (South Type 20)	2
button	bone [5 holes] (South Type 19)	2
button	brass disk with attached loop eye (South 18	1
button	white opaque glass [4 hole] (South Type 23)	3
iron clothing fastener		1
straight pin		1
straight pin	expanded head	1
tobacco pipe fragment	stub stemmed clay; fluted	3
lead droplet		1
percussion cap	copper; #10 pistol cap	1
sheet iron strip		2
iron fragment (indet.)		39

earthenware pipe fragments, a bone knife handle, a bone fork handle, a horseshoe, a length of chain, a percussion cap, and 144 fragments of tinware containers. Commercially manufactured ceramics represented in the assemblage are whiteware sherds (n=77), pearlware sherds (n=2), alkaline glazed stoneware sherds (n=9), one yellowware sherd ,and one coarse earthenware sherd (Table 6.22). Whiteware sherds include plain (n=29), cut sponge decorated(n=9), spatter decorated (n=4), red, blue, or purple transfer printed (n=10), blue or green edge decorated (n=7), polychrome hand-painted (n=5), and embossed annular or mocha decorated (n=3) types . One whiteware plate base is marked "T. Phillips and Son, Burslem, China," which identifies the ware as having been produced in a Staffordshire pottery operative in 1845 and 1846 (Godden 1964:493). Whiteware vessel forms represented in the assemblage are plates (mnv=6), teacups (mnv=6), saucers (mnv=7), a soupbowl, and a teapot. Pearlware sherds (n=2) represent an annular decorated mug and a blue transfer printed plate. Nine pieces of alkaline glazed stoneware derive from at least three hollowware vessels. The mocha decorated yellow ware fragment represents a piece of hollow tableware, and the single coarse earthenware sherd is a fragment of a hollow vessel form.

The ceramic assemblage from Feature 1 consists of relatively inexpensive table and storage wares produced during the mid-nineteenth century. The prevalence of plain whiteware plates, cut sponge decorated types, and purple transfer printed types is characteristic of mid-nineteenth century assemblages. This pattern contrasts with the Removal period Christie Cabin assemblage, which lacks plain whitewares and sponge decorated types and is dominated by edge decorated and light blue transfer printed types.

Glassware from 31CE273 includes three leaded tumbler fragments, eight pieces of colorless container glass, four blue-green tinted glass container fragments, a molded and ground leaded glass stopper, one molded pharmaceutical vial fragment, two blown glass vial fragments, a dark olive-green bitters bottle sherd, and a dark olive-green beverage bottle sherd. Two clear leaded glass tumblers are represented: a molded tumbler with a continuous ribbed pattern and a pressed tumbler with broad panels and arches. Three other small fragments of leaded glass appear to be rim fragments of a small dish or bowl. The ground glass stopper, which lacks its finial, may have originally plugged a decanter, cruet, or apothecary bottle. The molded medicinal vial was produced in a multiple piece vertical body mold with a separate base section, a manufacturing technique introduced after 1850 (Jones and Sullivan 1985).

Tinware (sheet iron) container fragments (n=147) represent a number of small hollow vessels, and probably include canister and cup or mug forms. All are highly fragmented and none are particularly diagnostic. Table cutlery is represented by a two utensil handles with full flat tangs and bone or antler scales. A probable fork handle retains one intact bone scale which

measures 6.65 cm x 1.66cm, and is coffin shaped with three flat longitudinal facets. The other handle is highly fragmented, but retains a portion of an antler scale attached with iron rivets. This handle may have been a portion of a case knife or meat fork.

Six thin colorless glass sherds are tentatively identified as lamp chimney fragments, and are the only household goods, other than food related wares, in the assemblage. Oil lighting fixtures appear to have been a post-Removal era innovation in the study area; no oil lamps are identified in Cherokee spoliation claims from the region, and accounts from Hunter's store document neither lamps nor lamp oil.

Clothing and clothing production hardware recovered from Feature 1 include eight buttons, an iron wire fastener, and portions of two brass straight pins. The straight pins retain traces of tin plating, and one pin exhibits a one-piece expanded head, a form introduced in 1824 (Hume 1970: 254). The iron fastener measures 5.7cm in length and 1.7 cm in width, and consists of iron wire machine formed as two adjacent unequal rectangular frames measuring 5.7cm x 1cm and 2.7cm x 1cm. This object may represent a piece of suspenders hardware, or a buckle for a ladies' waistband. The buttons include three small (11mm), white opaque glass buttons (Prosser type) with four holes (South Type 23), two bone disc buttons with four holes (South Type 20), two bone disc buttons with five holes (South Type 19) and a single spun brass button with attached loop eyelet (South Type 18) (South 1964:120-122). The glass buttons postdate 1840 (Lamm et al. 1970), and it is suspected that four holed bone buttons also date after 1840, because none are represented among buttons from well dated Removal period contexts at the Christie Cabin.

A marble fragment, a red glass seed bead, and two clay tobacco pipe fragments are the only personal objects in the assemblage. The small (1.52cm dia.), commercially manufactured dolomite marble is the only evidence of recreational activities recovered from the site. The glass bead is a small (<2mm), tube-drawn tumbled form, with a strong red exterior over a white, opaque core (Kidd and Kidd Type IVa9) (Kidd and Kidd 1970). The two fragments of stub stemmed earthenware pipes are mold made and evince fluting on both bowl and stem portions. Similar stub stemmed elbow tobacco pipes were commercially produced throughout the nineteenth century and were cheap and widely available (Walker 1975).

Firearms related paraphernalia are represented by a single copper percussion cap and one lead droplet. The complete percussion cap is small (4.5mm) and corresponds with a no.10 pistol cap. Percussion ignition systems for firearms were first introduced ca. 1817, but became widespread only after 1840. Records of Hunter's store indicate that percussion system pistols and caps were in stock there as early as 1837. The lead droplet appears to be waste or sprue from the casting of lead ammunition.

Architectural debris from the feature consists of cut nails (n=17) and nail fragments (n=10) and three window glass fragments. Nails in 3d, 4d, 5d, 7d, and 10d sizes are represented. Thicknesses of glass panes are 1.39mm, 1.47mm, and 1.67mm. The relative paucity of architectural hardware probably reflects the overall simplicity of the cabin superstructure associated with Feature 1. The original Sourjohn cabin described by Welch and Jarrett was a very basic cribbed log structure, and the appraisal does not indicate construction hardware, such as roofing nails or iron hinges. Like the majority of cabin structures in the region, the original Hawkins-Sourjohn structure did not have windows.

Farm related activities are indicated by one horseshoe, an iron sleeve, and a length of chain. The horseshoe is complete, and measures 13.5cm in length and 13cm in width. The section of chain consists of seven links, and is probably a portion of trace chains used for attaching harness and singletrees to plows or other draft equipment. The links range in length from 5cm to 5.6cm, and the total chain section measures 38cm. The iron sleeve is slightly oval, and measures 4.84cm x 5.12cm in diameter, 1.94cm in width, and .22cm in thickness. This sleeve may be a reinforcing ring for a singletree stock.

A small number of artifacts included in the pit fill may derive from historic Cherokee occupation of the site. An historic Cherokee association with the site is indicated by three small ($<2cm^2$) Qualla series ceramic sherds. These sherds are all check stamped, and evince interior smudging. The sherds are uneroded and appear to have entered the pit context soon after breakage, or may have been sheltered from weathering by the superstructure. These sherds may relate to the Hawkins-Sourjohn or preceding Old Will occupations of the site (Welch and Jarrett 1837). A groundstone object from the pit may also be associated with the historic Cherokee site occupation. This small (1.8cm x 1.4cm), barrel shaped gneiss pebble exhibits distinct ground facets on either end. The function of this object is undetermined and its attribution to the pre-Removal Cherokee occupation is tentative.

Faunal remains recovered from Feature 1 include pig bones, chicken bones, and eggshell, as well as rabbit, squirrel, opossum, fish, and small rodent remains (Table 6.24). Domestic pig remains (n=25) are numerically dominant in the assemblage, and at least three individual hogs are represented. The prevalence of pig remains is characteristic of mid-nineteenth century farmstead assemblages in the upland South and reflects the preeminence of pork in the Southern rural diet of the mid-nineteenth century (Hilliard 1972). Chicken bones and eggshell reflect the dietary contribution of domestic fowl in both eggs and flesh. The relative abundance and diversity of small game and fish remains suggests that hunting, trapping, and fishing played an important supplementary role in the subsistence of the household. This secondary emphasis on wild

Table 6.24. Faunal remains from the Hawkins/Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273).

Common name	Taxon	Element	n=
pig	*Sus scrofa*	fibula	2
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandible	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular canine	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular incisor	7
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular molar	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	mandibular premolar	2
pig	*Sus scrofa*	maxillary canine	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	metapodial (fifth)	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	molar	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	phalange (second)	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	temporal	1
pig	*Sus scrofa*	tooth fragment	6
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	calcaneus	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	femur	2
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	mandible	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	mandibular incisor	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	maxilla	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	maxillary incisor	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	pelvis	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	sacrum	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	scapula	1
rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*	tibia	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	astragulus	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	femur	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	incisor	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	mandible	3
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	phalange (first)	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	phalange (third)	2
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	ulna	1
gray squirrel	*Sciurus carolinensis*	vertebra (cervical)	1
oppossum	*Didelphis marsupialis*	radius	1
mouse	*Peromyscus sp*	femur	1
mouse	Cricetidae	femur	1
mouse	Cricetidae	incisor	3
mouse	Cricetidae	molar	3
mouse	Cricetidae	vertebra (cervical)	4
mouse	Cricetidae	vertebra (lumbar)	1
mouse	Cricetidae	pelvis	1
large mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	bone fragment (indet.)	8
large mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment (indet.)	2
large mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	skull fragment (indet.)	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	bone fragment (indet.)	2
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	carpal	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment (indet.)	25
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	rib fragment	7
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	scapula	1

Table 6.24. Faunal remains from the Hawkins/Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273) (cont.).

Common name	Taxon	Element	n=
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	skull fragment (indet.)	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	vertebra (lumbar)	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	vertebra (thoracic)	1
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	vertebra fragment	2
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	long bone fragment (indet.)	6
medium sized mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	rib fragment	2
small mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	carpal	2
small mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	femur	1
small mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	metapodial	2
small mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	rib fragment	2
small mammal (indet.)	Mammalia	skull fragment (indet.)	20
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	bone fragment (indet.)	8
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	eggshell	103
chicken	*Gallus gallus*	tibiotarsus	2
bird (cf. chicken)	*Gallus gallus*	fibula	1
bird (cf. chicken)	*Gallus gallus*	long bone fragment (indet.)	9
bird (cf. chicken)	*Gallus gallus*	phalange (first)	3
bird (cf. chicken)	*Gallus gallus*	premaxilla	1
bird (cf. chicken)	*Gallus gallus*	rib fragment	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	bone fragment (indet.)	6
fish (indet.)	Pisces	preoperculum	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	rib	3
fish (indet.)	Pisces	scale	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	skull fragment (indet.)	1
fish (indet.)	Pisces	spine	7
fish (indet.)	Pisces	vertebra	4
indeterminate	indeterminate	bone fragment (indet.)	165

resources for household subsistence parallels evidence from the Christie Cabin Site and reflects widespread rural southern dietary patterns.

Botanical remains from the site have not been analyzed, but preliminary inspection of charred plant remains from Feature 1 indicates that the vast majority are wood charcoal. A single fragment of charred walnut shell is the only plant food macro-remain noted in the assemblage.

Discussion

Archaeological testing of the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site (31CE273) determined that the site sediments have been intensely disturbed to the surface of the subsoil. This disturbance is attributed to the grading of the site coincident with the demolition of the Voyles house during the 1980s. Mechanical stripping of these disturbed sediments from a portion of the site area revealed footers for the Voyles house and a square pit cellar attributed to a mid-nineteenth century occupation. The majority of the artifact content of this cellar clearly postdates the 1838 Cherokee Removal, and is not, therefore, associated with the Hawkins-Sourjohn occupation. Instead, these materials most likely represent the refuse of a relatively poor Anglo-American household who occupied the former Cherokee cabin as tenants of A.J. King.

The archaeological assemblages recovered from Feature 1 are interesting on two accounts. The specific composition of the commercially manufactured goods present in Feature 1 provide a baseline for formal differentiation of Removal period Cherokee assemblages from the assemblages of succeeding Anglo-American occupations. Whitewares, in particular, exhibit trends in decoration that serve to differentiate the Hawkins-Sourjohn site assemblage from the Christie Cabin, *Sataka* Cabin, Brush Picker Cabin ,and *Kianna* Cabin Site collections. Edge decorated wares from the Hawkins- Sourjohn site have plain edges and attenuated embossing, while such wares from documented Removal period contexts generally exhibit scalloped edges and well defined embossing. Plain, undecorated whiteware plates are represented at Hawkins-Sourjohn; such wares are lacking from Removal period contexts. Both cut sponge decorated and spatter decorated wares are represented at Hawkins-Sourjohn, while contexts such as the Christie and Brush Picker cabins include only spatter decorated wares. The Hawkins-Sourjohn site assemblage encompasses a wider range of glasswares than the Removal period Cherokee contexts, and includes mid-nineteenth century innovations such as three piece bottle mold produced pieces.

Secondly, despite the specific contrasts between assemblages of manufactured goods from Hawkins-Sourjohn and Removal period Cherokee contexts, the general range of materials represented is comparable, especially with the Christie Cabin assemblage. This suggests that similar ranges of domestic and agricultural activities are represented at 31CE273 and 31CE274,

and that the occupants of the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin enjoyed a material standard of living comparable to the Christies. However, these two assemblages contrast in scale and diversity. The Christie Cabin includes a far greater frequency of commercially manufactured goods, while the Hawkins-Sourjohn assemblage exhibits an overall higher diversity of materials (when the size of the assemblage is taken into account). The greater diversity of materials in the Hawkins-Sourjohn assemblage probably reflects the increased selection of goods available to Anglo-American consumers in the Valley River region in the post Removal period, and a potentially greater span of occupation.

31CE363

Another discrete and well defined early post-Removal Anglo-American residential component is represented at site 31CE363, on the south side of the Hiwassee River at mile 93.6. This site is situated approximately 90m southwest of the Christie Cabin Site and occupies the southwestern end of the same terrace formation; Kirkland Branch bounds the site on the west. Original topsoil sediments have been completely deflated by reservoir wave action, and yellowish brown gravely clay loam subsoil is exposed across the end of the terrace. Diagnostic mid-nineteenth century materials are evident across a 1700 m^2area of this exposure. These materials are concentrated around a rectangular cellar pit (1.6 x 1.8 x 0.75 m) defined by a slight depression filled with organically enriched soil. No above ground architectural ruins such as foundations, stone piers, underpinnings, or chimney ruins remain on the site. Either such materials were cleared away by later site occupants, or the original cabin structure incorporated little or no imperishable materials. The lack of such architectural evidence corresponds with the record of earlier Cherokee cabin sites, which were constructed on ground sill timber foundations with cats-and-clay chimneys.

Artifact collections from 31CE363 (Table 6.25) include a wide array of commercially manufactured ceramics, glassware, and iron hardware, and resemble the assemblages from the nearby Christie Cabin Site in general pattern and specific content. Refined earthenware sherds (n=142) are all identified as whiteware and include a wide range of decorative treatments including blue, green, and plain relief edge decorated (n=29), cut sponge decorated (n=1), spatter decorated (n=2); polychrome hand-painted (n=8), transfer printed (n=12), flow blue printed (n=7) sherds as well as plain sherds (n=80). Stoneware sherds (n=61) and coarse lead glazed earthenware sherds (n=3) represent a variety of food storage and food processing containers, including very large, heavy crocks or demijohns. Glassware from the site includes dark olive -green wine bottle fragments (n=9), a leaded glass tumbler fragment, a blown glass vial fragment,

Table 6.25. Commercially manufactured goods recovered from 31CE363.

Ceramic Sherds		
Item type	Decoration	N=
earthenware (lead glazed redware)		3
stoneware (alkaline glazed)		40
stoneware (brown slip glazed)		12
stoneware (unglazed)		9
whiteware	plain	80
whiteware	blue edge decorated	25
whiteware	green edge decorated	1
whiteware	plain shell edge embossed	3
whiteware	cut sponged decorated	2
whiteware	spatter decorated	2
whiteware	polychrome hand-painted	8
whiteware	hand-painted (blue)	1
whiteware	hand-painted (mulberry)	1
whiteware	transfer printed (blue)	12
whiteware	transfer printed (flow blue)	7
Other Mass Produced Goods		
Item type	Decoration	
tumbler fragment (colorless leaded glass)	fluted	1
wine bottle fragment (dark olive-green)		9
pressed glass compote fragment (leaded)		1
blown glass vial base (open pontil)		1
colorless glass (window pane)		4
cut nail fragment		1
iron horseshoe branch		1
stub stemmed tobacco pipe (earthenware)	ribbed molding	1
axe steel		1
iron rake/harow tine		1

and a pressed glass compote fragment. Architectural components include four windowpane fragments and a single cut nail. Personal or leisure activities are indicated by a stub stemmed earthenware tobacco pipe fragment. Agricultural or other production activities are indicated by an iron horseshoe fragment, a chain link, an axe steel, and a harrow tine.

Materials recovered from 31CE363 indicate an occupation that dates ca. 1838-1850. During this period, the site property was owned by Dr. Charles M. Hitchcock, Col. A.R.S. Hunter's son-in-law and a physician stationed at Fort Butler during the 1838 removal. In the post-Removal era, Hitchcock lived first in Murphy, then moved to San Francisco. During Hitchcock's tenure of the property, the site was likely occupied by tenants, but their identity is undocumented.

It is noteworthy that 31CE363 and the Christie Cabin Site share many of the same ceramic types and patterns (e.g., "Canova" pattern transfer print). This resemblance may reflect acquisition from a common source (i.e. Hunter's store), or possibly indicates the scavenging of abandoned goods from the Christie cabin by residents of 31CE363.

31CE530

Site 31CE530 is a small mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American component located on a small branch approximately 800 m southeast of Persimmon Creek at mile 2 (Figure 6.1). The site is situated on a small, east facing debris flow fan below the summer pool level of Hiwassee Lake; the site surface has been extensively deflated by reservoir fluctuation. The Anglo-American component is defined by domestic debris scattered over a 1470m^2 area centered around a large (2.3 m x 1.3 m) cellar pit, which is indicated by differential drying of sediments and size sorting of gravels over the feature surface. No above ground architectural remains are evident, and it appears likely that the original superstructure above the cellar was a ground founded log crib with a stick-and-clay chimney.

Diagnostic mid-nineteenth century materials collected from the site surface include 37 whiteware sherds which represent a minimum of eight pieces of tableware (Table 6.26). Eight whiteware fragments are rim portions of relief molded blue edge decorated plates; most of the 23 plain sherds derive from plate bodies. In contrast to wares recovered from the Christie Cabin Site, edge decorated wares from 31CE530 exhibit attenuated molding and plain (rather than scalloped) margins. Two polychrome hand-painted whiteware cup fragments exhibit very opaque, saturated hues characteristic of mid-nineteenth century examples. An annular decorated whiteware sherd derives from a small hollowware form. One fragment of purple transfer printed whiteware bears a portion of a rustic scene. Food storage functions are represented by 19 stoneware sherds (eight alkaline glazed, two slip glazed, nine unglazed) which derive from at least five large hollowware vessels. Other consumption related artifacts include one fragment of press molded glassware, and

Table. 6.26. Commercially manufactured goods recovered from 31CE530.

Item	Decoration	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware sherd		8
unglazed stoneware sherd		9
refined earthenware (indet.) sherd	annular decorated	1
whiteware sherd	blue edge decorated	8
whiteware sherd	handpainted	2
whiteware sherd	plain	20
whiteware sherd	relief molded	3
whiteware sherd	transfer printed (purple)	1
colorless glass container fragment		5
dark olive-green wine bottle glass fragment		3

three fragments of dark olive green wine bottle glass. No other contemporary materials were observed on the site surface.

Site 31CE530 represents a small, discrete mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American residential component that resembles Removal period Cherokee residential components in scale, and to some degree, content. The small site size and relatively low artifact density and diversity evident at 31CE530 are interpreted as evidence of an occupation of relatively low intensity and brief duration. As is the case with the early Anglo-American occupations at 31CE273 and 31CE363, the identity of the site occupants at 31CE530 is not documented, but the site appears consistent with the squatter and tenant homesteads that were dotted across the lands of large landholders in the region in the early post-Removal era.

31CE586

A configuration nearly identical to 31CE530 is represented at site 31CE586, which is located on a low, deflated debris flow fan on the northeast side of Rose Creek approximately 1.6km northwest of its confluence with the Hiwassee River. The site elevation is approximately 1480ft AMSL, and the site area is typically inundated by Hiwassee Lake. Reservoir induced deflation of site sediments has exposed a constrained (<100m^2) cluster of mid-nineteenth century domestic debris concentrated around a small (1.3m x 1.25m), square pit cellar. Much of the surrounding area is obscured by colluvial gravels, and the total extent of the site was not determined during survey. No above ground architectural ruins are present, and it is assumed that the site represents the location of an ephemeral ground sill founded cabin with cats-and-clay chimney. All materials evident on the site surface were collected during a 1993 site reconnaissance. These artifacts include 12 whiteware sherds (nine plain, two hand-painted, one blue edge decorated) and two alkaline glazed stoneware sherds; one pig bone was also recovered from the pit surface (Table 6.27). Although this collection is limited in scale and diversity, it appears consistent with mid-

nineteenth century Anglo-American components documented at 31CE273, 31CE363, and 31CE530 and may be considered comparable to surface collections from a number of Removal period Cherokee residential sites in the area.

Table. 6.27. Commercially manufactured goods recovered from 31CE586.

Item	Decoration	N=
alkaline glazed stoneware sherd		2
whiteware sherd	blue edge decorated	1
whiteware sherd	hand-painted (blue)	1
whiteware sherd	hand-painted (green)	1
whiteware sherd	plain	9
green tinted container glass fragment		2

Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Components

In order to gauge the similarity of Removal period Cherokee archaeological sites and assemblages to Anglo-American models, it is also important to consider their degree of similarity to, or divergence from, native antecedents. Such late eighteenth and early nineteenth century antecedents are well represented within the Hiwassee Lake survey area (Riggs 1995, Riggs and Kimball 1996). Pre-Removal era Cherokee components are distinguished by the incidence of Qualla series ceramic sherds and contemporary commercial trade materials (e.g., wine bottle fragments, brass kettle fragments, gunflints) and the absence of diagnostic refined earthenwares indicative of Removal period occupations. Site chronologies are, as yet, poorly developed, yet the lack of early documentary evidence for Cherokee settlement in this area suggests that historic era Cherokee occupation of all but the uppermost reaches of Hiwassee Lake postdates ca. 1780. None of these sites are depicted on Removal period maps of the region. This study considers evidence from five historic era Cherokee archaeological sites that represent domestic occupations during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: 31CE386, 31CE387, 31CE358, 31CE289, and 31CE290 (see Figure 6.1). Assemblage information derived from surface collections at all five sites, and from excavated pit contexts at 31CE289 and 31CE290, is compared with evidence from Removal period Cherokee components to determine varying degrees of divergence from these models of "traditional" material culture.

Cootlohee (31CE386 and 31CE387)

The most extensive pre-Removal era Cherokee components considered in this study are located at Cootlohee (31CE386 and 31CE387), a site locality on the north bank of the Hiwassee River at the Nottely River confluence (Figure 6.1). These sites are situated on adjacent colluvial debris flow fans separated by a perennial spring branch. The debris flows rise abruptly from the Hiwassee River floodplain, and the sites are elevated approximately 30ft (9m) above adjacent

areas. Both sites are situated at elevations within the normal winter drawdown zone of Hiwassee Reservoir (31CE386 at 1509 ft AMSL; 31CE387 at 1500 ft AMSL). The surfaces of both sites are moderately to severely deflated, and the clay loam B horizon is exposed over much of the area. The site surfaces evince dense scatters of prehistoric and historic era domestic debris exposed by the deflation of the A horizon, and a number of pit features and posthole intrusive into the B horizon are evident at the site surfaces.

The historic Cherokee components at 31CE386 and 31CE387 may be directly referable to a small village noted by Major John Norton in 1807:

> ...We crossed the Hiyouwassee and passing along its banks, through pleasant fertile flatts, edged by hills of moderate height, we came to the Forks of Annatighli [Nottely], and there recrossed the river; on the opposite banks of which is a little village with a Town House. We stopped at one of the houses and had dinner... (Klink and Talman 1970:146).

Norton probably observed the central area of Cootlohee (*Kutlo'yi*: Beech Tree Place) Town, a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century settlement located along the main Hiwassee River channel between the mouths of Hanging Dog and Persimmon creeks. The earliest documentary records of Cootlohee are accounts of Sevier's 1788 Valley Towns raid, when American forces surprised the Cootlohee settlement by taking "an unexpected route" (the Overhill Trading Path, later the Unicoi Turnpike) to the Valley River region (Brown 1938: 286-289). Sevier's Tennessee militia attempted to destroy 100 acres of corn in the riverbottoms at "Coota-cloohee," and camped for the night on a nearby hill (possibly 31CE386). Cootlohee also appears on a 1799 U.S. annuity list (Royce 1887:16), and the settlement is included in Meigs' 1807 census of the Cherokees (Meigs 1809), as well as 1817-1818 Cherokee emigration rosters (Baker 1977). By the 1830s, the center of the Cootlohee settlement had shifted downstream to the mouth of Grape Creek, and the December 9, 1837, Army survey notes for the Nottely River trail indicate that the 31CE386-31CE387 locality was not occupied, but was "...formerly cultivated by an Indian named Silversmith."

The historic Cherokee component at 31CE386 is defined by diagnostic historic Cherokee ceramic artifacts and contemporary commercial trade goods distributed over an 1815m^2 area around a mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American house ruin. Surface collections of the site area recovered 309 Qualla series sherds, three Overhill series sherds, two gunflints, the cock of a flintlock trade gun and a brass final from a trade gun triggerguard, two pieces of lead sheet, 28 fragments of dark olive-green bottle glass, a brass kettle lug, and a carved chlorite schist pipe fragment attributable to a historic Cherokee domestic occupation (Tables 6.28, 6.29). Much of this material came from the surfaces of 14 pit features exposed by the complete deflation of A horizon sediments. These pit features are primarily oval or circular facilities which range from

Table 6.28. Aboriginal ceramic sherds recovered from 31CE386 and 31CE387.

Site	Series	Portion	Surface Treatment/Decoration	N=
31CE386				
	Overhill series (shell tempered)			
		body sherds		
			plain	3
	Qualla series (grit tempered)			
		rim sherds		1
			rimstrip (plain) on check stamped body	1
			rimstrip (plain) on linear stamped (indet.) body	1
			rectilinear complicated stamped	1
			rimstrip (plain) on rectilinear complicated stamped body	1
			rimstrip (missing)	2
			rimstrip (notched)	5
			fillete strip (plain)	1
			smoothed	2
			smoothed with notched lip	1
			plain	7
			residual	2
		body sherds		
			check stamped	72
			complicated stamped (indet.)	3
			curvilinear complicated stamped	3
			rectilinear complicated stamped	48
			linear stamped (indet.)	36
			plain	39
			smoothed over stamped	11
			smoothed/obliterated	33
			stamped (indet.)	11
			indeterminate	6
			residual	22
				312
31CE387				n=
	Qualla series (grit tempered)			
		rim sherds		
			rimstrip (missing) on check stamped body	1
			rimstrip (notched)	1
			rimstrip (plain)	1
			rectilinear complicated stamped	1
		body sherds		
			check stamped	9
			curvilinear complicated stamped	1
			linear stamped (indeterminate)	1
			rectilinear complicated stamped	18
			smoothed	5
			smoothed over stamped	3
			smoothed/obliterated	1
			residual	5
				47

Table 6.29. Commercially manufactured artifacts recovered from 31CE386 and 31CE387.

Site	Item	N=
31CE386		
	English gunflint	2
	lead sheet (cut)	1
	lead sheet/sprue	1
	iron gun cock (flintlock hammer)	1
	brass triggerguard finial	1
	nail (hand-wrought)	1
	brass button (South type 18)	1
	kettle lug (cast iron with brass sheet & rivets)	1
	dark olive-green wine bottle glass fragment	28
31CE387		
	dark olive green wine bottle glass fragment	1

.55m to 1.95 m in diameter, and range between .10 m and .49 m in depth (measured with tube sampler in feature centers). The pit matrices vary considerably, but most include substantial organic content with both floral (e.g., charred corn, beans, hickory nutshell, peach pits) and faunal (e.g., bear, deer) remains. Scattered postmolds evident in the site area are probably associated with the historic Cherokee component, and represent vertical post structures, but no coherent structure patterns were defined during the surface reconnaissance of the site.

The historic Cherokee component at 31CE387 occupies approximately 805m^2 on the crest of the debris flow. Artifacts recovered from the site surface include 47 Qualla series sherds and a dark olive-green (rum) bottle glass fragment attributable to the historic Cherokee component, as well as materials attributed to a prehistoric lithic component and materials associated with the twentieth century barn. The site surface is moderately deflated, and two Qualla Phase pit features are exposed along the southern edge of the site. Although no evidence of historic Cherokee era architecture was observed on the site, materials observed on the site surface are consistent with residential occupation, and it is likely that postmolds are obscured beneath the thin layer of gravel and loose soil that covers much of the site surface.

Qualla series ceramics recovered from the Cootlohee site locality closely resemble the wares documented at Removal period sites in the region. The range of vessel forms, rim treatments, and body treatments evident in the Cootlohee collection encompasses all of the variation observed in Removal period wares from Hiwassee Reservoir. Cootlohee ceramics derive from globular jars with recurvate rims, hemispherical bowls, and deep, flat bottomed pans with flaring rims. Like

Removal period assemblages, the Cootlohee wares exhibit high frequencies of check stamped and rectilinear complicated stamped treatments, but unlike Removal period collections, 20% of the Cootlohee ceramics have plain or burnished surfaces.

Historic era Cherokee components at Cootlohee yielded the largest and most diverse collection of commercially manufactured goods represented among the pre-Removal era sites. These items reflect a suite of goods commonly offered by itinerant or resident British and Anglo-American traders during the late eighteenth century. Firearms and ammunition, brass kettles, and rum and wine bottles (and their contents) were among the goods most avidly sought by Cherokee consumers, and artifacts reflecting such goods are well documented in late eighteenth century Cherokee contexts at Hiwassee Old Town (Riggs et al. 1988) and the Poole Site (Alvey et al. 1993), and in late Colonial period Cherokee assemblages from Chota-Tanase (Schroedl 1986b), Mialoquo (Russ and Chapman 1983), and Tomotley (Baden 1983). The comparatively high incidence of such goods at Cootlohee probably reflects the contribution of multiple households to the contents of surface deposits and pit features.

31CE358

A pre-Removal era Cherokee single household component is represented at site 31CE358, located on a second terrace remnant on the south side of the Hiwassee River at R.M. 94. The site is positioned approximately 180m east-northeast of the Christie Cabin Site on a disjunct segment of the same terrace formation. Site elevation is approximately 1500ft AMSL, and the site is inundated by Hiwassee Reservoir for more than half of the year. Reservoir fluctuation and wave action have deflated site sediments, and surface conditions are comparable to those observed at the Christie Cabin Site and nearby site 31CE363.

Inspection of the site during the 1993 reconnaissance identified a small (300m^2), dense cluster of Qualla series ceramic sherds (n=80) and six fragments of dark olive green bottle glass (Tables 6.30; 6.31). This collection is dominated by cobmarked wares (n=14) a surface treatment not observed in other Qualla series collections from Hiwassee Lake. Other surface treatments are check stamped (n=30), indeterminate stamped (n=11), and smoothed or plain (n=7). Three rimsherds evince appliqué rimstrip elaborations. Several fragments of the dark olive-green wine bottle glass are crazed or melted as a result of firing.

The small size and low diversity of the 31CE358 site collection appears characteristic of late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century single household contexts in the Hiwassee Reservoir area. The 1993-1994 reconnaissance documented more than three dozen similar sites (Riggs 1995), all interpreted as representative of single family farmstead occupations. Many of these sites are represented by fewer than ten Qualla series sherds evident on site surfaces.

Table 6.30. Qualla series ceramic sherds recovered from 31CE358.

Surface Treatment/Decoration	N=
rim sherds	1
plain	1
rimstrip (indet.)	1
rimstrip (missing)	1
rimstrip (notched)	1
body sherds	
check stamped	30
cobmarked	14
smoothed	6
smoothed over stamped	1
stamped (indet.)	11
residual	14

Table 6.31. Commercially manufactured goods recovered from 31CE358.

Item	N=
dark olive-green wine bottle glass fragments	6

31CE289

Site 31CE289 was identified during the 1991 reconnaissance in an effort to locate archaeological remains associated with the Removal period *Lawlo* household occupation. Inspection of the locality indicated by the 1837 Army survey notebooks identified a late Qualla phase component (31CE289) located on the second terrace of the Nottely River, approximately 85m northeast of the Cane Creek confluence and 200m southwest of the *Kianna* Cabin Site (Figure 6.1; 6.43). The terrace surface is moderately deflated and exhibits significant erosional gullies as a result of reservoir fluctuation and winter runoff. Diagnostic Cherokee artifacts are abundant on this surface, as are Connestee phase ceramics and lithic artifacts attributable to a Late Archaic period occupation. The distribution of Qualla series ceramics on the site surface indicates a historic era Cherokee component covering approximately 990m^2. Artifacts recovered from the site surface include 172 Qualla series sherds, one alkaline glazed stoneware sherd, and carved block of chlorite schist. These materials were particularly concentrated around a large (1.25m x .9m), oval pit feature evident as a patch of organically discolored soil.

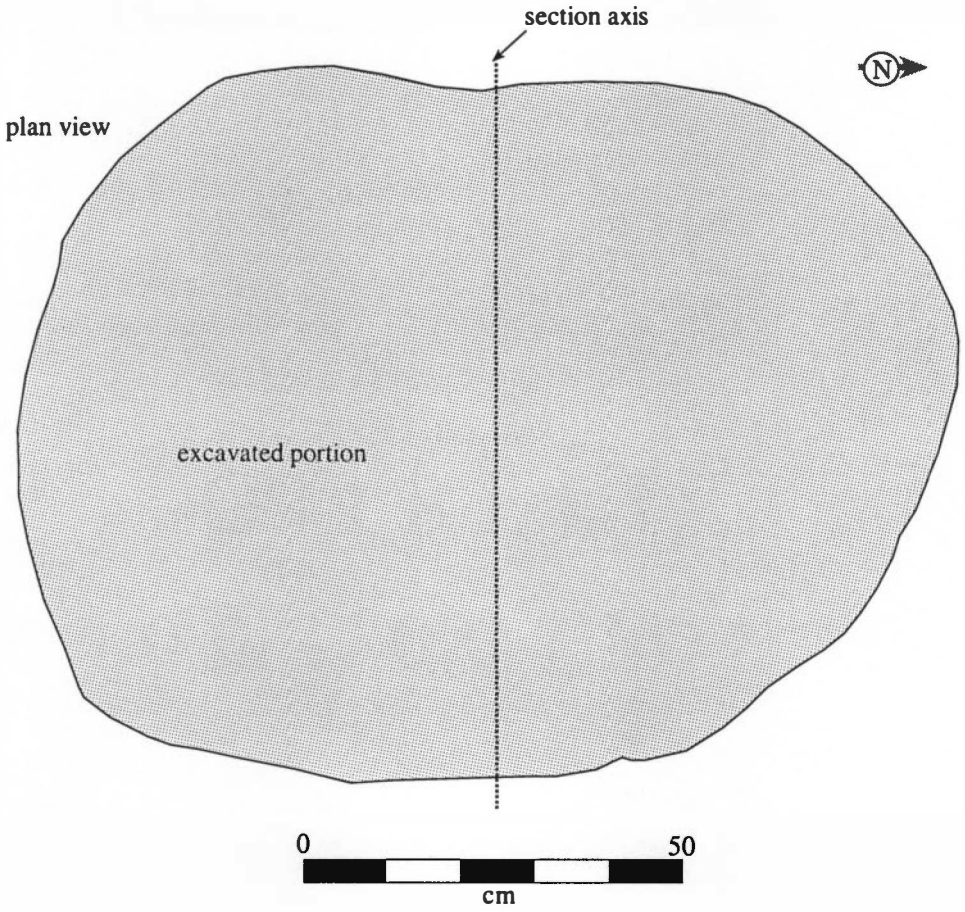
Investigators sampled this refuse-filled basin, designated Feature 1, in order to obtain a wider range of materials that might better establish site chronology. This was done in an effort to determine whether 31CE289 was associated with the Removal period *Lawlo* household occupation. Investigators bisected the feature along a, east-west axis and removed the pit matrix with horizontal controls maintained in 20 centimeter arbitrary levels from current ground surface.

Figure 6.43. Aerial view of the Nottely River Valley at the Cane Creek confluence. The approximate boundaries of 31CE289 are marked with the dashed line.

All soil removed from the feature was sorted through 1/8" mesh screen for recovery of artifacts and other associated materials. The pit proved less than 25cm in total depth; this dimension was probably substantially reduced by surface deflation. The profile (Figure 6.44) revealed by the excavated section indicated three distinct strata related to filling episodes and a stratum along the eastern wall attributed to pit wall slumpage. After documentation of the pit profile, investigators backfilled the excavated pit section with cobbles, gravel, and spoil dirt, then obscured the pit location to protect the remainder of the feature for future study.

Materials recovered from the southern half of Feature 1 include 78 Qualla series sherds and six blown glass vial fragments, as well as wood charcoal and fragments of chicken eggshell (Table 6.32). Feature fill also yielded 28 sand tempered Connestee simple stamped ceramic sherds attributable to a Middle Woodland period site component and abundant quartzite and chert debitage attributed to prehistoric site components. Although the excavated sample did not provide any temporally diagnostic materials suitable for determination of site chronology, the absence of refined earthenwares and other goods common to Removal period contexts may be interpreted as evidence that the site predates the Removal period and is not associated with the *Lawlo* household occupation. Subsequent investigations determined that the *Lawlo* residence (31CE280) was situated on a colluvial landform approximately 80m southeast of 31CE289. The single sherd of nineteenth century alkaline glazed stoneware evident on the surface of 31CE289 may derive from the *Lawlo* occupation or a later nineteenth century Anglo-American occupation at nearby 31CE280.

The historic era Cherokee material assemblages recovered from 31CE289 are distinguished from Removal period samples by the much lower incidence of commercially manufactured goods and by a distinctive configuration of Qualla series ceramics. Like other pre-Removal assemblages considered here, the 31CE289 collections denote a material lifestyle characterized by very low levels of commercial consumption, a situation which probably reflects the restricted availability and accessibility of manufactured goods during the Revolutionary and Federal periods. While British traders kept the Valley Towns well supplied with goods prior to the American Revolution, the Cherokees of the study area suffered an American embargo during the war years. In the postwar years, the deerhide economy collapsed, and Cherokees of the isolated Valley Towns settlements had little to offer Anglo-American traders. The inaccessibility of the region probably also depressed the flow of commercial goods into the study area until the opening of the Unicoi Turnpike in 1816 brought the Valley Towns Cherokees within the pale of the commercial economy once again.



A. dark grayish brown sandy silt loam with abundant charcoal inclusions and small gravels;
B. medium grayish brown silt loam with charcoal flecks and ash;
C. dark grayish brown sandy silt loam with abundant charcoal inclusions and small gravels;
D. mottled dark yellowish brown sandy silt loam.

Figure 6.44. 31CE289, Feature 1, plan and profile views.

Table 6.32. Qualla series ceramic sherds recovered from 31CE289.

Rim Treatments	Body Treatments	N=
indeterminate		3
plain		1
rimstrip (pinched)		1
rimstrip (vertically notched)	curvilinear complicated stamped	2
rimstrip (vertically notched)	stamped (indet.)	2
rimstrip (right oblique notched)		1
rimstrip (vertically notched)		4
smoothed (obliterated)		1
	check stamped	3
	curvilinear complicated stamped	34
	eroded	5
	indeterminate	4
	linear stamped (indet.)	83
	plain	3
	smoothed (obliterated)	155
	totals	302

The historic era Cherokee sherd assemblage from 31CE289 differs considerably from Removal period wares in terms of dominant surface treatments (Table 6.32). The check stamped treatments that dominate the Removal period collections constitute only 3% of the diagnostic wares from 31CE289, while curvilinear complicated stamped treatments, nearly nonexistent in Removal period assemblages, comprise 35% of the identifiable treatments from 31CE289. Rectilinear complicated stamped treatments constitute 57% of the identifiable surface treatments at 31CE289. These proportions also differ significantly from those observed at Cootlohee. The Revolutionary War period ceramic assemblage from the Townson site, which is located approximately 15km west of 31CE289, exhibits similar proportions of surface treatments, with very low proportions of check stamping and high relative proportions of curvilinear and rectilinear complicated stamped treatments. It is unclear whether the sherd surface treatment composition at 31CE289 reflects a temporal pattern or is simply idiosyncratic at the household level.

31CE290

Site 31CE290 is located on the second terrace on the northwest side of the Nottely River at River Mile 3.3, approximately 200m upstream from the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site (Figures 6.1, 6.3). The site occupies the terrace crest, with boundaries defined by slight swales on the northwest and southeast. The southwest margin of the site is defined by an unnamed perennial spring branch. Site elevation is approximately 1512ft AMSL, and the site surface is inundated by Hiwassee Reservoir during much of the year. Reservoir fluctuation and wave action have caused

complete deflation of original A horizon soils across the landform, and the subsoil surface is obscured by unconsolidated residual materials.

The 1991 reconnaissance of site 31CE290 identified a relatively dense scatter of highly fragmented Qualla series sherds distributed over an area approximately 1080m^2. It was initially believed that these materials represented a Removal period occupation by the *Chewkeeaskee* household. Surface collections recovered a total of 185 ceramic sherds, but identified no other materials attributable to the historic era Cherokee site component, and the precise temporal association of the component could not be determined.

In order to better define site chronology, investigators sought to locate and excavate a sample of intact contexts that might yield temporally diagnostic materials in unambiguous association. Close interval (1m) sampling of site sediments with a one inch tube auger revealed two large pit features near the center of the site area . These features were exposed for documentation by removal of approximately 10cm of unconsolidated overburden, then photographed and hand excavated. The southern halves of these features were excavated with horizontal controls maintained in 20cm arbitrary levels; the northern sections were excavated with respect to stratigraphic units defined from profile exposures (Figure 6.45; 6.46). Fill from the southern sections was dryscreen sorted through one quarter inch mesh; the fill from the northern halves was waterscreen processed through one eighth inch mesh, with the exception of two liter soil samples retained from each stratigraphic unit.

Materials recovered from excavated contexts at 31CE290 include 228 Qualla series sherds, seven pieces of dark olive green glass debitage and a single sheet iron fragment. Archaeo-botanical remains are limited to wood charcoal. Associated faunal remains are very sparse, but include deer, domestic pig, and fish remains, as well as domestic chicken eggshell.

Qualla series ceramics recovered from 31CE290 differ substantially from those evident at the nearby *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site and at 31CE289 (Table 6.33). Plain wares, primarily those with burnished exteriors, constitute 32% of the diagnostic sherds, and rectilinear complicated stamped wares represent an additional 38%. Check stamped surfaces are represented on 25% of the 31CE290 sherds; curvilinear complicated stamped surfaces are evident on 5% of these sherds. Although typical rimstrip elaborations are evident on nine rimsherds, another twelve rims are plain. The plain and burnished plain wares from 31CE290 represent flat based pans with excurvate walls and slightly incurvate rims, while the stamped wares are largely attributable to more conventional globular jars with recurvate profiles and rimstrip elaborations. The prominence of of plain wares at 31CE290 and 31CE386 contrasts with Removal period collections and may indicate a stylistic trend in Cherokee ceramics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is also noteworthy that one rectilinear complicated stamped motif

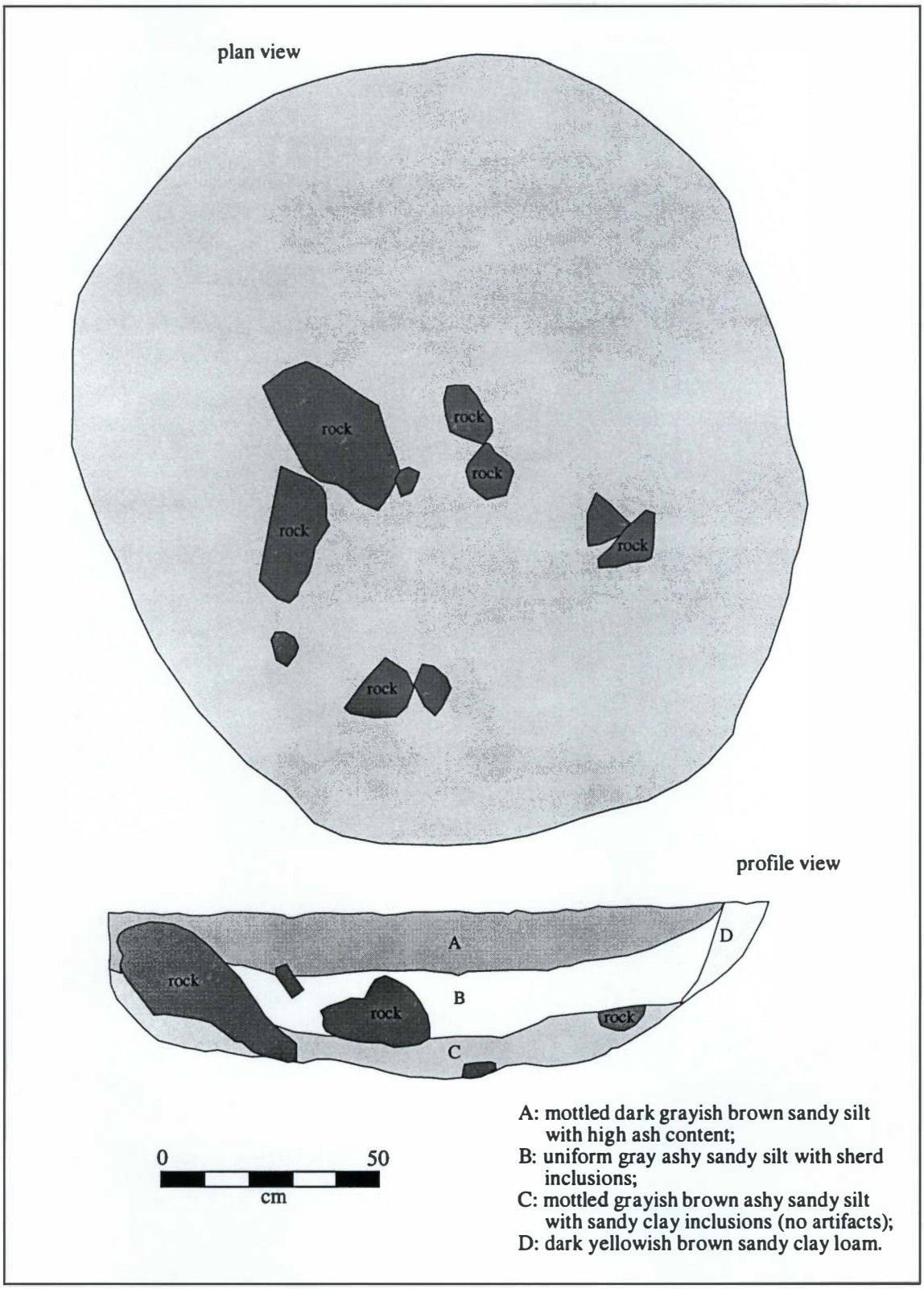
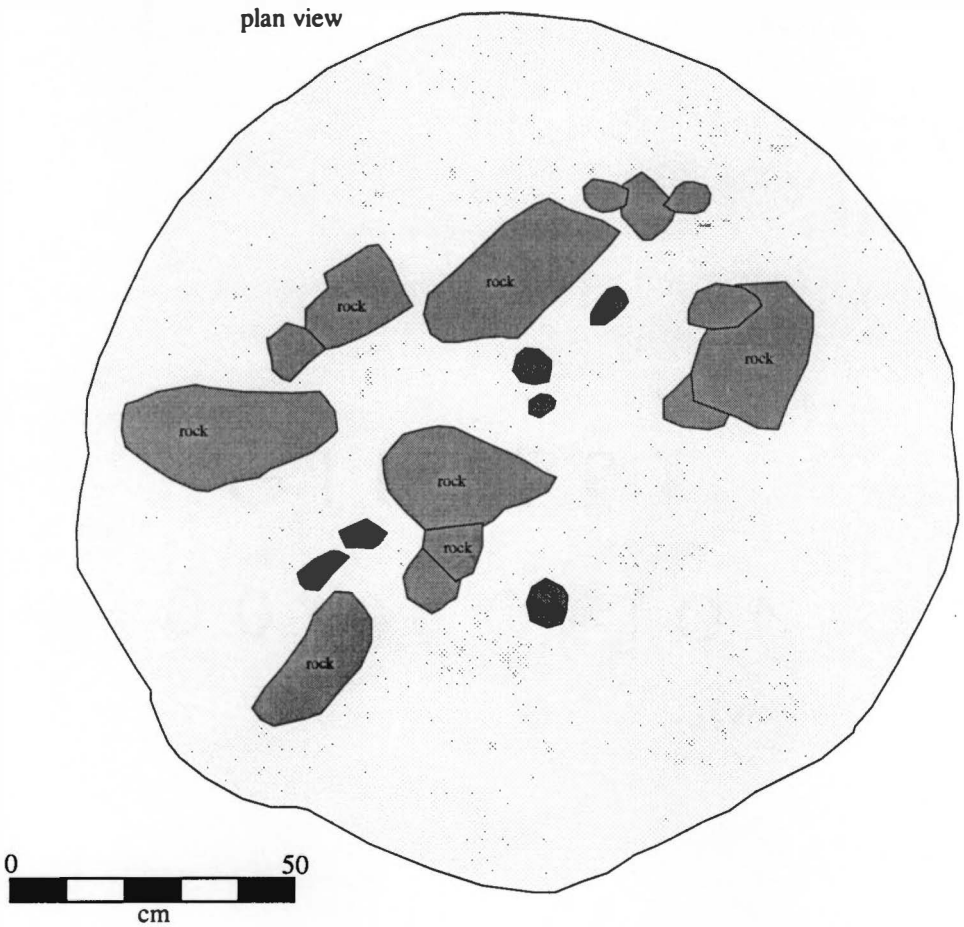


Figure 6.45. 31CE290, Feature 1, plan and profile views.



A: dark yellowish brown sandy silt loam mottled with grayish brown sandy silt loam;
B: grayish brown sandy silt loam;
C: grayish brown sandy silt loam with abundant charcoal inclusions;
D: grayish brown sandy silt loam mottled with reddish brown silt loam;
E: dark gray ash and charcoal;
F: dull reddish brown ash;
G: dark yellowish brown silt loam slightly mottled with gray silt loam.

Figure 6.46. 31CE290, Feature 2, plan and profile views.

Table 6.33. Qualla series ceramic sherds recovered from 31CE290.

Surface Treatment/Decoration	N=
Body Sherds	
plain	50
curvilinear complicated stamped	10
rectilinear complicated stamped	72
check stamped	48
stamped (indet.)	9
smoothed/obliterated	116
linear stamped	6
indeterminate	7
spalled/eroded	58
Rim Sherds	
plain	12
rectilinear complicated stamped	2
checkstamped	1
rimstrip (vertically notched)	3
rimstrip (pinched)	3
rimstrip (missing)	2
rimstrip (plain)	1
smoothed/obliterated	3
lip fragment (indet.)	4
indeterminate	3
eroded	3
	413

represented at 31CE290 appears identical to a stamp pattern defined in the Chewkeeaskee Cabin Site (31CE276) assemblage and appears to have been executed with the same stamp paddle. This common element implies some form of linkage or continuity between these households, a possibility heightened by the proximity of the two sites. The possible continuity between these neighboring (but, apparently non-contemporaneous) households is congruent with patterns of matrilineality and matrilocality manifest by conservative Cherokee families during the Removal period, and is consistent with the kin-based character of the *Nana-tsu-gun* community.

Commercially manufactured goods recovered from 31CE290 comprise a fragment of a sheet iron vessel rim and seven flakes of dark olive green wine bottle glass. The sheet iron fragment appears to be the rolled lip of a tinware bucket; such buckets were common elements of Removal period household assemblages and were likely prominent in Federal period assemblages as well. The flakes of wine bottle glass exhibit morphologies that indicate their intentional detachment from a larger glass blank, presumably for the production or maintenance of an edged tool. These flakes bear dorsal scars indicative of prior flake removals, and have ventral surfaces with discernible bulbs of force, eraillure scars, and compression bands. The flake platforms and terminations exhibit original bottle surfaces and indicate relatively steep edge angles consistent

with the production or rejuvenation of a unifacial scraping tool. These flakes illustrate the recycling of manufactured goods in native contexts, but do not specifically indicate the survival of traditional lithic technologies. Production, use, and rejuvenation of glass scrapers is well documented in nineteenth and twentieth century Anglo-American contexts (Poplin 1986), and was directly observed by the author in his childhood.

Material assemblages recovered from 31CE290 closely resemble those from 31CE386, 31CE387, 31CE358, and 31CE289 in terms of the relative abundance of Qualla series ceramic sherds and the proportional scarcity and low diversity of mass produced commercial goods. The scarcity of such goods is interpreted as evidence for low levels of consumption of manufactured wares and a concomitantly high level of dependence upon local indigenous technologies. The uniform character of these assemblages connotes a high degree of interhousehold homogeneity manifest as "shared poverty," a condition expected in Cherokee corporate society prior to the differential Westernization and socioeconomic diversification Cherokee households.

Comparison of Archaeological Sites, Contexts, and Assemblages

The small sample of Removal period Cherokee residential sites examined in this phase of the study reflects only a fraction of the total range of socioeconomic variation among Cherokee households indicated by the documentary record. Although these sites can hardly be construed as representative of the socioeconomic spectrum of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina, the Removal period material assemblages described in the preceding narrative exhibit substantial interhousehold variation in scale, content, and composition. A portion of this variation can be attributed to the cultural and economic differentiation of contemporaneous Cherokee families, and the greatest contrasts may be drawn between the archaeological record of the single *métis* household and the assemblages that represent the occupations of fullblood families. This pattern of interhousehold variation contrasts with the marked uniformity evident among sites and assemblages attributed to Cherokee occupations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This earlier pattern of homogeneity appears indicative of the broad social and economic equivalency among Cherokee families in the study area before 1819. Similarities between the material records of most of the Removal period households and those attributed to earlier occupations connote a high degree of cultural continuity and, by extension, cultural conservatism among Removal period families. A single Removal period component (31CE274) appears more similar to the post-Removal Anglo-American control group in terms of assemblage scale, content, and composition, and may be interpreted as denoting the more advanced Westernization of the Christie family.

The following synopsis examines specific aspects of similarity and difference among Removal period Cherokee sites, contexts, and assemblages, with reference to the control samples of antecedent Cherokee sites and post-Removal Anglo-American sites. Comparisons are drawn first among site settings and archaeological contexts, which exhibit relatively low levels of intersite variation among the entire sample. Subsequent comparisons of Removal period archaeological assemblages reveal more distinct trends of interhousehold variation referable to material patterns evident among earlier Cherokee assemblages and post-Removal Anglo-American collections. The material collections recovered from these sites derive from two types of contexts: exposed site surfaces and refuse filled pit features. Because these contexts reflect two distinct depositional types conditioned by discrete disposal patterns and post-depositional processes, they are not directly comparable in terms of abundance, diversity, and content. In addition, all but one of the sites are represented by surface collections, while only five of the total 16 sites yielded assemblages from excavated pit contexts. In order to maintain comparability among these material collections, the surface collected materials and the excavated assemblages are considered independent analytic issues and are accorded separate treatment.

Archaeological Sites and Contexts

The archaeological sites themselves are generally similar in setting, scale, and structure; these similarities reflect convergent or closely parallel adaptations to ambient ecological conditions and available economic niches by Cherokee and Anglo-American households. All of the residential sites considered in this study are positioned within or adjacent to relatively large (≥2ha) tracts of arable alluvial soils. Proximity to such tracts allowed Cherokee and Anglo-American families immediate access to agricultural plots and permitted them to continuously monitor their fields to prevent crop damage by pests. The consistent proximity of such components to plots of arable alluvial land reflects the horticultural or agricultural basis of Cherokee and early Anglo-American subsistence economies, and these farmers' preference for lighter, more easily tilled soils.

The majority of house or cabin seats documented in the study sample are situated in moderately elevated positions on level or gently sloping alluvial, colluvial, or residual landforms above the 50 year flood level. Such settings precluded damage to homes and outbuildings by the heavy annual spring floods of area rivers documented by Jones (1826-1836). The seating of individual homesteads in more elevated positions also promoted drainage and sped runoff from house and yard areas, and the clay loam soils typical of the colluvial and residual landforms provided suitable structural bases for pit cellars and other subterranean storage facilities. This pattern of site selection contrasts with the riverbottom settings of nucleated Cherokee villages of

the mid-eighteenth century; the greater size of these earlier communities limited use of more restricted colluvial and residual landforms. Continuation of the Removal period Cherokee pattern by post-Removal Anglo-American families is evident in the redundancy of sequential occupations.

With the probable exception of the John Wayne Jr., Cabin Site, all of the residences are located within 100m of small perennial water sources such as springs or spring branches. Such proximity afforded Cherokee and later Anglo-American families ready access to water for household use and allowed these households to exercise greater control over the quality of their water supply than was possible with sources such as rivers and creeks that drew upon larger drainage areas. Site aspect and surrounding microtopography also appear to have been important considerations in housesite selection. Most of the sites exhibit southerly or westerly aspects, or were otherwise positioned in microtopographic settings that maximized wintertime solarization. In a number of instances, the housesites were situated adjacent to hillslopes that protected residences from northerly winds and acted as heat sinks to moderate wintertime temperature fluctuation.

With the exception of the Cootlohee locality, which represents a hamlet-scale occupation, the Cherokee and Anglo-American homestead sites are quite small ($200m^2$ -$1000m^2$), and most exhibit low densities of diagnostic materials in surface contexts. The small size of these components reflects the spatial restriction and concentration of domestic activities and disposal in and around single family domiciles in homestead settings that lacked discrete outbuildings for specialized use. The low densities of artifacts evident on the surfaces of most of these sites probably reflect residential occupations of low intensity and relatively brief duration. This may reflect continuity of a swidden based shifting settlement pattern among Cherokee cases, and convergence toward the same pattern on the part of early Anglo-American settlers. It should also be observed that the conspicuous concentration of household debris in pit feature contexts at 31CE276, 31CE274, 31CE273, and 31CE290 suggests that preferred disposal patterns of Cherokee and Anglo-American households did not foster the rapid accumulation of peripheral sheet middens around domiciles.

More substantial collections of materials (>100 objects) from surface contexts are represented at 31CE274, 31CE363, 31CE386, 31CE289, and 31CE290. At 31CE386 (Cootlohee), greater artifact densities probably reflect the contributions of multiple households as well as the content of deflated pit features, around which the majority of artifacts were clustered. Similarly, artifacts recovered from 31CE363 appeared particularly clustered around the cellar pit. Materials at 31CE274, 31CE289, and 31CE290 appeared more generally distributed. In the cases of 31CE289 and 31CE290, it is suspected that higher artifact densities reflect more sustained

occupations, while the Removal period component at 31CE274 probably spans less than three years, and may represent an occupation of greater intensity than the other Removal period sites.

Evidence for site plan and site structure is quite limited and must be inferred from spatial distributions of artifacts on site surfaces and the incidence of pit features or other facilities intrusive into subsoil matrices. In every case, observed artifact distributions appear relatively homogeneous, and it is likely that any discrete spatial patterning has been obliterated by post-depositional process (such as reservoir induced deflation and remodeling of site surfaces). Observed artifact concentrations were closely associated with pit feature contexts, and likely represent the contents of deflated portions of pit matrices.

Square or rectangular substructure pit cellars are documented in Removal period contexts at the Christie, *Chewkeeaskee*, and John Wayne, Jr. cabin sites. These storage facilities delineate the locations of dwellings or *asi*, and appear to be common elements of Removal period Cherokee farmsteads. Similar facilities are documented in nineteenth century Cherokee contexts at Chota (Schroedl 1986b), Starnes (Milligan 1969), Coosawattee (Garrow 1977), Hickory Log (Webb 1995), Hicks Cabin (Baker 1970), and the Bell Rattle Cabin Site (Riggs 1987, 1989). The perceived absence of such facilities at the other Removal period Cherokee sites in the study sample probably reflects either the complete destruction of such contexts by erosion and site deflation or the masking of pit facilities by reservoir modification of site surfaces. All of the Anglo-American components considered here evince similar cellar features, and such facilities appear to be ubiquitous in nineteenth century Southern cabin contexts regardless of ethnic affiliation.

No such intramural facilities were observed among the earlier Cherokee components included in this study, and interior pits appear uncommon in documented late eighteenth century Cherokee domestic sites such as Townson (Egloff 1967) and Hiwassee Old Town (Riggs et al. 1988). The advent of rectangular hearthfront cellars in Cherokee contexts appears coincident with the Cherokees' adoption of horizontal cribbed log architecture during the 1790s. The perceived absence of such features at Cootlohee and other pre-removal era Cherokee sites documented in Hiwassee Reservoir (Riggs 1995, Riggs and Kimball 1996) may indicate late eighteenth century dates for these contexts, or may simply reflect the delayed adoption of this feature form in the study area. Instead, Cherokee components at 31CE289, 31CE290, 31CE386, and 31CE387 evince large circular or oval storage pits that were presumably situated outside residential structures, a pattern well documented in eighteenth century contexts at Chota (Schroedl 1986b), Tomotley (Baden 1983), and Mialoquo (Russ and Chapman 1983).

None of the Removal period Cherokee or post-Removal era Anglo-American sites exhibited any above ground evidence for architecture, such as stone piers, stone foundation remnants or

stone chimney debris. In addition, architectural components, such as nails and window pane fragments, are uncommon on these sites. The consistent lack of such architectural evidence from all of these sites suggests that the Anglo-Americans maintained housing comparable to that documented for the Cherokee households: small, ground based cribbed log cabins with stick-and-clay chimneys. Postmolds observed at Cootlohee indicate buildings constructed around vertical, earthfast posts, an indigenous architectural mode well documented in late eighteenth century contexts at Hiwassee Old Town (Riggs et al. 1988) and Townson (Dickens 1967; Egloff 1967).

In sum, the Removal period Cherokee archaeological sample displays intersite consistency in site selection and seating, site scale, and contextual configurations. The patterns of site location, scale, and structure evident among the Removal period cases are not unique, and resemble or duplicate those evident among the Anglo-American and earlier Cherokee control samples. Such continuity or convergence of pattern reflects optimal settlement solutions for single family farmstead occupations in the southern mountain environment, where arable soils are limited in distribution and potential houseseats are limited in number and restricted in size.

Material Assemblages

The material assemblages recovered from Removal period Cherokee contexts exhibit substantial intersite variation, yet also indicate unifying material patterns that distinguish the Removal period cases from their Cherokee antecedents and their Anglo-American successors. Variation in assemblage size, diversity, content, and composition among Removal period cases is partially attributable to particular site formation processes and variability in the intensity and duration of site occupation. However, most of the variation among the Removal period assemblages appears to reflect basic differences in household wealth and material lifestyle, as evident in the abundant and diverse array of commercially manufactured goods that distinguishes the Christie Cabin assemblage from the remainder of the sample. General patterns of interassemblage variability may be discriminated among the more inclusive sample of surface collections; more discrete patterns are represented among the small sample of excavated assemblages.

The Removal period surface collections (Table 6.34) vary substantially in size and artifact class diversity. Numbers of artifacts recovered from site surfaces range from as few as ten at the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin to as many as 344 at the Christie Cabin; total collections of fewer than 75 artifacts appear typical. Such extreme variation in collection size probably reflects a number of factors, but does not appear to be a function of site conditions or collection strategies. The artifact collections all derive from comparably deflated and exposed surfaces that were subject to close order pedestrian survey and recovery of all observed artifacts. The resultant artifact arrays

Table 6.34. Materials recovered from the surfaces of sites discussed in the text.

Site	Qualla series sherd	carved stone pipe fragment	carved stone fragment (indet.)	refined earthenware	coarse stoneware/earthenware	bottle glass fragment	vial fragment	glass tumbler fragment	pressed glass fragment	spoon	cast iron vessel fragment	brass kettle fragment	sheet iron vessel	nail	window pane fragment	button	ceramic elbow pipe	fishgig	gunflint	lead sheet	gunpart	horseshoe	harrow tine	chain link	ax steel
Removal Period																									
Cherokee components																									
31CE274	123	1		193	13	2					5			1		2	2					2			
31CE276	20			6	3	1		1				1													
31CE541	11		3	13	5								6												
31CE279	80	1		20	1	1													1						
31CE627	10										1			1											
31CE288	10	1	1	9		2				1								1							
31CE284	19				1							1													
pre-Removal era																									
Cherokee components																									
31CE386	313	1				28						1							1	2	2				
31CE387	47					1																			
31CE358	80					6																			
31CE289	172		1																						
31CE290	185																								
post-Removal era																									
Anglo-American components																									
31CE363				142	64	9	1	1	1		1			1	1		1					1	1	1	1
31CE530				37	19	3			1																
31CE586				12	2																				

probably approximate the total surviving complement of artifacts that were discarded or abandoned on the subject site surfaces. Instead, the variation in artifact assemblage size must be attributed to contemporary conditions at the time of site occupations. In the case of the small collection from the John Wayne, Jr. Cabin Site, the documentary record suggests that this cabin was newly built in 1836 and that the family may not have lived there, but continued dwelling in a nearby structure. This suggests that 31CE637 was actually occupied for a relatively brief period, and that occupation may not have been fully residential in character. Similarly, the *Kianna* Cabin Site was owned by a household that lived three kilometers away, and the actual term and character of the occupation at 31CE288 is undocumented. The term of occupation at the Brush Picker Cabin Site is also unclear; neither the Brush Picker nor *Oonakah* households are documented by the 1835 census, and the farmstead may have been established after that time. The *Sataka*, *Chewkeeaskee*, and Buzzard Cabin Sites all appear to represent occupations of comparable intensity (four to six individuals each) and duration. The most aberrant case, the Christie Cabin Site, represents a term of occupation on the order of two and a half years (ca. 1835-June 1838), but the size and character of this occupation is undocumented. During this short span, occupants of the Christie Cabin Site disposed of more material and accumulated denser surface deposits of refuse than all the other Removal period occupations combined. In view of the abundant commercially manufactured goods in the Christie Cabin surface collections, it is tempting to directly ascribe the size of the site assemblage to heightened levels of commercial consumption and, by extension, greater household wealth. However, the Christie Cabin collection also includes much higher frequencies of Qualla series ceramic sherds than other Removal period collections; such wares were equally accessible to all Cherokee households, and should occur in comparable frequencies relative to occupational duration and intensity. Because these sherds occur in Christie Cabin surface contexts at more than twice the rate of the other Removal period contexts, but the documented duration of the Christie occupation was equivalent to that of the other Removal period households, it is hypothesized that the Christie Cabin assemblage reflects an occupation of greater intensity than the other sites.

Most of the Removal period collections appear small by comparison to those recovered from the earlier Cherokee contexts, which yielded surface collections of 86 to 348 objects. The largest of these derives from 31CE386, a hamlet scale site which represents multiple households, an occupation of greater intensity than a single family farmstead. The other three collections probably represent single household components, a scale of occupation similar to the Removal period components, but may reflect considerably greater terms of occupation. Of the three Anglo-American components represented by surface collections, two (31CE530 and 31CE586) are comparable in size to the smaller Removal period collections, while 31CE363 appears most

comparable to the Christie Cabin Site, which is located only 90m away. Lacking documentary evidence, it is difficult to determine whether differences in the size of the Anglo-American collections reflect variation in intensity and duration of occupation or other factors, such as differential access to consumer goods.

Assemblage diversity is also highly variable among Removal period Cherokee cases (Table 6.34). The Christie Cabin surface collection includes eight distinct artifact classes (Qualla ceramics, commercially manufactured ceramics, container glass, cast iron vessel fragments, tobacco pipes, nails, buttons, horseshoes), and is the most diverse collection in absolute terms. However, when assemblage diversity is considered proportionate to total collection size, the Christie Cabin collection actually appears the least diverse of the Removal period cases, with an artifact class-collection size ratio of .023, as compared to the *Kianna* Cabin collection, which exhibits six artifact classes among 25 artifacts, a ratio of .40. In general, the Removal period cases appear more diverse than the earlier Cherokee cases, primarily due to greater representation of commercially manufactured goods and stone tobacco pipes.

The specific contents of the Removal period collections also vary substantially, but the collections exhibit a number of distinguishing elements that indicate contemporaneity and common cultural grounding. The dominant elements of the Removal period collections are Qualla series ceramic sherds, refined earthenware sherds, alkaline glazed stoneware sherds, metal vessel fragments, container glass, and carved stone pipes and pipemaking debris (Table 6.34). Traditional native ceramics are the most consistently occurring artifacts in these collections and are represented at all seven Removal period sites in proportions that range from 29% to 90% of the total surface collected materials. The prevalence of such wares in Removal period archaeological contexts contrasts with the very restricted incidence of traditional ceramics represented in Cherokee spoliation claims. These wares confer a much more 'aboriginal' character to the archaeological record than the documentary record might predict. The omnipresence of traditional ceramics in these contexts suggests that such wares remained functional, and perhaps, essential, for most Cherokee households in the study area. By implication, the production and possession of these wares by Cherokee households connotes maintenance of an entire, specialized food processing complex and continuance of a dietary tradition that was a core material element of native identity. It is particularly noteworthy that surface contexts at the Christie Cabin Site, the only case that represents occupation by English-speaking *métis*, yielded more Qualla series sherds (although lower relative proportions) than surface contexts at any other Removal period site. A March 1999 shovel test survey of the site of John Christie's main house (31CE277), which is buried under lake deposited silt, recovered Qualla series sherds in equal proportions to commercially manufactured ceramics, an indication

that the artifact pattern at the associated Christie Cabin Site is not idiosyncratic. The incidence of such traditional wares in the homes of wealthier, more westernized *métis* families reflects the construction of synthetic material lifestyles that incorporated elements connotative of both native and Western affinities.

The prevalence of Qualla series ceramics in all the Removal period collections, and the dominance of such wares in most, indicates a high degree of continuity with Cherokee antecedents. Collections from late eighteenth and early nineteenth century contexts (Table 6.34) are all dominated by Qualla series wares, which constitute 90%-100% of the diagnostic materials recovered from the surfaces of these sites. The prominence of these wares in earlier Cherokee contexts probably reflects the broad range of ceramic vessel functions in food preparation and food service; many such uses were later superseded by commercially manufactured wares. The Removal period and earlier Cherokee sherd collections are closely comparable in terms of temper and paste characteristics, as well as the range of vessel forms and sizes represented. Removal period collections also exhibit much the same range of surface treatments as are evident in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century collections, but relative proportions of these treatments differ considerably, and a temporal trend in vessel surface treatment is indicated. Removal period assemblages typically exhibit much higher proportions of check stamped treatments (52%-100%) and lack curvilinear complicated stamped treatments. Among the earlier Cherokee assemblages considered, only 31CE358 includes check stamped wares at rates higher than 36%. The earlier collections also tend to include more plain and burnished wares than do the Removal period collections, although the small collection from 31CE637 includes 75% plain sherds, all attributable to a single pan. In general, the Removal period collections appear less diverse than earlier sherd assemblages, and a trend of stylistic canalization is indicated. The general reduction in ceramic diversity and intersite variation evident among Removal period collections, and the narrowing of the total stylistic repertoire, may reflect the gradual degeneration of the Qualla ceramic tradition and the attenuation of ceramic arts. On the other hand, the increased uniformity of Cherokee ceramics might equally indicate increased levels of information exchange and social integration reflected in unifying stylistic codes (see Braun 1985). The emergence of such unifying stylistic codes is consistent with the developing needs of Cherokees to define and maintain social and ethnic boundaries with distinctive content. However, the incidence of ceramics with presumably encoded stylistic information in the households of well-to-do English-speaking *métis* (e.g., John Christie), as well as those of monolingual fullbloods, either indicates that ceramic style did not specifically demarcate social and ethnic boundaries or that the boundaries so defined were more inclusive than the socioeconomic and ethnic classes considered in this study.

Another element of traditional material culture, the carved stone tobacco pipe, is well represented in Removal period Cherokee contexts, as is debris from stone pipe manufacture. Five of the seven Removal period sites yielded either stone pipe fragments or fragments of worked chlorite schist indicative of tobacco pipe production. By contrast, only one of the earlier Cherokee contexts (31CE386) yielded stone pipe fragments, and a temporal trend in the manufacture and use of stone pipes may be indicated. The apparent increase in the relative frequency of carved stone pipes during the Removal period, when area residents had ready access to inexpensive, mass-produced ball clay elbow pipes at local stores, appears inconsistent with the Cherokees' ever expanding consumption of manufactured goods. Yet only one Removal period site, the Christie Cabin, yielded mass produced tobacco pipes, and the only Cherokees who credited such pipes to accounts at Hunter's store were Jesse and Wilson Christie, John Christie's nephews. Although carved stone pipes were difficult and time consuming to manufacture and were only slightly more durable than molded clay pipes, it appears that most Cherokees elected to use native produced stone pipes rather than clay elbow pipes. While such preference may reflect thrift on the part of Cherokee consumers, it may also denote a symbolizing role for tobacco pipes, which were components of individual equipage that were frequently displayed in public settings. Use of an aboriginally produced pipe in a gathering of peers, rather than a cheap, but equally functional commercially made pipe, signaled or reinforced the owner's "Indianess." In addition, not all tobacco smoking was recreational, and the ritual use of tobacco may have required a proper "Indian" pipe. The greater incidence of carved stone pipes in Removal period contexts, as compared with earlier contexts, may reflect the greater need to project identity in an increasingly diverse social environment.

Conversely, Hunter's store records indicate that Cherokee customers bartered carved stone pipes to the merchant, who then sold "plain" and "ornamented" pipes to itinerant Anglo-American middlemen, who presumably resold the Cherokee pipes to white customers. Production of pipes may have developed as a small cottage industry for Cherokee carvers, who disposed of their products for cash or barter without regard to the ethnic affinity of the purchaser. The greater incidence of stone pipes and pipe manufacturing debris in Removal period contexts as compared to earlier contexts may simply relate to the development of local markets and the resultant commodification of indigenous crafts (see Witthoft 1949).

The remainder of materials collected from the surfaces of Removal period sites are mass produced commercial goods, which Cherokee consumers acquired by purchase or barter at local stores. The representation of such goods in Removal period contexts is highly variable, and this variability may be interpreted as evidence of differential consumption behaviors, and by extension, relative economic standing. The Buzzard and John Wayne, Jr. cabin sites yielded only

two manufactured items each. In the case of 31CE637, the low frequency of commercial goods is congruent with the small size of the total collection. This may also be the case at the Buzzard Cabin Site, where a fragment of alkaline glazed stoneware and a scrap of a brass kettle constitute 9.5% of the collection. By contrast, commercially manufactured goods constitute 64% of the Christie Cabin surface collection, 63% of artifacts from the Brush Picker Cabin Site, and 52% of the artifacts recovered from the *Kianna* Cabin Site. Among earlier Cherokee contexts, 31CE386 exhibits the highest proportion of commercial goods, 10% of the total collection. This disparity between the Removal period collections and the earlier Cherokee sample probably reflects temporal changes in modes of supply and distribution. Prior to the establishment of a wagon road through the region in 1816, most of the commercial goods available to Cherokee consumers were packed into the area by itinerant Anglo-American traders. The range of goods offered was limited to more durable wares that promised ready salability and broad profit margins. After the Unicoi Turnpike opened, Anglo-American entrepreneurs established a number of stores in the study area; these outlets maintained large inventories for sale or barter. Post-removal Anglo-American settlers in the region were able to obtain ever broadening arrays of commercial goods from shops that sprang up in Murphy.

Mass produced ceramics are the most common commercial goods in Removal period collections, and include refined earthenware for table service and alkaline glazed stoneware for food storage and processing. The regular incidence of commercially manufactured ceramics in Removal period collections is consistent with spoliation claims data, which indicate such wares in 81% of claims cases. Although the value distributions of these wares, as reported in spoliation claims, do not correlate strongly with total wealth, commercial ceramics tend to be particularly concentrated in the largest and most valuable claims, especially those filed by English-speaking households. These largest assemblages of commercially manufactured ceramics also tend to occur in households situated along commercial thoroughfares, and it is hypothesized that these larger assemblages served extrafamilial hostelry functions. The simple incidence of such wares in the archaeological record reflects the widespread assimilation of Western food service and storage technologies; gross variation in the frequency of commercially manufactured ceramics may be interpreted as evidence for different levels of wealth and consumption, and, perhaps, wealth production among Cherokee households.

The frequencies of such wares among Removal period cases range from a single alkaline glazed sherd at the Buzzard Cabin Site to 193 sherds of tableware and 13 fragments of alkaline glazed stoneware at the Christie Cabin Site. The other sites yielded from nine to 18 sherds each. By comparison, the three surface collections from Anglo-American sites include from 14, 56, and

222 sherds. Among the sample of earlier Cherokee sites, only 31CE289 produced an alkaline glazed stoneware sherd, and this artifact is interpreted as intrusive from later occupations.

The Christie Cabin collection of commercially manufactured ceramics is markedly deviant from the remainder of the Removal period sample and clearly reflects a separate order of commercial consumption. The abundance of such wares in the Christie Cabin collection corresponds with John Christie's spoliation claim; Christie lost an assemblage of tablewares that ranked as the 15th most valuable in the sample of 415 spoliation claims. In terms of relative frequencies and composition of commercially manufactured ceramics, the Christie Cabin most closely resembles 31CE363, the successive Anglo-American site located 90m southwest. Surface collections from 31CE363 include 142 sherds of refined earthenware and 64 sherds of coarse stoneware and earthenware; the higher relative proportions of coarse wares indicate greater focus on food storage and processing functions than within the Christie household. The other Anglo-American collections from 31CE530 and 31CE586 exhibit ceramic frequencies of 56 sherds and 14 sherds (respectively) and are more comparable to the remainder of the Removal period Cherokee sample.

The vastly greater frequencies of commercial ceramics at the Christie Cabin Site, as compared to other Removal period farmsteads, indicates a material standard of living, or at least of dining, that more closely approximates that of Anglo-Americans. The very high incidence of such wares in contexts associated with this English-speaking *métis* household connotes much higher rates of acquisition, use, breakage, discard, and replacement than are indicated for the monolingual fullblood households in the sample. While practically all Cherokee families owned some commercial tablewares, these wares may not have been essential for daily use in most households, and may have been reserved for more specialized and infrequent use. By contrast, the Christies must have integrated these commercial goods as core elements of their daily lives and regarded refined earthenwares as expendable and replaceable elements of a composite material identity. It is also possible that the abundant tablewares in the Christie Cabin collection denote extrafamilial service as well. The proximity of John Christie's main residence to the Unicoi Turnpike raises the possibility that the family engaged in commerce with travelers, and may have hosted travelers between the better known "houses of entertainment" maintained by A.R.S. Hunter and Singleton Rhea. Although the Christie Cabin is across the river from the turnpike, there was a passable ford immediately upstream, and John Christie may have referred guests to the cabin in order to maintain the privacy of the main households. Such extrafamilial function of the Christie Cabin is consistent with indications of heightened intensity of site use.

Other classes of commercially manufactured goods occur at much lower rates and with much less consistency in Removal period Cherokee contexts, and it is difficult to infer differences in

wealth holding or material lifestyle from these goods. Container glass, including fragments of whiskey flasks, wine bottles, bitters bottles, and drinking tumblers, is documented at four of the Removal period sites, at rates of incidence that approximate those for earlier Cherokee contexts and later Anglo-American contexts. Metal cooking vessel fragments are represented in four Removal period collections, a high rate of incidence predicted by the occurrence of such cookwares in more than 92% of spoliation claims from the region. Because such vessels are relatively durable, the incidence of five cast iron vessel fragments in the Christie Cabin surface collection appears somewhat unusual, although parallel to the heightened incidence of tablewares and Qualla series ceramics. This reinforces an interpretation of greater intensity of site use during the brief term of occupation. Because cast iron cookwares were relatively expensive, the incidence of fragments of several different vessels also bolsters other indications of the Christie family's disproportionate wealth and consumption capacity.

Firearms and ammunition, which were present in the majority of Cherokee homes, are represented by a single gunflint from the *Sataka* Cabin Site. Buttons, indicative of clothing or clothing manufacture, are present only in the *Chewkeeaskee* and Christie cabin collections. Architectural debris is represented by single nails at the John Wayne, Jr. and Christie cabin sites. The pewter spoon and fishgig fragments from the *Kianna* Cabin Site are items predictably rare in the archaeological record, yet documentary records indicate that they were commonplace in Cherokee households of the period. The horseshoes recovered at the Christie Cabin Site likely reflect debris from a specialized activity (farriery and blacksmithing) uncommon among Cherokee households.

Comparisons of the surface collections from Removal period Cherokee, late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cherokee, and Anglo-American farmstead sites reveal several general trends relevant to issues of traditionalism and differential Westernization among Removal period Cherokee families in the study area. Contrary to indications in the documentary record, all of the Removal period Cherokee site collections exhibit significant continuity with antecedent Cherokee complexes as evident in the consistent and prominent occurrence of Qualla series ceramic sherds and carved stone pipe fragments or manufacturing debris. Apparent temporal shifts in ceramic style and in the distribution of carved stone pipes indicate that these material traditions were not moribund or declining, but rather dynamic and adaptive to the needs of Cherokee households and society at large. Distributions of commercially manufactured goods indicate that Removal period households had greater access to a wider selection of consumers' goods than did their immediate antecedents, and that Removal period households generally exercised a similar scope, if lesser scale, of consumption to their Anglo-American successors. Most of the Removal period collections are of similar scale and exhibit similar ranges of content and levels of diversity. This

connotes a dominant pattern of interhousehold homogeneity in material lifestyle and wealth that is consistent with the documentary record and congruent with the operation of a value system that stressed equality and equivalency. Such intersite homogeneity is also evident among the earlier Cherokee cases, assemblages generated prior to widespread socioeconomic differentiation in Cherokee society.

One Removal period case, the Christie Cabin Site, deviates markedly in scale and, to a lesser degree, in content from the "normal" model presented by the other six Removal period collections. Although the duration of occupation at this site was comparable to that of the other Removal period farmsteads, residents of the Christie Cabin Site generated far greater quantities of broken china, smashed Qualla pots, and broken tobacco pipes than their peers, and disposed of a wider range of materials than any other Cherokee household considered in the study sample. The quantity and range of material represented at the Christie Cabin Site is most comparable to the 31CE363 collection, which represents an Anglo-American occupation immediately successive to the Christie occupation. The contrasts between the Christie Cabin collection and the remainder of the Removal period sample are interpreted evidence of the Christie household's greater investment in Western material lifestyles and the enhanced economic standing necessary to support such investment. This is consistent with the documentary evidence of the Christies' real and chattel properties, which ranked among the most valuable in the region. The possibility that the scale of the Christie Cabin collections reflects extrafamilial occupation of the site due to hostelry or other service functions is also consistent with Western oriented entrepreneurship.

Patterns evident among the surface collections from Cherokee and Anglo-American sites are amplified by comparison of the pit feature assemblages recovered from sites 31CE289 and 31CE290 and the Christie , *Chewkeeaskee* and Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin site s. Pit contexts at 31CE289 and 31CE290, both pre-removal era Cherokee components, yielded large arrays of Qualla series ceramics and little else. Commercially manufactured goods are represented by six fragments of blown vial glass at 31CE289 and seven small flakes of wine bottle glass and one sheet iron fragment at 31CE290. These simple, low diversity assemblages mirror the surface collections, and indicate material lifestyles built around native technologies augmented by limited consumption of commercially manufactured goods. Removal period pit contexts at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site yielded comparable material assemblages dominated by Qualla series ceramic sherds (n=436) with relatively few mass produced goods (four glass beads, one glass fragment, one lead shot, eight sheet iron fragments, one harness boss and rivet, and three whiteware sherds). The excavated assemblage appears far less diverse than the surface collection; this pattern of composition calls into question the temporal association of commercially manufactured goods recovered from the site surface. The site also includes a mid-nineteenth

century Anglo-American component, and some of the mass produced goods attributed to the *Chewkeeaskee* occupation may derive from this slightly later component. The paucity of commercially manufactured goods in pit feature contexts contrasts with the abundance of Qualla series ceramics and denotes an economically impoverished lifestyle in which consumption of commercial goods was minimal. Archaeological evidence indicates that the *Chewkeeaskee* household maintained material lifeways little changed since Norton's 1809 assessment of the Valley Towns Cherokees as "a simple, honest people, living nearly in the same manner as their progenitors, with the addition of some horses, cattle, and hogs" (Klink and Talman 1970: 146).

Although excavated assemblages from the Christie Cabin Site are comparable in scale to those recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* pit contexts, they differ radically in composition, and indicate markedly different material standards of living. The Christie pit cellar yielded a total of 541 artifacts, of which 99% derive from commercial sources. Nine well preserved Qualla series sherds and two carved stone pipes in the pit feature indicate aboriginal associations consistent with the surface collection, but the remainder of the pit assemblage reflects broad and detailed assimilation of Western material lifeways and economic modes. The majority of these materials are representative of food storage, preparation, and consumption activities. The large and diverse array of cookware, plates, platters, cups, saucers, bowls, pitchers, serving dishes, knives, forks, spoons, bottles, and tinware connotes a nuanced understanding of Western foodways and dining customs and indicates significant investment in the equipage of the Western-style kitchen and table. This contrasts with the *Chewkeeaskee* assemblage, in which three whiteware sherds and a probable glass tumbler fragment indicate sporadic, almost desultory use of Western dining paraphernalia. The Christie assemblage also includes a moderate complement of architectural hardware, which suggests improvement of the dwelling according to Western standards of comfort and convenience (e.g., window lights,interior battens); the *Chewkeeaskee* site yielded no such hardware, and no architectural evidence other than daub. Similarly, the clothing hardware from the Christie cellar has no parallel in the *Chewkeeaskee* cellars, and personal paraphernalia from the Christie cellar (three glass beads, two earrings, seventeen tobacco pipe fragments, and a mirror back) greatly outnumbers such goods from the *Chewkeeaskee* site (four glass beads and one pipe fragment). Activities hardware at the Christie site, such as horseshoes, axe fragments, farrier's hoof testers, and chain, likely represents specialized economic production, such as farriery and blacksmithing; no such hardware is evident in the *Chewkeeaskee* assemblage, nor does the *Chewkeeaskee* assemblage evince agricultural production hardware such as the harness buckle, harness ring, and plowshare fragment from Christie's. Even the assemblages of faunal remains recovered from the *Chewkeeaskee* and Christie cellars appear highly contrastive in composition. Although both sites exhibit mixtures of wild and domestic fauna, the Christie Cabin

assemblage is dominated by domestic taxa and documents the family's maintenance and use of a comparatively wide spectrum of poultry (e.g., chicken, duck, peafowl, turkey) and domestic mammals (e.g., swine and goats). Other than fish, wild fauna are represented by few examples and include no large game species (e.g., deer, bear) that might contribute significantly to the household's caloric needs. By contrast, wild taxa are most heavily represented in the *Chewkeeaskee* faunal assemblage, and white-tailed deer is the most abundantly represented species. Such gross-scale variation in taxa representation reflects core differences in subsistence strategy; the Christie family focused on farm based production augmented by hunting and fishing, while the *Chewkeeaskee* household appears to have pursued a more diffuse and equal mixture of animal husbandry, hunting, and fishing to achieve their subsistence needs.

Comparison of the *Chewkeeaskee* and Christie material assemblages indicates such disparities in material lifestyle, level of economic activity, and wealth attainment that it would be difficult to assign both sites to the same archaeological culture were it not for the documentary record. These material contrasts are drawn to illustrate cultural differences between the core lifeways of more conservative fullblood families and those of wealthier, English-speaking *métis* families. While neither case can be cited as wholly representative of its respective group, these examples indicate that the archaeological records of these groups are more discrete and contrastive than documentary records suggest. These contrasts are primarily matters of scale, although the content of commercial consumption also varies. Conversely, the archaeological record also indicates greater continuity in aspects of traditional material culture than is indicated by the documentary record.

The Christie assemblages appear much more comparable to materials recovered from the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site cellar pit, a post-Removal era context attributed to an Anglo-American site occupation. Although the Hawkins-Sourjohn assemblages are considerably smaller than those recovered from the Christie Cabin, both exhibit similar content and relative composition. Commercially manufactured food service wares, including chinaware and dining utensils, dominate the Hawkins-Sourjohn and Christie feature assemblages (48%-61%, respectively), and architectural hardware (15%-19%, respectively), ammunition (.7%-1%, respectively), and clothing hardware (3%-5%. respectively) occur in similar proportions in both. Glass containers are more prominent in the Hawkins-Sourjohn assemblage, as are coarse stonewares and coarse earthenwares, while the Christie Cabin assemblage exhibits proportional greater frequencies of activities hardware and personal paraphernalia. In contrast to the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin assemblage, both the Christie and Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin assemblages include horseshoes, chain, and other hardware components indicative of agrarian economic activity. Like the Christie Cabin faunal assemblage, the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site collections

are dominated by domestic taxa, particularly swine and chicken eggshell, but also exhibit a wider range of wild fauna (e.g., rabbit, squirrel, opossum) than the Christie Cabin, and indicate greater emphasis on small game hunting. In general, the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin assemblages appear to represent a household of lesser economic standing than the Christie family, but one that had access to an expanded selection of consumers' goods as a result of the widening commercial sphere of Cherokee County in the decades after removal.

Despite minor differences in assemblage diversity and composition, the Christie and Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin collections are essentially similar in structure and content, and appear to represent convergent material lifestyles. The resemblances between the Christie Cabin collections and those derived from the Hawkins-Sourjohn Cabin Site and 31CE363 indicate that the *métis* Christie family assembled a material identity that was primarily based upon Western models. Assumption of such Western material configurations, as contrasted with the low diversity and low wealth material patterns evident at the *Chewkeeaskee* Cabin Site, 31CE289, and 31CE290, suggests that the Christie family was at least partially adherent to the material values of Western agrarian society. Yet, as indicated by the substantial incidence of native technologies at the site, the Christie family did not completely shed their native identity in favor of Western models, but instead melded the two to achieve a new, synthetic material identity that was at once both modern and distinctively Cherokee in character.

Summary and Conclusions

As exemplified by the seven Removal period domestic sites considered in this study, the archaeological record of Cherokee life in southwestern North Carolina during the 1830s is characterized by comparative homogeneity in site scale, site structure, and site location, but relative heterogeneity in artifact assemblage diversity, content, and composition. These farmstead sites are typically positioned on elevated alluvial or colluvial landforms adjacent to large tracts of alluvial bottomland. Many have commanding views, probably a reflection of strategic, rather than aesthetic, concerns. Dwelling locations generally have direct access to small, perennial water sources, and are frequently sheltered by surrounding topography and oriented to maximize wintertime solarization. The sites, as defined by surface distributions of diagnostic materials, are generally quite small ($200m^2$-$1000m^2$) and centered around a substructure cellar facility or small group of such features. These configurations indicate domestic dwellings and their immediate peripheries as loci for a wide range of household maintenance and economic activities. The constrained dispersal and generally low densities of materials evident on site surfaces indicate that surface discard was not a primary mode of disposal for Cherokee households. Square or rectangular substructure cellars are the predominant subsurface contexts associated with Removal

period Cherokee domestic components. These presumably represent storage facilities for sweet potatoes and other overwintering produce (e.g., Irish potatoes, turnips, cabbage, apples) as well as temporary coolers for dairy products and meat. Such features are homologous with similar cellars in Anglo-American and African American cabin contexts. Cellar pits were frequently abandoned and filled with household refuse, and these features are the primary repositories of Removal period material assemblages. Site configurations evident in the Removal period sample are closely paralleled by those of successive Anglo-American farmsteads, an indication of convergent adaptations.

Material assemblages recovered from Removal period Cherokee contexts are characterized by pervasive evidence for continuity in Cherokee material traditions, as well as more variable indicators of assimilation of Western domestic lifestyles and economic modes. Qualla series ceramics, typically with check stamped or rectilinear complicated stamped surfaces, are significant constituents of all the study assemblages. Carved chlorite schist tobacco pipes or pipe manufacturing debris are also found at most of the Removal period farmsteads. Both material classes are interpreted as important denominators of indigenous identity and indicate widespread consciousness of Cherokee affinity. Comparison of the styles of ceramics and distribution and abundance of stone tobacco pipes with those evident in earlier Cherokee contexts indicate that these material traditions remained vital and dynamic up until the time of removal.

Commercially manufactured goods are more variable in their distribution and frequency and are interpreted as the primary indicators for differential Westernization and socioeconomic radiation. Refined earthenware sherds, alkaline glazed stoneware sherds, and glass bottle fragments are the most commonly occurring commercial goods, although Removal period assemblages less frequently include elements such as nails, window pane fragments, glass tumbler fragments, cast iron and brass cookware fragments, tinware, table knives, forks, and spoons, lighting hardware, harness and tack hardware, ammunition, agricultural hardware, buttons and other clothing hardware, mirror fragments, ceramic tobacco pipes, personal ornaments such as earrings and glass beads, and coins. Although each site varies in the content and frequency of such goods, most sites exhibit relatively low content of commercial goods; this pattern is interpreted as evidence for low levels of commercial consumption by Cherokee families. However, consumption of commercial goods by Removal period households appears considerably greater than that of antecedent Cherokee households in the same area; this temporal pattern is attributed to the greater overall availability of mass produced goods after the opening of a commercial road through the region in 1816 and the establishment of regular stores in the area in the late 1820s.

One Removal period Cherokee farmstead site deviates significantly from this pattern. The Christie Cabin Site assemblage exhibits a large and diverse array of cookware, food service wares, architectural hardware, clothing components, personal accouterments, and agricultural and activities hardware that approximates comparative Anglo-American samples in scope and composition. The documentary record indicates that these goods reflect a two to three year occupation by an English-speaking *métis* household of considerable means. The extreme contrasts between the scale and absolute content of this assemblage and the remainder of the Removal period sample, which all represent occupations by monolingual fullblood families, may be interpreted as evidence of a material dichotomy that differentiated poorer, traditionally oriented fullbloods from their wealthier, Western-oriented peers. It should be noted, however, that the greatest differences are those of scale, not of content, and none of the archaeological materials appear to represent expressly diacritic functions that distinguished the Christies from their fullblood counterparts. Instead, the Christie Cabin assemblages include appreciable quantities of traditional ceramics and carved stone pipes, material classes that communicated native affinities. The coincidence of such wares with a configuration of commercial goods like those found in Anglo-American contexts suggests that the Christie household did not abandon their native identity, but actively formulated a new, synthetic material identity that was both Cherokee and "civilized." Such reformulations illustrate the dynamic and adaptive character of Cherokee culture, and accord with Thomas' 1958 observation that Cherokees strove to become "civilized" without becoming white. As McLoughlin notes

> The issue was not who was the better white person but who was the better "Cherokee." The basic problem of cultural division among the Cherokees ... can be found in their effort to define whether the best Cherokee was the one who tried to adhere to traditional ideals or the one who proved he or she could do everything the white man or woman could (McLoughlin 1993:76).

The Christie Cabin assemblage is distinguished from the other Removal period collections by indications of gross differences in household wealth rather than dichotomous content. Such disparity in household wealth contrasts with archaeological evidence of homogeneity in earlier Cherokee contexts, but is consistent with documentary evidence for the socioeconomic diversification of Cherokee society in the nineteenth century. The apparent material wealth of the *métis* Christie family, in contrast to the relative poverty of the fullblood *Chewkeeaskee* household, also appears congruent with the operation of dichotomous Western and traditional values regarding wealth accumulation and display. Such socioeconomic and ideological differentiation may have had ethnic underpinnings, but the content of these Removal period assemblages belie overt demarcation of ethnic boundaries. Specific evidence for such material demarcation may well exist in the archaeological records of the economic elite of Anglo-Cherokee planters and

slaveholders, none of which were included in this phase of the study. Instead, variation in the content and scale of this small sample of archaeological assemblages suggests that Removal period families drew upon a broad, but accessible repertoire of material culture to construct differing expressions of Cherokee identity as a work constantly in progress.

Chapter 7
Summary and Conclusions

Contemporary narrative accounts of Cherokee society during the first half of the nineteenth century consistently allude to varied degrees of "civilization" among the Cherokees, with characterizations ranging from "primitive," "backward," and "ignorant" to "educated," "sophisticated," and "refined." Such accounts typically define one major axis of cultural and ethnic variation which contrasts conservative "fullbloods" with Westernized "halfbloods." While this dichotomy clearly oversimplifies the complex traditional-Western continuum that evolved within Cherokee society, it defines an important trend of ethnic differentiation that became a primary basis for internal competition and conflict among the Cherokee people. Modern ethnographic studies (e.g. Gulick 1960, Jordan 1975, Kupferer 1966, Neeley 1991, Thomas 1958a, Wahrhaftig and Wahrhaftig 1979) indicate that many Cherokee people still perceive an ethnic dichotomy of "real" Indians and "white" Indians as a major source of social and political tension within Cherokee society.

This study proceeds from the premise that cultural and ethnic differentiation of Cherokee society during the first half of the nineteenth century created a traditional-Western cultural continuum, the poles of which constituted an ethnic dichotomy. Groups at either end of the Cherokee cultural spectrum were distinguished by differences in core values, ancestry, marriage patterns, language usage, residence patterns, social association, economic strategy, and material culture. This study has sought to define the parameters of material culture variation among Removal Period Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina and to relate these patterns to the processes of differential acculturation, socioeconomic diversification, and the formation and maintenance of ethnic group boundaries. These goals have been addressed through analyses of collateral documentary records of several hundred Removal Period Cherokee households, as well as a case study analysis of the archaeological records of seven Cherokee residential occupations. Analysis of these records has sought to identify the material lifestyle choices exercised by Cherokee households and to interpret these decisions in terms of the opposing ideological stances defined by the traditional Harmony Ethic and the Western Protestant Capitalist Ethic.

Bioracial, linguistic, and certain aspects of economic variation within the study population were defined through examination of the 1835 War Department census of the Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi. Census data concerning the bioracial composition and linguistic affinities of Cherokee households, their ownership of black slaves, and their capacity to produce agricultural surpluses informed subsequent analyses of variability in the real and chattel properties of Cherokee families. Real properties were documented by the

federal appraisals of Cherokee improvements conducted in 1836–1837; these data constitute the most comprehensive and uniform accounting of variation among Cherokee households. Chattel properties were documented by spoliation claims filed against the federal government by Cherokee citizens between 1838 and 1847. These data appear highly variable in coverage and reliability, but best document the broad scope of Cherokee material life. The material choices of Cherokee families are further illustrated by examination of the archaeological records of seven Cherokee households, including one case representing a moderately wealthy *métis* family and six cases representing fullblood families of varied economic means. Interpretation of these archaeological records is informed by collateral documentary records for these specific households and by findings of the analyses of the census, property valuations, and spoliation claims data.

The ethnic structure of the Cherokee population of the study area is defined by the 1835 census of the Cherokee Nation. This enumeration identifies 3404 Cherokee citizens in southwestern North Carolina, including 3038 Cherokee fullbloods, 321 *métis* of Anglo-Cherokee descent, 23 métis of African-Cherokee descent, and 22 Anglo-Americans married to Cherokee citizens. These subsets of the population exhibit distinctive patterns of group endogamy indicative of a social dichotomy between fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees. Practically all the *métis* and white components of the population were concentrated within a few communities in the Hiwassee River Basin; the settlements in the Little Tennessee River Basin were almost 99% fullblood. Three measures of Western affinity, slave ownership – English literacy, and surplus agricultural capacity – exhibit strong associations with the small Anglo-Cherokee population in the southern portion of the study area. The particular concentration of wealth (as measured by slaveholding), capacity for wealth production (measured by surplus agricultural capacity), and educational attainment (indicated by English literacy) among a small number (<5%) of (predominantly Anglo-Cherokee) households suggest that most Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina neither embraced the values and practice of American agrarianism nor did many avail themselves of educational opportunities at local Protestant schools. Relatively high levels of Cherokee (Sequoyan) literacy in the study population suggest a strongly nativistic and nationalistic orientation among households in southwestern North Carolina.

Census figures indicate that socioeconomic variation among the study groups was heavily skewed and strongly conditioned by ethnicity. The regional population was overwhelmingly dominated by monolingual Cherokee fullbloods who owned no slaves and who farmed small acreages. These families appear to represent a distinctly conservative, materially impoverished "aboriginal" sector of Cherokee society. A considerable number of Anglo-Cherokee

households conform in most respects to this fullblood majority; these *métis* households are distinguished only by a marked propensity for endogamous marriage and co-residence within select communities. A much smaller group of families (<15% of the study population), both fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees, tilled land sufficient to produce small marketable surpluses. A few of these families included bilingual Cherokees; fewer still held one or two slaves to aid with farm and house work. These households appear to have acculturated, at least partially, to models presented by small-scale southern Anglo-American "dirt farmers." The most divergent group of Cherokees in the study area was the handful of families who exhibited high rates of English literacy and slaveholding and who farmed extensive tracts in the Valley River, Hiwassee River, Nottely River, and Peachtree Creek valleys. These families, which include mainly Anglo-Cherokees but also a few fullblood households, appear to have pursued and attained economic prosperity comparable to the "middling" farmers or yeomen and small planters of the American South, and constitute the most Western-oriented sector of Cherokee society in southwestern North Carolina.

General trends of bioracial endogamy, community composition, and wealth distribution evident in the census indicate active ethnic differentiation within the Cherokee population of southwestern North Carolina. It is unclear whether such differentiation had already crystallized into contrastive identities or remained nascent in character, although contemporary accounts suggest that fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees viewed themselves as discrete groups. These differences certainly became accentuated during the post-removal era (McLoughlin 1993), but the roots of ethnic dichotomy were clearly present prior to 1838.

Analyses of 634 Cherokee real properties documented by William Welch and Nimrod Jarrett in 1836–1837 focused on discriminating "traditional" and "Western" farmstead models and determining the distributions of these property types among ethnic subsets of the study population. These analyses determined that Cherokee properties in the study area were remarkably homogeneous in composition; more than 85% of the Cherokee farmsteads in southwestern North Carolina consisted of twelve or fewer acres of cropland, small, cribbed log dwellings valued less than $32.00, and few outbuildings other than corn cribs and an occasional *asi*. Such small, subsistence level farmsteads appear to have been the norm for Cherokee households in southwestern North Carolina, and constitute the standard against which variation among properties may be gauged. These small, poorly developed farmsteads appear to have been the products of socially conditioned choice rather than products of any legal, political, or economic constraints. It is also inferred that such properties reflect pervasively shared cultural ideals and social convictions. The uniform scale and composition of most Cherokee properties are consistent with the traditional Cherokee values embodied in

the Harmony Ethic; they maintain the economic and material equivalency of households by presenting an easily attainable standard that was sufficient for household survival and reproduction. These properties reflect a value system in which concern for the corporate *status quo* outweighed individual desires for wealth attainment and material comfort. Such concerns almost certainly derive from the communal ethos of eighteenth century village life, and are characteristic of egalitarian horticultural communities throughout the world.

Properties owned by a small number of Anglo-Cherokees (and a single fullblood household) contrast sharply with the dominant traditional farmstead mode, and reflect thorough incorporation and integration of Western agrarian material modes of life. The 14 largest and most highly valued properties included substantial, hewn log dwellings valued in excess of $70.00, 35 or more acres of cropland, and a wide array of ancillary domestic structures (e.g. kitchens, springhouses, smokehouses), farm buildings (e.g. stables, cribs, barns), and specialized facilities (e.g. stores, mills, blacksmith shops). These farms substantially resembled the typical holdings of Anglo-American "middling" farmers and small planters in the southern highlands, and the Cherokee owners of such properties occupied a socioeconomic status parallel to the upper middle class of the Anglo-American rural South. These properties reflect directed planning and implementation processes that emanated from the Western ideals of innovation, material improvement, and acquisition of wealth. Development or acquisition of such properties required considerable investment of labor, and, in some cases, capital, and represent sustained efforts at the attainment of material goals that were not grounded within native values or tradition. The owners of such properties appear to have been unconstrained by the dominant values of the native community, and willingly suffered envy, censure, or social exclusion occasioned by nonconformity with traditional community standards. Patterns of geographical assortment, marriage preference, and personal association indicate that the Anglo-Cherokee owners of the such properties constituted a discrete sub-community of association and interest.

This small, predominantly Anglo-Cherokee economic elite appropriated and consolidated large tracts of the highest quality farmland along commercial thoroughfares. Domination of the best lands by this small group of families limited other Cherokees' access to commercial outlets for their grain and livestock, and appreciably reduced the amount of farmland available for the traditional system of periodically shifting horticultural plots. Continuity of the traditional settlement-subsistence system depended upon the maintenance of a large pool of unused and unclaimed land as outlets for the natural growth of communities. This system was increasingly constrained by a small group of English-speaking, Western-oriented families intent on wealth building. The inordinate control of supposedly

communal resources by a few wealthy families undoubtedly created resentment on the part of the traditionalist majority and this animosity polarized relations between more conservative and Westernized Cherokees.

Several different farmstead configurations occupy intermediate positions between the small farmsteads of the Cherokee majority and the extensive holdings of the wealthy few. These configurations reflect varying degrees of departure from more traditional patterns. One mode is characterized by moderately to highly valued hewn log dwellings combined with relatively small agricultural holdings and few outbuildings. Such properties reflect domestic environments comparable to those of the southern yeoman class, but lack agricultural bases sufficient to support the lifestyles of middling farmers. Households that maintained such properties may have cultivated Western lifestyles using incomes derived from livestock sales, but these families did not engage in diversified agrarian economic strategies of the types that characterized self sufficient Anglo-American farmers in border regions. Both Anglo-Cherokees and fullbloods owned such properties, and these small farmsteads with larger and more formal dwellings appear to have been concentrated among Christian converts and recent emigrants from other areas of the Cherokee Nation.

Still other properties resemble the farmsteads of the southern Anglo-American yeoman class, with highly valued hewn log dwellings coupled with moderately sized (15-25 acres) agricultural holdings and numerous outbuildings (e.g. kitchens, stables, cribs). Both Anglo-Cherokees and fullbloods owned such properties, and this configuration appears especially common among individuals who were prominent in civic, political, and religious affairs. This pattern suggests that preferences for Western material culture derived from both acculturational and enculturational experiences, and such farmsteads may have served both Western-inspired needs and aspirations and traditionally prescribed functions. For town chiefs and religious leaders, larger than average properties helped fulfill obligations for hospitality and redistribution, and such holdings represent a mode sanctioned by traditional values. By contrast, it is likely that Anglo-Cherokee families, as well as some fullblood households, developed these expanded properties in their quest for material improvement and as a reflection of "progress," as defined by Western models.

Although the range of variation in Cherokee real properties superficially resembled the pattern of the poor white squatter–yeoman farmer–small planter continuum in contemporaneous Anglo-American frontier settings, the structure and causes of socioeconomic variation appears quite different among Cherokee households. Despite ready and free availability of agricultural land and building materials, the vast majority of Cherokees maintained small, subsistence level farmsteads with minimal housing. Relatively

few (<20%) Cherokee households developed agricultural bases and domestic environments comparable to self sufficient yeoman farmers. Fewer still farmed on a commercial scale or lived in substantial dwellings like those of the Anglo-American rural middle classe. The small, periodically shifting farmsteads that dominated the Cherokee landscape appear to have been a direct outgrowth of the corporate villages of the eighteenth century, and represent a residential and production mode that evolved within the native tradition as a result of changing political circumstances. Deviation from this traditional standard toward expanded and more permanent improvements appears to reflect the assimilation of Western agrarian lifestyles. Although both fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee households are represented throughout the socioeconomic spectrum, the distribution of real property among these ethnic subsets is nearly inverse. With few exceptions, fullblood households controlled the smallest and least developed properties, while Anglo-Cherokees, particularly *métis* families with intermarried whites, controlled a disproportionate share of agricultural land and maintained the largest and most diversified domestic and commercial improvements in the study area. This concentration of real property is partially attributable to higher rates of formal education, bilingualism, and perhaps greater business acumen on the part of Anglo-Cherokees, yet the extent of variation suggests far more deeply rooted differences in aspirations and implementation of values among various sectors of Cherokee society. The relative poverty of the majority of fullbloods (and many Anglo-Cherokees) established an economic parity that was consistent with the core values of the traditional Harmony Ethic, the ideological basis of Cherokee corporate society. By maintaining low levels of economic activity and very modest domestic environments, traditionally oriented Cherokees were all "the same size," and thereby avoided unseemly interhousehold competition that could fracture the unity of a corporate egalitarian society. By continuing this farmstead mode, members of the traditionalist community demonstrated the "being orientation" of economic and social stasis that Thomas (1959) noted among conservative Cherokees of the mid-twentieth century. By contrast, the large and diverse properties developed by many Anglo-Cherokee families (as well as a few fullblood households) clearly embody the ideals of property accumulation, material improvement, permanence, and "orderly living" emphasized by the agrarian ideologies of Anglo-American society. These lands and buildings reflect individualistic profit orientations on the part of their owners, and constituted public rejections of the corporate standards of the traditionalist community. While some wealthier property holders probably regarded themselves as innovators who led the Cherokees, by example, toward a "civilized" life, others were apparently disinterested in effecting changes in Cherokee lifeways, and acted solely to optimize their material self-interests.

The extreme contrasts between the properties of a small, yet highly visible group of wealthy Anglo-Cherokees and the tiny farmsteads of the impoverished fullblood majority present an apparent dichotomy which probably served to heighten and canalize ethnic class awareness in southwestern North Carolina. While interposition of a relatively small, middle tier of households may have mitigated the perception of social, economic, and ethnic dichotomy, the most Western-oriented Cherokees surely engendered unfavorable scrutiny by the conservative majority. The vast gulf between the poles of this dichotomy would have obviated social boundary demarcation, yet the presence of an ambiguous middle tier raised the possibility of personnel defection, and required that both groups take active, concrete measures to safeguard the interests and integrity of their respective communities of association.

The spoliation claims filed by Cherokee households in the aftermath of the 1838 removal afford an extraordinarily detailed, albeit incomplete, image of the scope and content of Cherokee material life in southwestern North Carolina. Cherokee families reported losses of almost 350 distinct types of goods or chattels, yet only 64 classes of goods are represented in more than ten percent of the claims. Core assemblages, defined as those goods represented in 30 percent or more claims, are limited to hogs, chickens, horses, beef cattle and dairy cattle, hoes, mattocks, plows and plow harness, axes, firearms, cane storage baskets, wool and cotton cards and spinning wheels, tables and chairs, cast iron pots refined earthenware plates, tin cups, knives and forks, wooden pails and sheet metal buckets, and stored corn. Material configurations reported by individual Cherokee households range in character from small, low valued assemblages in which traditional technologies are prominent, to large arrays of commercially manufactured goods, which clearly denote Western modes of domestic and economic life. Univariate trends in the distribution of individual items and classes of items indicate a substantial degree of wealth differentiation between English-speaking Cherokees and their monolingual fullblood counterparts, particularly in rates and scales of ownership of cattle, swine, agricultural equipment, cloth production equipment, kitchenwares, food service wares, furnishings and other household equipment, clothing, and native technologies. The English-speaking subgroup tended to maintain greater wealth in all dimensions except native technologies. In many respects, the types and values of chattel property claimed by English-speaking Cherokee households more closely resembled those of contemporaneous Anglo-American households than those of their monolingual Cherokee counterparts.

However, these trends among *a priori* groups are not duplicated by multivariate classification of chattel property assemblages. Cluster analysis of Cherokee spoliation claims data effects a gross scale segmentation of wealth holding among study sample households

and provides a basis for interpreting socioeconomic variation independent of bioracial or linguistic affinities. The groups defined in this analysis reflect a continuum of chattel wealth distributed among Cherokee households, with a number of significant high wealth outliers, but the analysis does not indicate an overarching dichotomy or structure that distinguishes Anglo-Cherokees from fullbloods or bilingual English speakers from monolingual Cherokee speakers. Instead, the cluster analysis defines wealth groups in which English-speaking *métis* and monolingual fullbloods are represented at every nonsingleton level. Proportionately, Anglo-Cherokee and fullblood families appear inversely distributed among wealth groups, with monolingual fullbloods dominating the lower socioeconomic tiers and English speaking households dominating the higher wealth holding groups. These relative distributions suggest that wealth production and accumulation was, in part, a function of ethnic affinity, but the substantial presence of both bioracial or ethnic groups across most of the economic spectrum indicates that other factors (e.g. individual and group acculturation) contributed significantly to the development of socioeconomic diversity in the region.

Low levels of chattel wealth holding and a high degree of material homogeneity evident in a large proportion (≈75%) of claims by monolingual fullblood households appear consistent with a traditional ethos that discouraged wealth inequality and promoted socioeconomic equivalency. In the absence of a sharply defined capital-labor dialectic and with legally guaranteed equity in access to resources for wealth-building (e.g. agricultural lands, pastoral range), the statistical dominance of this materially impoverished majority and the bunching of sample cases at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum suggests that a culturally prescribed *status quo* of shared poverty operated to depress wealth accumulation among most Cherokee households in the study area.

Similar types and scales of chattel property holding evident among a substantial proportion (≈50%) of Anglo-Cherokee and other English-speaking Cherokee households may also indicate a degree of adherence to native rather than western material value systems. However, apparent similarities in assemblage scale and composition may also reflect temporary convergence of material patterns between households in more static modes of property holding and those in the early stages of dynamic property attainment. Because the study data are essentially synchronic, it is impossible to discriminate static from transitory patterns of property ownership.

The economic apex of the study sample includes roughly equal numbers (but vastly differing relative proportions) of monolingual fullblood households and English-speaking Cherokee households. The relative prevalence of Anglo-Cherokee or other English-speaking Cherokee households in the highest wealth sector of the spoliation claims sample is consistent

with the proposition that Anglo-Cherokee families incorporated and implemented western values and material lifeways to a far greater degree than their fullblood counterparts. This is attributed to higher rates of western enculturation for Anglo-Cherokees, as well as the English-speaking Cherokees' relatively greater access to Anglo-American society, commerce, and information concerning western material modes. The development of parallel material lifestyles and scales of wealth holding by monolingual fullblood families is more indirectly accountable to varied acculturational influences, from proximity to Anglo-American or Anglo-Cherokee models to intensive, directed acculturation at Protestant mission schools. Assimilation of western material values in these cases is implied by scales of wealth holding. Chattel properties reported by several leaders of the native community appear convergent with those claimed by wealthier, more demonstrably Western-oriented households. This trend may reflect assumption of exemplary roles by civic and religious leaders to elevate the economic condition of their constituencies, but may also indicate adoption of western production modes and strategies to better fulfill the redistributive requirements of civil and religious offices. Given such interpretation, it is difficult to ascribe purely individualistic motives even to English-speaking Anglo-Cherokees, who may have regarded themselves as innovators and benefactors to the local communities of "poor" Indians.

Arrayed between the materially impoverished majority and the very small minority of wealthy families is a large continuum of cases (37% of total cases) that reflect varying degrees of divergence from traditional norms. Some of these cases are interpretable as partial inventories reported by demonstrably wealthy and westernized families; others appear to have been aspirants to fully western lifestyles and nontraditional scales of production whose material situations were progressive yet unfulfilled. Some of these cases reflect gender specific reporting, with total household inventories presumably represented across multiple claims. More intriguing is the prospect that many of these intermediate cases were households that were actively engaged in the creative restructuring and redefinition of Cherokee material standards. Rather than slavishly emulating Anglo-American models, it appears likely that such Cherokee innovators selectively incorporated elements of western material culture that were compatible with core traditional values and recontextualized other material complexes to achieve a better cultural fit. As evidenced by the consistent retention of traditional native technologies along with commercial goods across most of the defined clusters, material innovation appears largely augmentative rather than substitutive, with the result of ever-broadening material repertoires available and acceptable to the "average" Cherokee. As conventionally viewed, the progressive assimilation of western technologies by Cherokee families connotes a high degree of acculturation, which implies deterioration of native

identity and assumption of western identity. Yet it is apparent that Cherokees adopted many components of Western material lifestyles on their own terms, rejecting the symbolic conventions of such goods while enjoying the material comforts and advantages of manufactured technologies. By interjecting commercially manufactured goods into socially acceptable contexts of use, Cherokee innovators were able to gradually co-opt the material media of white "civilization" to produce a new, synthetic Cherokee "civilization" that countered white claims to cultural superiority

The cluster structure produced by analysis of the chattel property data is similar to that of real properties, with a numerically dominant basal group of small property holders, a small number of high wealth outliers, and a limited continuum linking these extremes. The prevalence of Anglo-Cherokee or English-speaking Cherokee households in the higher chattel wealth sector of the study group also mirrors patterns evident in the real property data, yet the correspondence between wealth holding and ethnicity in the chattel property data appears much weaker than in the real property data. In the case of the property valuations data, much of the overall structure of the cluster solutions is determined by the contribution of a small number of very high wealth cases (i.e. John Welch, Gideon Morris, David England, Jonathan England, Jesse Raper, Thomas Raper, John Timson). The absence of these cases from the spoliation claims data may obscure more dichotomous structures in the distributions of chattel property.

The cluster analysis of spoliation claims data considered broad categories of property holding on the presumption that ethnic and cultural differentiation was materially expressed in the scale of assemblages. This was found to be partially true, but levels of wealth holding alone do not provide particularly accurate gauges of household ethnicity. Neither did analyses of specific assemblage composition reveal particularly accurate measures for ethnicity. For various reasons related to differential loss and reporting, the most sensitive material diacritica of ethnicity, such as clothing, personal accouterments, and ritual paraphernalia appear acutely underrepresented. Traditional native technologies, presumed markers for native affinity, also appear underreported. Likewise, specific material denominators of lifestyle "improvement" and taste in contemporary Anglo-American agrarian society, such as clocks, lighting devices, books, carpets, window dressings, and fine furniture, are either scarce or totally lacking in the Cherokee spoliation claims. The general paucity of such symbolically charged media for social and ethnic boundary demarcation almost certainly dampens the discriminatory capacity of reported inventories. Instead, the claims reflect more mundane aspects of daily life and are illustrative of the very broad

patterns of lifestyle and wealth that distinguished traditionally oriented Cherokees and westernized Cherokees.

The archaeological case studies of Removal Period domestic sites afford an independent perspective on material culture patterning among occupations by fullblood and *métis* families. Seven contemporaneous archaeological components (the Christie, *Chewkeeaskee* , *Sataka* , *Kianna*, Brush Picker , John Wayne, Jr., and Buzzard cabin sites), which represent occupations by one *métis* household (Christie) and six fullblood households, were described and compared to illustrate pattern and variability in Cherokee domestic contexts and assemblages. All of these components are referable to historically known households, and multiple lines of documentary evidence indicate that this sample reflects a broad, albeit incomplete, cross-section of the Cherokee socioeconomic spectrum.

The seven Removal Period components are characterized by comparative homogeneity in site scale, site structure, and site location, but relative heterogeneity in artifact assemblage diversity, content, and composition. These farmstead sites are typically positioned on level but elevated landforms adjacent to large tracts of alluvial bottomland. Many have commanding views, probably a reflection of strategic, rather than aesthetic, concerns. Dwelling locations generally have direct access to small perennial water sources, and are frequently sheltered by surrounding topography and oriented to maximize wintertime solarization. The sites, as defined by surface distributions of diagnostic materials, are generally quite small ($200m^2$–$1000m^2$) and center around a substructure cellar facility or small group of such features. These configurations indicate domestic dwellings and their immediate peripheries as loci for a wide range of household maintenance and economic activities. The constrained dispersal and generally low densities of materials evident on site surfaces also indicate that surface discard was not a primary mode of disposal for Cherokee households. Square or rectangular substructure cellars are the predominant subsurface contexts associated with Removal Period Cherokee domestic components. These presumably represent storage facilities for sweet potatoes and other overwintering produce (e.g. Irish potatoes, turnips, cabbage, apples), as well as temporary coolers for dairy products and meat. Such features are homologous with similar cellars in Anglo-American and African American cabin contexts. Cellar pits were frequently abandoned and filled with household refuse, and these features are the primary repositories of Removal Period material assemblages. Site configurations evident in the Removal Period sample are closely paralleled by those of successive Anglo-American farmsteads, an indication of convergent adaptations.

Material assemblages recovered from Removal Period Cherokee contexts are characterized by pervasive evidence for continuity in Cherokee material traditions, but

evidence for the assimilation of Western domestic lifestyles and economic modes is highly variable. Qualla series ceramics, typically with check stamped or rectilinear complicated stamped surfaces, are significant constituents of all of the study assemblages. Carved chlorite schist tobacco pipes or pipe manufacturing debris are also found at most of the Removal Period farmsteads. Both material classes are interpreted as important denominators of indigenous identity and indicate widespread consciousness of native affinity among Cherokee households in the study area. Comparison of the styles of ceramics and distribution and abundance of stone tobacco pipes with those evident in earlier Cherokee contexts indicates that these material traditions remained vital and dynamic up until the time of removal.

Commercially manufactured goods are more variable in their distribution and frequency and are interpreted as the primary indicators for differential Westernization and socioeconomic radiation. Refined earthenware sherds, alkaline glazed stoneware sherds, and glass bottle fragments are the most commonly occurring commercial goods, although Removal Period assemblages less frequently include elements such as nails, window pane fragments, glass tumbler fragments, cast iron and brass cookware fragments, tinware, table knives, forks, and spoons, lighting hardware, harness and tack hardware, ammunition, agricultural hardware, buttons and other clothing hardware, mirror fragments, ceramic tobacco pipes, personal ornaments such as earrings and glass beads, and coins. Although each site varies in the content and frequency of such goods, most sites exhibit relatively low frequencies of commercial goods. This pattern is interpreted as evidence for low levels of commercial consumption by Cherokee families and, by extension, low levels of economic production and a pervasive state of material poverty. Nevertheless, consumption of commercial goods by Removal Period households appears considerably greater than that of antecedent Cherokee households in the same area; this temporal pattern is attributed to the greater overall availability of mass produced goods after the opening of a commercial road through the region in 1816 and the establishment of regular stores in the area during the late 1820s.

One Removal Period Cherokee farmstead site deviates significantly from this pattern. The Christie Cabin Site assemblage exhibits a large and diverse array of cookware, food service wares, architectural hardware, clothing components, personal accouterments, and agricultural and activities hardware that closely approximates comparative Anglo-American samples in scope and composition. The documentary record indicates that these goods reflect a two to three year occupation by an English-speaking *métis* household of considerable means. The extreme contrasts between the scale and absolute content of this assemblage and the remainder of the Removal Period sample, which all represent occupations by monolingual

fullblood families, may be interpreted as evidence of a material dichotomy that differentiated poorer, traditionally oriented fullbloods from their wealthier, Western-oriented peers. It should be noted, however, that the greatest differences are those of scale, not of content, and none of the archaeological materials appear to represent expressly diacritical functions that distinguished the Christies from their fullblood counterparts. Instead, the Christie Cabin assemblage includes appreciable quantities of traditional ceramics and carved stone pipes, material classes that communicated native affinities. The coincidence of such wares with a configuration of commercial goods like those found in Anglo-American contexts suggests that the Christie household did not abandon their native identity, but actively formulated a new, synthetic material identity that was at once both Cherokee and "progressive." Such reformulation illustrates the dynamic and adaptive character of Cherokee culture, and accord with Thomas' 1958 observation that Cherokees strove to become "civilized" without becoming white.

The Christie Cabin assemblage is distinguished from the other Removal Period collections by indications of gross differences in household wealth rather than dichotomous content. Such disparity in household wealth contrasts with archaeological evidence of homogeneity in earlier Cherokee contexts, but is consistent with documentary evidence for the socioeconomic diversification of Cherokee society in the nineteenth century, and closely parallels archaeological evidence from Federal Period Cherokee contexts in eastern Tennessee (Riggs 1987). The apparent material wealth of the *métis* Christie family, in contrast to the relative poverty of the fullblood *Chewkeeaskee* household, also appears consistent with the operation of dichotomous Western and traditional values regarding wealth accumulation and display. While such socioeconomic and ideological differentiation clearly had ethnic underpinnings, the content of these Removal Period assemblages belie overt demarcation of ethnic boundaries. Specific evidence for such material demarcation may well exist in the archaeological records of the small group of economically elite Anglo-Cherokee planters and slaveholders, none of which were included in this phase of the study. Instead, variation in the content and scale of this small sample of archaeological assemblages suggests that Removal Period families drew upon a broad, yet relatively accessible, repertoire of material culture to construct differing expressions of Cherokee identity.

These analyses have examined collateral expressions of material culture variation among Cherokee households. Analyses of the census, property valuations, spoliation claims and archaeological datasets yield distinct results which are sometimes contradictory in specific detail, yet all conform in general pattern. These records reflect a population characterized by a large majority of materially poor, culturally conservative households, primarily comprising

monolingual fullblood families. This pattern agrees with contemporary assessments of the North Carolina Cherokees as the most homogenous and conservative segment of Removal Period Cherokee society, the "darkest part of the Nation." These analyses also reveal that Cherokee tradition was not static, but rather dynamic and flexible enough to accommodate functional innovations in material culture through recontextualization of objects into Cherokee frameworks of value and meaning. By the time of Removal, much of Cherokee material culture was either inspired by Western models or derived directly from Western commercial sources, yet these material innovations augmented pre-existing patterns, and general modes of traditional Cherokee life remained constant. This socioeconomic majority is primarily defined by scales of wealth holding rather than by particular property compositions; broad homogeneity in the scale of Cherokee real and chattel properties accords with the Harmony Ethic's prescriptions of social and economic equality.

Counterpoised to the socioeconomic majority was a very small (<5% of study area households), but prominent, economic elite of planters, slaveholders, merchants and entrepreneurs who controlled a disproportionate share of the limited base of agricultural land and who dominated the commercial opportunities of the region. Most of these highly Westernized, agrarian capitalists were *métis* or whites married to *métis* spouses, with a few notable exceptions of fullblood families who had specific linkages to Anglo-American society. This small economic elite is best defined by the census and real properties data; however, this group is poorly represented in records of chattel property and specific patterns of scale and composition of chattel property are not documented. Real properties data suggest that this group constructed domestic lifestyles and pursued economic strategies most comparable to Anglo-American planters and middling farmers of the upland South, and it is inferred from both the scales and compositions of these properties that this economic elite shared the values and aspirations of rural Anglo-American entrepreneurs.

The economic gulf between this predominantly Anglo-Cherokee elite and the predominantly fullblood majority was spanned by a relatively small (<25% of study area households) continuum of both fullblood and Anglo-Cherokee families who displayed material lifestyles and scales of production similar to those of southern Anglo-American yeoman farmers. These families include leaders of traditional religious and civic organizations, Christian church leaders, and individuals prominent in national politics, as well as a number of families closely related or allied to members of the economic elite. This continuum reflects material convergences that emanated from radically different goals and perspectives. Leaders of the traditional or Christian corporate communities who sought to fulfill the obligations and responsibilities of their roles adopted scales of production and

developed domestic environments similar to those of more Westernized, individually motivated households, with the result of a socioeconomic middle tier that was unified in form, but disparate in ideological foundations.

This gross tripartite characterization is a largely heuristic segmentation of a highly skewed socioeconomic continuum; specific thresholds of socioeconomic group membership cannot be rigidly defined. Nevertheless, analysis of the real properties and chattel properties data indicate broad socioeconomic modes which certainly had contemporary reality. It is also obvious that these socioeconomic modes exhibit considerable correspondence with bioracial and linguistic subgroups of the study population; monolingual fullbloods tended to be quite poor, while the wealthiest sector of the population was predominantly Anglo-Cherokee. However, fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees are represented throughout the socioeconomic spectrum, and a sharply defined ethnic dichotomy in wealth holding and material lifestyle is not indicated. More accurately, fullbloods and Anglo-Cherokees are not strictly dichotomized in terms of material culture, but dichotomizing functions may have served to distinguish a relatively small group of Anglo-Cherokees from the remainder of the study population.

These findings do not mean that ethnic differentiation was unimportant to the material configurations of Cherokee life, but do indicate that ethnic group demarcation was not the sole process that contributed to variation in Cherokee material culture. As indicated by Thomas, Gulick, Kupferer, and others, the dichotomous ("real" Indian-"white" Indian) model of Cherokee ethnicity is an emic construct that imposes rigid segmentation on rather continuous cultural content. Because this dichotomy is vested with contrastive values regarding material culture and wealth holding, it provides a convenient and pertinent structure of inquiry for analysis of Cherokee cultural variability. The amorphous "fit" between an ethnically dichotomous model and actual patterns in material culture reflects the more complex realities of Cherokee society at the time of Removal, when cultural identity appears to have been under constant negotiation and reformation. As related by Thomas, Cherokee ethnicity is less a matter of bioracial affinity than social performance, and it is difficult to extract past patterns of social association from the documentary and archaeological records. It is conceivable that the material patterns evident in documentary and archaeological records are more congruent with emergent ethnicities than the bioracial affinities of particular households might indicate.

This study is most significant in that inclusive description and analysis of Cherokee material culture proceeds from evidence of specific households with distinct historical identities. Unlike most archaeological and ethnohistorical studies of American Indian culture, which necessarily deal with anonymous households or other obscure units of analysis, this

study makes use of unique collateral bodies of evidence to explore and compare the material lives of specific families. This approach is particularly productive from an analytical perspective, inasmuch as it allows integration of multiple lines of evidence for multifaceted representations and interpretations of Cherokee material life, and opens a wide range of possible inquiry into specific, household level cultural processes that have been previously inaccessible. This approach is equally promising from a humanistic perspective, because it promotes greater articulation of modern Cherokee people with the documentary and archaeological records of their immediate (and specific) ancestors. Native peoples have typically felt alienated from the processes of historical and archaeological inquiry, largely because such research has been conducted by Western scholars who tend to objectify native peoples as anonymous "others" with no specific individual identity in the historical or archaeological records. In reaction to such objectification, many indigenous people regard the results of scholarly inquiry as, at best, suspect, and, at worst, as further evidence of the subjugation of native peoples by dominant Western society. The unique documentary record of Removal Period Cherokee families in southwestern North Carolina allows researchers to draw back the veil of anonymity from a critical period of Cherokee social, political, and economic history. For many Cherokees, the 1838 Removal marks the beginnings of their actual family histories, and it is hoped that this consolidation and synthesis of household records will be of use and interest to Cherokee people as they seek to preserve or reconstruct a distinctive cultural heritage that the "Trail of Tears" could not erase.

Afterword

In parting, I wish to relate two anecdotes that illustrate the significance and immediacy of these data to the Cherokee people. Long ago, at the beginning of the research process that led to this dissertation, I sought to notify any interested members of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians about this research and the accessibility of the proposed research products. What was intended to be a simple announcement in the weekly tribal council meeting evolved into a resolution offered for debate and voice vote. There, on closed circuit television, I received an acute education on tribal views of *unega* archaeologists who exploited Cherokee cultural heritage and offered nothing in return. At one point, when I was explaining that I had no intention to disturb graves and sought only to excavate old garbage heaps, one council member said, "Maybe I don't want anybody going through my grandmama's trash." Despite these points in the council debate, or perhaps because council members had opportunity to air such views, the tribal council passed a resolution approving my proposed work. They exhibited the grace that has alway characterized the Cherokee people, allowing an outsider access to a painful passage of Cherokee history that remains fresh in tribal consciousness. They also made clear my responsibilities to the cultural heritage of the tribe. In exiting the council house, one of the council members related a family story about an ancestor who escaped removal. As it happened, some of the sample documents that I brought along for illustration dealt with that ancestor. I gave him these copies, but knew that the family story that he shared was far more valuable and meaningful than all the dry documents that I could ever contribute.

More recently, I was privileged to accompany a group of Oklahoma Cherokees on a heritage tour of southwestern North Carolina. As a *de facto* tour guide, I pointed out Removal Period homesites, trails, and townhouse locations as we rode our motorcoach through the Hiwassee River Valley. When we ascended to the head of Shooting Creek, I pointed to the location of Old Muskrat's 1838 homeplace. A murmur passed through the busload of genealogy and history buffs, until, at the prodding of the crowd, a retiring, elderly Cherokee gentleman arose and quietly announced, "Muskrat was my fourth great-granddad [great-great-great grandfather]. I didn't think I'd ever see where he came from." That succinct pronouncement confirmed to me the real significance of the extraordinary documentary and archaeological records of Removal Period Cherokee life in southwestern North Carolina.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Hiwassee Town														
Sutawaga	5	2	2	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	80	1000
Little Smoke	1	2	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	19	300
Sweetwater	2	1	7	3	6	7	0	0	0	7	5	3	33	600
Nenetugah	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	19	200
Chawtawee	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Woman Holder	4	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	150
Wickliff, John	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	15	150
Chutahni	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	12	140
Tontasky	0	4	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	16	180
Oohaluka	3	2	2	1	9	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	5	100
Sakey	2	0	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	30
Horsefly	0	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	12	150
Old Hoe	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	100
Big Dirt	5	1	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	12	100
Knight	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	50
Ahstola, Nancy	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	20
Hunters Mill Creek														
Young Rock	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Rising Fawn	4	1	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Mrs. Dick	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	40
Mocking Crow	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	150
Sawochee	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	40
Big Acorn	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	100
Brasstown Creek														
Ridge	1	5	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	30	300
Howling Wolf	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	100
Bear at Home	1	2	3	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	5	40
Cahukiller	2	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	20
Whipoorwill	3	1	1	2	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
Stump	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	100
Boots	2	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	13	100
Narrow Foot	2	2	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	80
Walley	1	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	70
Peter	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	9	100
Buffington, Charles	3	3	3	3	1	11	0	0	1	0	2	3	20	400
Oolatokee	2	3	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	50
Grease Gourd	3	2	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		8	100
Wash Face	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	40
Queen	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	30
Buffington, Betsey	0	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	0
Sickaowie	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	100
Antisee	1	3	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	9	150
Culletokee	1	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Uteiotusky	2	5	1	1	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	14	200
Wahhawchee	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	15
Go Ahead	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	10	50
Ticolusky	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	70
Young Chicken	2	2	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	25	200
Teesugoskey	4	2	1	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	17	150
Oolaohee	2	1	1	3	7	0	0	0	6	3	0	3	30	400
Walker, Joseph	3	1	3	3	10	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	9	100
Tuncenolee	1	2	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	8	0	2	19	250
Tesarskey	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1.5	6
Peak, James	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	80

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Brasstown Creek														
Isaac Dick	1	4	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	23	200
Young Turkey	1	1	3	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	25	500
Jug	2	2	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	23	200
Pumpkin Vine	3	3	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	120
Wahhauchee	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Newcowee	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	200
Peachtree Creek														
Smith, John	0	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	2	1	2	60	500
Henson, William	2	1	4	2	0	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ruddle, Jesse	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grasshopper	5	2	3	2	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	120
Ballsticks	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	80
Jane	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	20
Raven	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	25
Smith, William	0	1	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	2	17	100
Smith, Henry	1	1	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	1	25	250
Timson, John	2	1	4	1	0	8	0	0	1	5	2	4	24	350
Love, John	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	100
Jenney	5	0	1	4	0	0	10	0	0	3	0	1	3	30
Tusquittee														
Cloud	2	1	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	16	160
Tewstew	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	16	250
Fire	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	80
Taulentah	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	11	120
Allbones	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	200
Mouse	1	2	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	160
Dull Hoe	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	120
Allikee	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	20
Tanonee	0	1	3	3	7	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	8	70
Tausel	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	60
Toonawee	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	18	180
Cowfeeder, Sam	1	1	3	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	6	0
Keener, Edward	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	20
Joe Chuck	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	150
England, David	4	1	3	1	0	8	0	1	1	0	4	3	100	1000
England, Jonathan	4	1	3	1	0	8	0	1	0	0	5	2	60	500
Chutoooconakah	4	2	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	70
Autoheeshey	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	20	200
Snail, John	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	70
Tetaweesky	0	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	18	200
Tecoteesky	0	2	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	100
Ooniah	4	1	4	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	200
Chawchaw	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	80
Davis, John	0	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	70
Jenney	6	1	3	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10	100
Otter Lifter	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	70
Betsey	3	1	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	60
Balltown George	3	2	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	20	250
Hawkins, Walter	4	1	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Cahoost, Betsy	1	0	3	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	80
Glass	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	60
Oosquannie	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	30
Beaver Carrier	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	10	100
Sulsah	3	3	0	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	70

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Tusquittee														
Sullaulesah	1	1	4	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Wolf	3	5	1	3	12	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	4	60
Taneskey	0	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	9	100
Shoe	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	40
Chickleece, John	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	16	200
Coulson, John	2	2	0	3	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	20	250
Takah	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	20
Akecha	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	30
Suwaga	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ewchotah	2	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	60
Dick	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	3	30
Dick, John	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	6	50
Lauchee, John	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	70
Chinagua	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	100
Spikebuck	4	2	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	20	250
Choco	3	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	100
Spikebuck, Tom	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	80
Sakey	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Nickajack	3	3	2	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	20	250
Dry	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	60
Chintakee	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	40
Large, John	2	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	160
Lying Fish	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	50
Oosenalla	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	60
Muskrat, Jesse	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
Hogshooter, John	2	1	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	60
Muskrat, Robert	0	3	2	2	7	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	30	400
Blair, George	1	1	4	1	0	7	0	0	4	2	3	2	40	60
Pigeon out of the Wat	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	10
Sentula	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	300
Dreadful Water	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	125
Tanney	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	150
Sawauka	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	250
Tunahlanist	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	75
Coloniska	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Kahcawee	2	2	4	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	15	300
Atolah	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	100
Moses	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Johnson	2	1	6	1	10	0	0	0	0	7	2	2	14	500
Fencemaker	2	1	2	1	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	7	150
Tenniah	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	300
Chauchecha	0	2	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	16	170
Smith, Archa	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	150
Lower Valley River														
Christie, Ned	2	2	4	2	1	9	0	0	3	2	0	3	75	600
Christie, Night	2	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	300
Christie, Aaron	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	250
Will	1	3	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	14	150
Hawkins, James	5	2	3	3	1	12	0	0	0	2	0	0	30	350
Locust	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	100
Bullet, Nancy	3	1	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	150
Williams, John	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	40
Sickatowie	3	2	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Salley	3	3	2	2	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	18	100

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Lower Valley River														
Jumper	2	1	2	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	19	110
Buck	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	40
Bigmeat, Thomas	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	35
Kell, Andrew	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Growth	2	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	20
Bushyhead, George	1	2	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	7	40
War Club	6	1	1	3	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	20	75
Hawkins, John	0	2	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	80
Jones, Charles	1	1	4	2	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	72
Hawkins, Sally	2	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	2	7	75
Kinnesaw	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	5	50
Tunahnalah	1	2	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	40
Topper	7	1	3	2	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	15	100
Kaskaloe	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	7	60
Fodder	0	4	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	18	150
Raper, Polly	0	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	60
Sunday	4	1	2	2	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	84
Witch	0	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	40
Wanenohee	1	0	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	35
Cunotiskey	5	2	0	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	80
Cunnotoiskey	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	0
Nichotie	1	0	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	30
Tegoteeskey	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	50
Jackson	2	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	60
Upper Valley River														
Little John	1	2	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	20	120
Lowin	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Welch, John	6	1	3	1	0	10	0	1	6	0	4	8	120	1200
Calvert, Andrew	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	20	700
Alakak	2	1	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	80
Chaweskah	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	100
Long Wind	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kneeling	2	2	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	110
Go About	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.5	0
Tekahunka	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	30
Fodder	4	1	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Cuttinhee	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	150
Eyahceest	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	30
Morris, Gideon	6	1	1	2	1	8	0	1	2	1	8	2	75	2000
Nancy	1	2	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10	100
Jimmy Soldier	2	3	1	2	8	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	14	200
Culsowee	2	4	2	2	10	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	16	50
Uaiheetee	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	40
Nakee	1	0	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	50
Little Deer, Sallie	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
July	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	6	60
Grasshopper	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	40	100
Walley	1	4	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	20
Cotuskey	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	30
Culasuttee	3	3	3	5	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	400
Ulatokee	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Will	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	40
Chutanina	1	1	3	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	30
Iyouqua	0	1	1	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	35

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Upper Valley River														
Standing Deer	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	25
Tawah	0	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	110
Jane	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	10
Six	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	15
Cawisity	4	2	1	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0			
Olkinney	2	1	2	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.5	10
Sawnawny	2	3	1	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	30
Taylor, David	6	1	4	1	0	11	0	1	2	0	4	2	25	500
Oosquanee	0	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	50
Johnawaye	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	100
Janey	1	0	0	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	30
Ahnalla	4	1	1	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	20
Mink	2	1	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	100
Onion in the Pot	0	3	1	4	8	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	16	150
Teesaskey	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	24	200
Catey	1	0	2	2	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	18	200
Chicksuttehe	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	18	170
Blaylock, Willington	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	7	100
Cheahnannah	0	2	3	2	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	2		0
Sarah	0	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0			0
Coon	3	2	1	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	90
Locust	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	80
Suwaga	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	120
Nannunttuyou	2	0	1	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	50
Willey	1	3	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	18	0
Chattarga	0	2	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Going Wolf	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	14	80
Wakey	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	14	100
Ummacuttah	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	70
Tacultah	1	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	6	50
Culcolosky	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	80
Johnson	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	11	120
Young Turkey	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	9	75
Oochalooty	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	8	60
Articesty	0	2	3	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	40
Tiscoe	1	2	3	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	14	120
Chewsowolah	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	80
Colechah	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	12	100
Salonetah	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	95
Caunaluka	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	50
McCray, Hiram	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	16	300
Nauchy	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	16	150
Hawkins, Rose	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	40
Tucker, John	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	8	100
Hanks, Robert T.	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	2	4	33	700
Cheoah River														
Go About	3	1	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	30	250
John	1	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
Horsefly	0	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	8	60
Wolf	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	50
Susannah	1	2	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	60
Culsuttehee	2	3	4	2	11	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	100
Turner	1	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	14	120
Tanner	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100

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location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Cheoah River														
Waugocoa	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	80
Aunitgeeskey	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	25
Auquitakey	0	1	1	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	50
Catigeeskey	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	70
Taloneskey	0	0	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Scitter	1	1	3	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	120
Chewey	2	2	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	16	200
Chostossa	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	25
Young Wolf	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	30
Crow	3	3	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	10	80
Aquetakey	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	50
Tenullaweestah	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	100
Chinaqua	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	30
Sharp (Costie)	1	1	4	1	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	9	60
Sauty	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	80
Tarkey	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	20	120
Ningcoteeskey	1	2	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	20	200
Chewchecky	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	40
Chewnoyoungki	0	1	2	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	25
Yinghee	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	20
Wasah	2	2	3	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	60
Nedd	3	3	2	3	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	18	10
Oolooha	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	25
Culasuttee	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	60
Kananetah	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	10
Jimmey	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	50
Oonanutah	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	10
Crying Bear	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	80
Oonanutee	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	50
Chewey	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Dick	1	1	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0
Tom	0	3	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	60
Aunecah	1	3	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	30
Caty	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	40
Cunasene	3	2	3	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	120
Tewnowie	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	400
Jewlowie	5	2	1	3	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	100
Cheah	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	50
Young Duck	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	20
Ekahcullah	1	3	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	50
Astucatoga	2	1	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	70
Culsuttee	3	2	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	9	80
Teconeeskey	4	2	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	200
Naucheah	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	120
Euchintah	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	30
Weauculeeskey	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Cheahconeskey	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	50
Big George	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Squirrel	2	4	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	20	200
Iyeki	1	2	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	15	200
Connuleese	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Tanney	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	30
Oostalofty	2	2	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	70
Ailsey	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	50

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Cheoah River														
Chesquiah	1	3	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	10	150
Tecogeeskey	4	1	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	300
Auneleha	4	3	2	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Atolahee	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	20
Bird	1	5	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	14	250
Culsuttee	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Tunahnalah	2	2	2	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	5	40
Young Puppy	0	2	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	40
Eoseeste	0	5	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	18	150
Tewwaheloe	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	30
Catey	1	0	4	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	15
Sylacuga	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Ooltonotee	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	10
Cheewochuckah	4	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	8	0	3	14	150
Sequachee	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	7	120
Cheewochuckah, Sr	2	2	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	50
Seaquah	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	40
Key	1	1	4	3	9	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	12	100
Sweetwater	3	3	5	4	15	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	26	150
Chustine	1	4	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	80
Oolsainne	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	8	60
Oolseasity	3	1	2	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	100
Oostookee	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	20
Chutolenta	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	16	160
Stecoah														
Arch	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	14	250
Will	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	15	240
Buckhannon	3	3	2	3	2	9	0	0	0	4	0	3	14	250
Going Panther	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	40
Brush Picker	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	70
Ratliff	1	2	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	13	130
Culsowee	1	3	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	12	140
Teesawtaske	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	5
Chuquatoskey	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	50
Euqualaga	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	70
Lowen	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	60
Standing Wolf	2	6	5	3	16	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	8	80
Tuskeegee														
Ahtowee	0	4	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	15	200
Eustinaes	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	100
Jinney	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	12	80
Lowen Sr.	0	4	4	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	13	100
Alarka														
Ootetie	3	1	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	60
Auquitakey	2	2	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	10	70
Panther	3	2	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	100
Chululoga	1	6	1	4	12	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	14	200
Jesse	2	1	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	20
Tuskegitee	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	50
Teconuskey	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	5	20
Skittee	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	30
Ahseena	3	2	2	3	10	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	8	70

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Nantahala River														
Sally	3	2	1	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	150
Tuskiakey	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Betsey	1	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Lawn, John	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	7	100
Charley	0	3	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	150
Fishing Hawk	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	80
Oochalah	3	2	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	14	200
Wattah	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	80
Cloud	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	80
Small Hominy	3	1	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	17	20
Ouchah	0	2	3	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	6	100
Sour Mush	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	0
Johneway	1	3	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	45
Backwater	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	100
Bear at Home	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	60
Esuttee	0	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	200
Scowesah	0	3	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	60
Tecausenaga	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	40
Smallwood	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	30
Rabbit	5	2	2	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	300
Utehite	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	40
Neddy	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	30
Otter	2	5	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	2	30
Wyaeskee	3	3	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	15	300
Robbin	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	9	120
Bite	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	100
Deer out of the Water	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	50
Chautowee	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	7	100
Going into the Water	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	25
Arch	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	20	250
Tukekee	2	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	3	20
Star	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	5	70
Suwaga	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	10	200
Mad Woman	1	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	6	100
Whipoorwill	4	2	1	1	8	0	0	0	0	7	0	1	7	120
Shawnee John	0	1	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	15	200
Teeken	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	10
Elowee	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	9	100
Nose	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Suwaga	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	40
Sapsucker	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	50
Ocqualah	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	6	100
Choachucker	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	16	300
Nickietie	2	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	25	100
Shooting Creek														
Antowie	1	3	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	120
Rising Fawn	2	1	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	50
Antowie, Samuel	3	1	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	40
Tanchechee	6	1	1	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Waywoseete	4	3	3	6	16	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	10	150
Keener, Jim	0	1	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	80
Tuyohole	0	2	2	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	50
Isaac	2	1	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	60
Cheskitee	2	2	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	5

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location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Shooting Creek														
Nakey	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Grass, Nanny	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	50
Blythe, Nancy	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	24	300
Downing, Dick	0	5	2	2	2	6	0	1	1	0	0	3	40	800
Downing, Jake	0	3	4	2	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	3	25	250
Chewwanoskey	2	1	2	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	200
Deer a-Coming	0	1	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.5	20
Tucker, John	3	2	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	30
Nicostie	3	1	5	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	120
Nicuchew	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	60
Oolanah	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	30
Tewquiatah	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Colechah	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3
Jonson	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	75
David	2	1	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	40
Chesoollo	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Snail	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Kesihah	1	2	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2.5	25
Nickajack	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	10	100
Kenah	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	10
Candle	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Tewrie	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Melter	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	50
Ooloochy	5	3	1	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	120
Willson	2	3	2	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	15	200
Chinnauchee	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	10
Tucker, Isaac	1	3	1	4	3	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	6	100
Buckshorn	1	2	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	25	150
Oonenahetee	3	1	2	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	50
Keener	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Charles, Jim	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	30
Ausenah	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	5
Janawane	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	50
Watts	1	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	60
Beaver Carrier	3	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	80
Oosiatee	3	3	2	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	120
Big Bear	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
Culstiee	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	10
Tuttiee	0	1	3	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	20
Muskrat, Jackson	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	200
Teesawskey	1	3	0	4	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	15	250
Davis, Isaac	2	1	2	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	15	200
Rattler	3	1	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	30
Eichaugah	3	3	0	4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Jack Rabbit	2	2	4	5	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	150
Oowaynestee	0	1	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	100
Chewwaylusky	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	80
Jack	3	1	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	20
Downing, Jim, Jr.	2	1	3	1	1	6	0	0	0	1	0	5	21	250
Oolkinnee	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	60
Downing, Jack Jr	1	1	4	1	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	4	17	200
Downing, Jack Sr	2	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	16	150
Sautaco	4	3	2	3	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	22	250
Big Bear	2	2	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	80

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location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Shooting Creek														
Stump	0	2	2	3	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	15	200
Oostinacoo	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14	150
Wolf	2	2	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	50
Rabbit	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	40
Toostoo	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	60
Grasshopper	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	7	60
Coulson, Henry	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	40
Conaseenah	0	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	120
Youholauchy	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	30
Coahah	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	15	160
Rattler	2	1	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	150
Muskrat, Johnson	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	70
Otter Lifter	1	1	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	100
Standing Muskrat	1	1	4	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	120
Geeska, Will	4	1	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	9	100
Twister	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
Muskrat	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	15	200
Muskrat, John	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	18	200
Bearmeat	0	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	50
Eagle	0	2	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	12	100
Bearmeat, Johnson	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	50
Connecetta	0	2	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	40
Geeska, Johnson	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	16	170
Catageeska	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	80
Archa	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	60
Culsowee	1	2	3	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	100
Cat	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	50
Woluchey	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
Woosee	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	12	150
Sutteeyah	3	1	1	3	8	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	10	120
Sixkiller, William	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	30
Ootiee	1	1	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	60
Aucuah	4	1	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	130
Snail	1	3	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	120
Hiwassee River (Cootlohee)														
Christie, John	5	1	3	1	1	9	0	0	0	1	0	2	20	150
Kayauchee	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	60
Hogshooter	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	90
Kianna	2	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	120
Chukaluka	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	120
Auseenah	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	30
Tauestaneeskey	8	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	15	200
Wolatah	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	15	150
Sautaco	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	19	200
Chewonah	3	0	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	80
John Wayne, Sr.	0	1	2	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	250
Wahhahoo	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	60
Nancy	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ooteetihee	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	35
Johnston	1	2	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	18	80
Ookshelane	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	20
Blue	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	20
Chewlicksee	3	2	2	2	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	12	120
Susannah	0	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	35

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Hiwassee River (Cootlohee)														
Nancy	4	1	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
John Wayne, Jr.	1	1	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	15	200
Wattatokah	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	80
Colstee	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	80
Sickawee	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	50
George	3	2	1	1	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	12	120
Caty	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hanging Dog Creek														
Oostalofty	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	11	90
Chewnowkaha	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	200
George	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	75
Chinaqua, Sr.	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	60
Owl	2	3	0	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	40
Causehilah	1	1	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	19	200
Tiestah	5	3	1	3	12	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	8	160
Ausena	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	60
Peak, Nathaniel	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Young Wolf	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	30
Towie, John	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	60
Sam Owl	0	2	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	100
Axe	1	1	4	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	80
Eteconake	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	30
Ooketulla	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	30
Causulatah	1	1	2	1	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	40
Beaverdam Creek														
Chinaqua	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	50
Sewwachey	3	3	3	5	14	0	0	0	0	3	0	4	30	450
Tiger	2	3	1	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	20	200
Wally	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22	170
Wochesoe	0	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	20	150
Nottely River														
Chatowie	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	150
Lawlah	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	100
Chewkeeskey	1	1	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	80
Hogshooter	0	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	20
Crawler	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	15	150
Buzzard	1	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	150
Kayatee	0	3	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	10	150
Beaver Carrier	2	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	150
Chowayokah	1	0	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	10
Big Jack	2	1	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	20	500
Falling, Edward	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0
Wafford, James D.	1	1	2	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	150
Leech	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1.5	15
Tiyeeskey	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.5	30
Cherokee George	1	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	50
Christie, Sam	1	1	1	2	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	8	90
Intoquskey	2	1	2	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	200
Nanna	1	0	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	20
Raper, James	1	1	2	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	2	20	500
Raper, Thomas	2	1	2	1	0	5	0	1	0	0	4	2	100	2000
Raper, Jesse	4	1	4	1	0	9	0	1	2	0	0	3	100	2000
Cullake, William	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loochaloe	3	1	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	15	500

Appendix I. Summary transcript of the 1835 Cherokee census for southwestern North Carolina.

location / Household	males (<18)	males (>18)	females (<16)	females (>16)	fullbloods	Anglo-Cherokees	African-Cherokees	intermarried whites	Black slaves	readers (Cherokee)	readers (English)	Number of houses	Farm acreage	bushels corn produced (1835)
Nottely River														
Little Jack	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	35	1000
Christie, Dick	2	1	2	1	0	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	5	70
Christie, Mulberry	1	1	1	2	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	2	25	350
Hickorynut	0	2	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	100
Big Canoe	1	3	2	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	200
Coldweather	1	1	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	40
Naler	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	30	400
Let Us Stop	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Hothouse Creek														
Betsy	4	1	3	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	50
Keesugane	2	1	2	1	5	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	8	45
Persimmon Creek														
Eagle	1	2	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	100
Mocking Crow	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	30
Ooyahseest	3	2	1	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	15	200
Pheasant	4	1	4	4	13	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	10	120
Toosuwalater	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	15	200
Chuelstilah	2	2	3	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7	100
Going Snake	3	1	3	1	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	20	300
Crawfish	3	1	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	210
Sofkinnee	2	0	2	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	250
Bears Paw	3	3	4	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	27	450
Robbin	1	1	4	2	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	150
Feeler	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	8	100
Wayahuttee	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	10	125
Nickeetie	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	60
Coleechah	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	30
Punk	0	1	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	80
Old Horse	1	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	5	60
Sixkiller	4	2	1	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	12	150
Jackee	2	2	1	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	20	300
Mush	2	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	100
	889	848	766	903	3038	321	23	22	37	501	64	923	6666	

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																		
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	George	1	$25	$111	$28	3														10.5	23	17		$213.25
1	1	Watcheesee	5	$28	$146	$19	4														22	50	5		$221.00
1	1	Six Killer	6	$13	$84	$14	5														12.5	4			$113.50
1	1	Wolley	9	$25	$63	$27	3						1								9	7	3		$122.25
1	1	Chewlixa	12	$22	$91	$29	4														12				$142.00
1	1	Yeosessta	15	$18	$55	$3	1					1									7				$76.00
1	1	Walletah	21	$30	$80	$20	1			1			1							1	8	23	3		$147.00
1	1	Chewheluke	23	$16	$40	$8	2														5	29			$78.50
1	1	Kianna	25	$20	$64	$15	2														8	36			$117.00
1	1	Hog Shooter	26	$28	$90	$0	1														5	5	1		$121.00
1	1	Oostalofty	31	$22	$84	$15	2														10	3	6		$124.00
1	1	Cowsehela	36	$25	$144	$20	2														18	57			$217.50
1	1	Axe	39	$20	$87	$6	2														10	2			$114.50
1	1	Tiesta	43	$16	$44	$28	3						1								5.5	6			$91.00
1	1	Young Wolf	44	$32	$44	$22	2														5.5	6			$102.50
1	1	Taunteeskey	50	$35	$75	$2						1									8.25	17	1		$123.50
1	1	Chewtoni	52	$42	$111	$15	2														11.5	27	22		$192.50
1	1	Love, John	55	$15	$96	$20	3						1								12	2	1		$132.50
1	1	Telascutta	59	$22	$52	$32	3	1				1									6.5	53	6		$138.50
1	1	Sahkenah	60	$20	$79	$48	1	1				2									11	24			$163.00
1	1	Pumpkin Vine	61	$13	$105	$15	2					1									10.5	58		4	$164.00
1	1	Kiucha	67	$25	$36	$35	3														6				$96.00
1	1	Christie, Allena	71	$20	$104	$4	1					1									13	7			$131.50
1	1	Christie, Wilson	72	$22	$120	$0	1														15				$142.00
1	1	Hawkins, Nancy	73	$16	$192	$15	2					2									24	77			$261.50
1	1	Hawkins, James	74	$22	$126	$29	2					1	1								14	60	21		$233.25
1	1	Beegum, Sally	78	$16	$117	$3	1					1									13	22	2		$147.50
1	1	Bullett, Nancy	79	$17	$88	$23	2	1				1									11	19	1		$142.50

†note: * designates plots less than one acre in extent.

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Bears Paw, Old	81	$18	$96	$12	3														12	26	28		$181.00
1	1	War Club	87	$15	$88	$0	1														11	25	1		$118.50
1	1	Chunehunt	105	$35	$44	$28	1	1		1		1								1	5.5	24	2		$129.00
1	1	Jackson	106	$25	$100	$5	1														10	47			$165.25
1	1	Hawkins, Rose	109	$23	$110	$6	1					2									*	9			$145.75
1	1	Ollikee	112	$40	$63	$32	2	1		1											6.25	37	5		$170.75
1	1	Chutalaske	116	$15	$45	$11	1	1				1									4.5	57			$99.00
1	1	Tocassenoge	119	$25	$80	$13	1	1				2									*	35			$131.25
1	1	Little Will (heirs)	121	$18	$50	$32	2														10	20			$110.00
1	1	Ginny	122	$14	$40	$15	2	1													4	34	1		$92.50
1	1	Naka	124	$25	$60	$0	1														5.5	3			$87.25
1	1	Walla	126	$18	$36	$8	1														5	30	4		$86.50
1	1	Little Deer, Susan	128	$22	$132	$0	1														12	7	12		$163.50
1	1	McCrary, Hiram	132	$25	$95	$10	1														9.5	2			$131.00
1	1	Taylor, David	133	$30	$236	$10	1														21.5	16	5		$308.00
1	1	Sinka	137	$32	$65	$4	1					1									6.5	12	6		$113.00
1	1	Parch Corn Flour, Mose	139	$22	$10	$15	1														1.5	3	3		$62.75
1	1	Parched Corn Flour	141	$35	$63	$24	2	1													7	58	4		$167.00
1	1	Chiuananne	142	$15	$120	$0	1														12	4	10		$200.00
1	1	Lucy	145	$35	$146	$1	1					1									14				$182.00
1	1	Nancey	147	$25	$80	$0	1														10	5	1		$109.50
1	1	Oosquinney	148	$15	$132	$13	2														12	14	3		$181.50
1	1	Catey	150	$15	$86	$44	2	1				1	2								9.5	23			$150.25
1	1	Welah	154	$40	$15	$37	2	1				1									1.5	8			$96.00
1	1	Sawannah	162	$20	$64	$7	1					1									8	30	12		$112.50
1	1	Iuquah	167	$15	$108	$15	1					1									14	7	3		$141.13
1	1	Scohah	173	$15	$134	$14	2					1									16	20	2		$173.50
1	1	Johnston	181	$22	$70	$16	3						1								8	30	11		$150.50
1	1	George	182	$20	$200	$24	2					2	1				1				20	9	10		$266.75

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Tickakeeska	187	$15	$128	$23	1	1				4									13	18	12		$184.25
1	1	Chewsawalla	199	$18	$42	$18	2					1									6	1	3		$79.75
1	1	Equitchchee	202	$22	$77	$3	1					1									8.25	22			$112.50
1	1	Sweetwater	204	$35	$72	$18	1														9	14	3		$135.00
1	1	Koteeskah	208	$15	$101	$3	1					1									12.5	16			$127.00
1	1	Wahhayah	210	$15	$45	$12	1	1				1									5	36	5		$95.00
1	1	Nancy	223	$15	$71	$20	2	1				1									8.5	45	7		$136.50
1	1	Chewee	225	$30	$54	$26	1					1									6	28	9		$142.00
1	1	Darkey	236	$30	$104	$17	1					3									13	43	18		$235.75
1	1	Culsuttee	237	$20	$56	$13	2	1				1									7	25	7		$130.50
1	1	Nangkaleeska	241	$15	$64	$20	2	1				1									8	53	5		$158.75
1	1	Wessah	243	$18	$64	$12	2														8	2	3		$96.50
1	1	Tauqueneesa	244	$15	$50	$20	2	1				2									6.5	44	12		$114.00
1	1	Toolalah	252	$14	$88	$16	2					2									11	37	10		$144.00
1	1	July	256	$18	$71	$0	1														8	32	3		$112.50
1	1	Toonewee	257	$18	$40	$7	1					1									5	16			$73.00
1	1	Dickey	264	$28	$80	$12	2					2	1								10	20	1		$130.25
1	1	Cansunah	269	$18	$40	$14	1	1				1	1								4.5	23	4		$84.00
1	1	Eyacalla	275	$14	$88	$32	1	1				3	1								11	17	23		$200.00
1	1	Chewtonah	276	$14	$52	$15	2	1													6.5	21	8		$99.50
1	1	Uleseenah	277	$14	$88	$13	2														11	27			$126.75
1	1	Will, Little	283	$25	$133	$6	1						1								13.5	54			$191.00
1	1	Culsowee	290	$18	$113	$16	1	1				1					1				12.5	19			$151.25
1	1	Alttotatiee	292	$25	$72	$21	2	1				1									8	12	3		$124.00
1	1	Lowin	294	$18	$130	$13	2						1								13	10			$163.50
1	1	Ahtoowee	297	$35	$114	$37	2	2				3									14	20	22		$239.00
1	1	Wahyalatoga	300	$28	$64	$17	4	1													8				$109.00
1	1	Arquatakey	306	$18	$52	$12	2														6.5	25			$88.25
1	1	Clantucha	307	$24	$80	$3		1													10	30			$122.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Winney	308	$16	$84	$0	1														12	32			$116.00
1	1	Talseeyahkee	319	$18	$62	$25	2	2				1									8	50	8		$149.25
1	1	Lewin	323	$16	$102	$25	2	1				1									13	42	11		$161.50
1	1	Charley	324	$16	$104	$28	2	2				1									13	36	12		$169.00
1	1	Oochilla	325	$16	$52	$12	1	1					1								6.5	49	6	1	$111.00
1	1	Wattee	327	$16	$36	$20	2	1				1									5.5	13	1		$79.50
1	1	Towleetscah	328	$22	$32	$17	1	1				2									5	21	5		$110.50
1	1	Aneetsah	332	$45	$18	$23	2					1									3	9			$90.50
1	1	Yonahwallah	334	$16	$45	$7	1														5	16			$80.00
1	1	Esuttee	335	$20	$180	$26	2					1									20	40	6		$267.50
1	1	Arch	347	$20	$96	$23	2					1									12				$139.00
1	1	Wahyouska	351	$14	$56	$15	2					1									7	42	17		$148.50
1	1	Chewauchucker	357	$15	$96	$0	1														12		30		$126.00
1	1	Mad Woman	358	$15	$42	$14	2					1	1								6				$71.00
1	1	Choga	359	$12	$96	$14	2						1								12				$122.00
1	1	Suwaga	360	$18	$40	$24	3						1								5				$82.00
1	1	Toonowee	366	$22	$86	$19	2					1	1								9.5	3	3		$134.00
1	1	Waka	368	$22	$108	$4	1					1									12	3	3		$137.00
1	1	Persimmon Toter	372	$16	$50	$38	3	1				1									10				$104.00
1	1	Naka	377	$18	$50	$20	2					1									6	6	3		$109.00
1	1	Walker, Jane	378	$25	$170	$0	1														18	8			$199.00
1	1	Beaver Toter	379	$30	$100	$8	1													1	10		25	2	$164.00
1	1	Toonahnillah	382	$35	$121	$27	2					1	1								11	62	2		$213.75
1	1	Oosiquiney	383	$16	$40	$16	2														4	17	4		$85.75
1	1	Balltown Wally	390	$22	$50	$21	2	1				1									5		1		$93.50
1	1	Chachaw	395	$25	$97	$6	1	1													10	65	8		$173.75
1	1	Annah	398	$9	$120	$20	1	1				2									12	11			$154.50
1	1	Bird, Caley	399	$20	$131	$0	1														15		5		$161.00
1	1	Jesawheekee	403	$16	$63	$14	1	1				1									7	56	22		$161.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																		
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Muskrat, Johnson	404	$25	$90	$8	1					1									9	2	5		$126.00
1	1	Arch	405	$20	$88	$29	2					1									11	16			$145.00
1	1	Chayukah	408	$18	$72	$0	1														9	20	2		$107.00
1	1	Tooney	412	$20	$110	$15	2	1				2									11	25	10		$173.50
1	1	Wohyakakeeska	414	$18	$28	$22	2													1	3.5				$68.00
1	1	Santoola	416	$16	$118	$28	2					1	1								13	34	27		$190.50
1	1	Conacuttoga	417	$14	$50	$29	3	1				1									10	2			$94.00
1	1	Toniah	418	$35	$56	$12	2														7	18	8		$115.50
1	1	Takah	420	$18	$64	$21	2														8	11	8		$124.00
1	1	Cowfeeder, Sam	424	$18	$95	$15	2					1									9.5	18	8		$157.00
1	1	Ailsey	426	$18	$65	$0	1														6.5				$83.00
1	1	Ooesuttee	431	$20	$32	$19	2					1									3.5	23	33		$125.75
1	1	Anecostiah	435	$30	$56	$13	2														7				$99.00
1	1	Nahanah (Davie)	442	$28	$64	$22	2					1									8	11			$119.50
1	1	Nickajack	443	$30	$60	$48	2														7.5	6	1		$141.50
1	1	Echacha	445	$40	$117	$27	1	1				1									13	20	23		$220.00
1	1	Chegatekah	446	$40	$21	$15	3														3				$76.00
1	1	Muskrat, Jackson	448	$30	$88	$29	3					1									10.5	29	5		$154.50
1	1	Ahyowah	457	$20	$53	$16	2					1									6.5	47	3		$122.50
1	1	Chualiguska	460	$16	$68	$14	1					1								1	8.5	40			$117.00
1	1	Jackrabbit	462	$16	$81	$39	2	1				1			1						9	130	70		$250.00
1	1	Nickochee	466	$30	$72	$39	3					1									9	32	5		$158.25
1	1	Chewaluga	471	$35	$24	$20	2														3		1		$80.00
1	1	Downing, Jack	472	$25	$44	$30	2	2				1									5.5	6	4		$104.00
1	1	Chineetacah	476	$16	$99	$4	1					1									11	29			$140.75
1	1	Oostanakoo	479	$20	$131	$9	1	1				1									14.5	41	32		$292.00
1	1	Sally	480	$16	$56	$14	2														7	23	3		$103.50
1	1	Wahchitiker	481	$40	$72	$32	2					1									8	24	7		$179.50
1	1	Kitagiskee	484	$25	$68	$0	1														8.5	39	13		$141.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																		
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Willsuttahe	493	$35	$84	$5	1					1									10.5	44	26		$182.50
1	1	Sutleah	494	$25	$20	$19	3														2.5				$64.00
1	1	Conseenah	499	$27	$40	$24	3														5	40	7		$107.75
1	1	Bat	502	$30	$86	$17	2						1								9.5	71	1		$168.50
1	1	Wahhalah	504	$14	$80	$17	2	1				1									10	15	22		$141.50
1	1	Connesuttah	505	$18	$36	$19	2	1													4.5				$73.00
1	1	Muskrat	510	$28	$48	$22	2	1		1											6	80	27		$229.00
1	1	Will	512	$28	$72	$18	2					1									8	23	15		$166.25
1	1	Unanakatahee	513	$33	$72	$0	1														8	23	1		$123.75
1	1	Muskrat, Ned	514	$22	$77	$3	1					1									8.5	26	4		$112.00
1	1	Muskrat, Johnson	515	$20	$81	$10	1	1				1									9	23			$122.50
1	1	Chuganuskey	516	$30	$68	$24	2					1									8.5	30	14		$158.50
1	1	Antowee	520	$25	$156	$18	2					1									16	19	12		$229.25
1	1	Tahchuah	523	$20	$48	$17	3						1								6				$85.00
1	1	Keenaneetah	524	$22	$44	$21	1	1		1		1									5.5	30			$98.50
1	1	Oowahwahsieta	525	$20	$60	$20	2						1								7.5				$100.00
1	1	Chickeeah	535	$20	$56	$11	2					1									7	8	18		$127.00
1	1	Nickajack	536	$20	$64	$14	2					1									8	30	13		$129.50
1	1	Muskrat, Jesse	537	$35	$116	$3	1					1									17	6			$157.00
1	1	Chogohee	540	$25	$96	$18	3														12	18	70		$323.00
1	1	Spikebuck, Tom	541	$25	$133	$23	3														19	35	16	1	$223.00
1	1	Anna	552	$16	$44	$6	1					1									5.5				$66.00
1	1	Oochawhatah	553	$15	$44	$12	2	1													5.5	31			$94.25
1	1	Setugah	562	$30	$189	$28	1	1				2	1							1	21	26	8		$264.00
1	1	Wywahsatee	563	$20	$72	$8	1					1									9				$100.00
1	1	Walker, Bob	564	$25	$77	$15	1														7	40	24		$173.00
1	1	Walker, Joseph	566	$21	$81	$0	1														9	4	65		$201.50
1	1	Black Fox	568	$27	$90	$24	3														10		3		$144.00
1	1	Buffington, Jesse	572	$25	$60	$2	1					1									7.5				$87.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Otree	576	$20	$60	$2	1					1									7.5	9			$83.13
1	1	Peak, James	580	$20	$56	$17	1					1	1								8				$93.00
1	1	Wahlahyahha	584	$16	$56	$16	2					1									9	92			$137.00
1	1	Sketah	588	$30	$16	$16	2					1									2	2			$63.00
1	1	Chulaayyah	593	$16	$84	$7	2														10.5	12	8		$121.00
1	1	Cholachiohatley	594	$18	$96	$0	1														12	32	12		$136.00
1	1	Yonahwalt	596	$27	$40	$24	3						1								5	43	5		$119.00
1	1	Caahneettah	602	$20	$173	$6	1					1									18	9			$203.00
1	1	Iuka	605	$25	$207	$16	2					1									23	8			$252.00
1	1	Caucaleekee	606	$25	$67	$36	3														8.5	25	7		$156.00
1	1	Watassatee	611	$35	$56	$0	1														7				$91.00
1	1	Caunahsole	614	$20	$55	$19	2					2									5.5	10			$99.00
1	1	Ohullakah	616	$30	$35	$16	2					1									3.5	7			$87.38
1	1	Cowatageesky	635	$27	$14	$44	4														2	13	1		$89.25
1	1	Kaheetah	641	$14	$50	$18	2	1													5.5	24	2		$96.50
1	1	Chewkeeaskee	648	$20	$146	$14	2					2									17	21	12		$214.50
1	1	Lawlaw	649	$22	$117	$13	2					1									13	24	16		$224.00
1	1	Chittowee	650	$16	$41	$8	1					1									4.5	14	4		$77.50
1	1	Sataka	655	$28	$96	$61	4	1				1									12	45	15		$222.38
1	1	Belislogee	661	$30	$54	$47	4					1	1								6	28	10		$175.00
1	1	Jo Chuck	675	$16	$72	$23	4					1									9		6		$112.50
1	1	Scott, Arch	677	$16	$48	$5	2														6	11			$74.50
1	1	Culchusta	685	$28	$50	$20	2														5.5	3	4		$102.00
1	1	Killdeer, Jack Jr	688	$16	$48	$14	2														6				$78.00
1	1	Nanny	689	$25	$80	$32	3						1								10				$137.00
1	1	Lige, John	691	$30	$56	$20	2						1								7				$106.00
1	1	Tesonahee	694	$26	$104	$15	2														13	40			$165.00
1	1	Old Otter	698	$17	$40	$10	2														5	35			$80.13
1	1	Callelohee	699	$28	$60	$27	3	1				1									6	2			$116.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
1	1	Cullahquesaw	705	$25	$40	$20	2														5				$85.00
2	2	Welch, John	108	$191	$1,376	$417	11		1	2	1	2	5				1	1		2	164.5	260	9		$2,120.00
2	2	Raper, Thomas	621	$200	$643	$467	2		1	1		1		1			1	2	1		68.5	63	13	12	$1,370.00
3	3	John Wayne [Jr.]	2	$32	$140	$55	3													1	14	25	9		$248.50
3	3	Sweetwater	51	$45	$205	$57	4													1	21	24	13		$337.50
3	3	Wickliff, John	53	$55	$158	$50	2	1				1	1								18	125	5		$343.63
3	3	Kell,Andrew	85	$22	$236	$44	4					1									30	59	4		$343.50
3	3	Blythe, James	103	$20	$352	$6	1					1									38	28	4		$394.00
3	3	Hanks, Margret	107	$40	$215	$106	3			1	1	2	2						1	1	21.5	2			$362.00
3	3	Culsawee	123	$32	$180	$62	1	1				1									18	45	25		$330.00
3	3	Wacheecha	129	$50	$410	$48	2					2				1					80		5		$528.00
3	3	Kulkeene	285	$40	$150	$45	3	1				1	1								15	34	3		$245.00
3	3	Balltown George	389	$18	$357	$24	2	1				1									53	33	1		$416.50
3	3	Caheswee	407	$60	$170	$52	3	1				1	1								17	105	16		$383.75
3	3	Silversmith, Selia	428	$40	$122	$50	3	1				1									13.5	5	40		$291.50
3	3	Downing, Jack	430	$45	$300	$58	3					1	1								30	69	62		$565.75
3	3	Satagah	474	$50	$117	$60	3					2			1		1				13	50	6		$278.50
3	3	Annatah	475	$40	$133	$55	2					2	1								15	25	2		$250.50
3	3	Muskrat, John	511	$45	$54	$75	5	1				1									6		4		$176.00
3	3	Muskrat, Robin	533	$45	$273	$22	1	1				1	1								30.5	61	36		$416.50
3	3	Aquillah	544	$40	$144	$54	3					2									18	30			$262.13
3	3	Grass, Jesse	559	$45	$176	$34	3														22	170			$328.50
3	3	Walker, Caty	565	$35	$216	$56	3	1		1			1							1	27	200	33		$506.00
3	3	Buffington, Charles	570	$45	$128	$52	2			1		1	1								16	10	3		$237.50
3	3	Peter	581	$63	$128	$110	5	1		1		1	1								16	39	11	16	$343.38
3	3	Sutawakee	604	$40	$500	$40	4														50	29	1		$598.75
3	3	Toonanatalah	633	$30	$270	$61	2					3			1						27	40			$381.00
3	3	Christie, Jack	637	$60	$260	$95	5					1	2								26	53			$449.75
3	3	Cheslequillanah	683	$50	$159	$95	6														18	58	35		$358.38

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
3	3	Sullsah	700	$30	$150	$54	3	2				1									43	6	1		$238.00
4	4	Christie, Ned	47	$50	$650	$108	2			1		4	2		1						65	95	78	9	$934.25
4	4	Smith, Henry	54	$110	$460	$79	4			1			1								46	19	10		$659.75
4	4	Smith, Sally	58	$70	$536	$212	1			1		1	1		1			1			54		18	9	$881.38
4	4	England, Jonathan	423	$140	$810	$81	2					3	2								81	1	2		$1,032.25
4	4	Downing, Dick	427	$110	$636	$79	3					1	1								64	62	53		$907.00
4	4	Blair, George	532	$130	$323	$181	6	1		1		2	2								33.25	189	51	1	$876.00
4	4	Bear's Paw	679	$60	$367	$147	8									1					46	177	44		$747.38
5	5	Morris, Gideon	117	$71	$1,864	$605	5			1		6	3					1			267.5	36	95	7	$2,588.25
6	6	Atohee	188	$200	$138	$33	3					2									13.5				$370.50
6	6	Chewwahchekah	209	$175	$114	$40	4	1													12.5	5	3		$336.00
7	1	Chicken	4	$12	$70	$10	2														7	26	6		$114.00
7	1	Connaluska	7	$25	$2	$0	1														0.25				$27.00
7	1	Conneweelah	10	$15	$32	$0	1														5				$47.00
7	1	Chinequa	11	$25	$21	$0	1														3				$46.00
7	1	Sinclu Killer	14	$25	$18	$0	1														2	25	4		$61.50
7	1	Murphy, Polly	22	$15	$54	$9	2						1								6	8	1		$82.50
7	1	Caty (Susan)	28	$10	$16	$0	1														2				$26.00
7	1	Johnston	29	$28	$54	$0	1														6	14	4		$94.50
7	1	George	32	$20	$16	$4	1					1									2				$40.00
7	1	Chinequah	34	$30	$6	$0	1														1				$36.00
7	1	Owl	35	$15	$20	$0	1														2.5				$35.00
7	1	Towee, John	37	$18	$40	$0	1														6				$58.00
7	1	Owl, Sam	38	$15	$27	$6	1					1									3				$48.00
7	1	Eteconake	40	$18	$18	$0	1														2	5			$38.50
7	1	Ookalulla	41	$15	$50	$0	1														5.5				$64.50
7	1	Cousulatah	42	$16	$30	$6	1	1													8				$52.00
7	1	Auseena	45	$15	$36	$0	1														4	19			$60.50
7	1	Will	48	$20	$18	$10	2														2		7		$49.75

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				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Kaneesa	49	$25	$28	$0	1														3.5	16		5	$66.88
7	1	Woman Holder	64	$13	$75	$0	1														7.5	1			$88.75
7	1	Chatowwee	65	$8	$25	$0	1														2.5	6	1	4	$38.00
7	1	Little Smoke	68	$12	$76	$12	2					1									9	35	13		$122.50
7	1	Yoxah	69	$15	$70	$0	1														7	2			$86.00
7	1	Locust	75	$20	$44	$2	1					1									5.5	3			$74.25
7	1	Cuttaclanah	76	$12	$18	$0	1														2				$30.00
7	1	Teconequaloska	77	$15	$64	$0	1														8	31	17		$128.50
7	1	Bears Paw, Buck	80	$18	$44	$0	1														5.5				$62.00
7	1	Bears Paw, Tom	82	$20	$18	$0	1														2	9	2		$43.00
7	1	Tucker, John	84	$15	$30	$0	1														4				$45.00
7	1	Annaka	86	$16	$18	$0	1														1	8			$38.00
7	1	Hawkins, John	88	$9	$16	$0	1														2				$25.00
7	1	Tooney	89	$12	$22	$12	2					1									3	58			$74.50
7	1	Jones, Charley	90	$8	$57	$6	1					1									7	65			$95.38
7	1	Cheeatowista	91	$15	$12	$0	1														2	16			$35.00
7	1	Techuxkah	92	$10	$66	$0	1														8	33	14		$99.50
7	1	Locust, Joseph	93	$18	$8	$0	1														1	31	3		$43.00
7	1	Naneconoha	94	$20	$42	$0	1														6	79			$101.50
7	1	Obediah	96	$15	$5	$0	1														*				$20.00
7	1	Skilla	97	$14	$36	$10	1	1				1									4.5	11			$65.50
7	1	Conteskey	99	$12	$72	$10	1	1				1									8	29	2		$109.50
7	1	Saluwaya	100	$15	$40	$3	1														5	16	8		$72.50
7	1	Catequaskey	101	$20	$32	$0	1														4		2		$52.50
7	1	Nickoty	102	$12	$12	$0	1														1.5				$24.00
7	1	Tiokcaukeeska	104	$16	$20	$6	1					1									2.5	22			$50.25
7	1	Jeheealee	111	$20	$36	$4	2														4	16	1		$71.00
7	1	Cullacholata	113	$12	$57	$0	1														5.5				$69.00
7	1	Olela	114	$18	$13	$9	1					1									0.5	1	2		$45.50

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				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Alawhee	115	$10	$1	$0	1														*	2			$12.00
7	1	Pathkiller	118	$12	$5	$8	2														0.5				$25.00
7	1	Salawagya	120	$12	$20	$0	1														2				$32.00
7	1	Cuttiee	125	$10	$27	$0	1														4	21	5		$49.50
7	1	Chewlowee	127	$10	$30	$2	1	1													3				$42.00
7	1	Daniel, Jinny	135	$15	$10	$0	1														1	48	5		$65.00
7	1	Aunilla	136	$13	$30	$0	1														3	27	4		$68.25
7	1	Walla	138	$16	$24	$4	1	1													*	4	4		$58.00
7	1	Sarah	140	$10	$6	$0	1														*				$16.00
7	1	Jonny Wayne	143	$16	$51	$0	1														6	5			$68.88
7	1	Sinkakoo	144	$30	$25	$0	1														2.5				$55.00
7	1	Catey	146	$18	$10	$0	1														1.5				$28.00
7	1	Old Coon	149	$27	$40	$10	2														0.5	13	8		$83.00
7	1	Locust	152	$10	$20	$11	1	1				1									2.25	7	1		$43.25
7	1	Satahka	153	$14	$24	$0	1														3				$38.00
7	1	Double Pots Sitting	160	$16	$40	$0	1														5	15	11		$77.25
7	1	Welah, Jake	161	$10	$7	$8	2														*				$25.00
7	1	Cuttiwah	163	$10	$12	$0	1														1.5	11	3		$30.50
7	1	Noonatahowyah	164	$17	$4	$1	2														*				$22.00
7	1	Cunnanatuskah	165	$20	$10	$0	1														1	4			$32.00
7	1	Sutalla	166	$18	$36	$0	1														5	16	12		$61.00
7	1	Dave	168	$12	$28	$0	1														4	27	8		$61.75
7	1	Standing Deer	169	$18	$18	$0	1														2.5				$35.50
7	1	Connechewayah	170	$8	$63	$5	1					1									7	42	5		$104.75
7	1	Oncheestahneele	171	$18	$14	$0	1														1.5	12	1		$34.63
7	1	Toniah	175	$15	$28	$13	3														3.5	12	5		$74.50
7	1	Conalukeahee	176	$25	$20	$8	1	1													2.5	23	6		$69.00
7	1	Salolaahneeta	177	$10	$18	$14	1														2.5	1	14		$77.00
7	1	Conneenetah	178	$25	$36	$12	2					1									4.5	31	25		$130.75

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																		
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Oochalutah	179	$15	$24	$7	1	1													3	106	9		$74.75
7	1	Sautah	180	$8	$40	$13	1					1									2.5	50	8		$93.00
7	1	Oostalofty	183	$11	$20	$13	1	1				1									2.5				$44.00
7	1	Townee	184	$13	$27	$0	1														3	27	1		$51.75
7	1	Alsey	185	$15	$18	$0	1														2				$33.00
7	1	Cheesquayah	186	$10	$45	$0	1														4.5	7			$58.50
7	1	Onneloohee	189	$10	$40	$11	1	1				1									4	24	1		$75.00
7	1	Atolahee	190	$15	$2	$0	1														*				$17.00
7	1	Alequah	191	$15	$10	$8	2														1	6	1		$34.75
7	1	Culsuttahee	192	$14	$25	$0	1														2.5	14			$46.00
7	1	Chayahtahee	193	$15	$12	$2	1					1									1.5				$29.00
7	1	Nonalelah	194	$18	$20	$0	1														2	3	1		$40.50
7	1	Ahquatakee	195	$13	$76	$0	1														9.5	12	3		$99.50
7	1	Weocistah	196	$14	$34	$12	1	1				1									6	55			$87.50
7	1	Enolee	197	$15	$18	$0	1														2.5	30	3		$123.00
7	1	Solelah	198	$12	$16	$5	1		1											1	2				$33.00
7	1	Ooclanotah	200	$18	$12	$0	1														1.5				$30.00
7	1	Standing Turkey	201	$11	$48	$3	1														6	30	24		$149.00
7	1	Chewwachakah	203	$16	$24	$0	1														3	3	5		$43.25
7	1	Saunanah	211	$15	$71	$0	1														8	14	6		$117.00
7	1	Nakee	212	$16	$27	$2	1					1									3	37			$63.50
7	1	Culsuttahee	213	$18	$24	$0	1														3	6	1		$46.00
7	1	Culquotaka	214	$18	$18	$0	1														2				$36.00
7	1	Chutahallatah	217	$15	$9	$0	1														3				$24.00
7	1	John	218	$10	$45	$0	1														5				$55.00
7	1	Tomakah	219	$14	$12	$0	1														1.5	3	2		$37.50
7	1	Ahtasuttahee	220	$14	$20	$0	1														2.5		1		$34.50
7	1	Tesuiskah	222	$10	$28	$0	1														3.5	10	4		$57.00
7	1	Oochostosah	226	$18	$15	$0	1														2		2		$35.50

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Salexqua	227	$15	$7	$0	1														1				$22.00
7	1	Kanchee	228	$10	$30	$13	2	1													4.5				$53.00
7	1	Anakeeka	229	$18	$24	$4	1					1									3				$46.00
7	1	Kojah	230	$25	$20	$4	1	1													2.5	24	13		$74.00
7	1	Aquatakee	231	$15	$20	$0	1														2.5	10	1		$37.50
7	1	Teanalawhista	232	$20	$24	$0	1														4	30	17		$80.25
7	1	Enequa	233	$30	$40	$5	1					1									5	3			$75.75
7	1	Wakakoo	234	$30	$56	$6	2					1									7	35	11		$130.37
7	1	Wayaneeta	235	$12	$20	$10	1														2.5	7	6		$43.63
7	1	Nancy	238	$8	$56	$3	1					1									7	28			$75.00
7	1	Katy	240	$12	$56	$6	1					1								1	7	15	22		$161.00
7	1	Teteenestky	242	$15	$8	$0															1				$23.00
7	1	Arkuluke	246	$14	$28	$10	2														4	6			$53.50
7	1	Oonasuttah	247	$12	$64	$3	1	1				1									8	24	6		$100.00
7	1	Callawallah	248	$12	$16	$0	1														2		1		$31.00
7	1	Cannenateessha	249	$15	$16	$0	1														2	10	1		$40.00
7	1	Tooalah	250	$25	$8	$0	1														1				$33.00
7	1	Tukaneeska	253	$10	$40	$7	1	1													3	8			$61.00
7	1	Tickconnewtuska	254	$13	$48	$0	1														6	8			$65.00
7	1	Charly	255	$8	$32	$0	1														4				$40.00
7	1	Katy	258	$12	$48	$8	1	1				1									6	13			$71.25
7	1	Tom	259	$12	$56	$4	1					1									7	9	6		$85.50
7	1	Walker, John	261	$20	$28	$0	1														3.5	6			$49.50
7	1	Cannaskeeskah	262	$6	$16	$0															2				$22.00
7	1	Kachuah	263	$12	$16	$6	1					2									2	8			$38.00
7	1	Cannantee	266	$16	$16	$0	1														2	4			$32.50
7	1	Yonahneyaskah	268	$16	$56	$2	1					1									7	1	5		$89.50
7	1	Tutustah	270	$10	$40	$0	1														5				$50.00
7	1	Jim	271	$12	$28	$11	2														3.5				$51.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Johne Waine	272	$10	$32	$7	1					1	1								4				$49.00
7	1	Jinney	273	$10	$16	$0	1														2	8	3		$31.50
7	1	Toutlatah	274	$10	$8	$2	1					1									1				$20.00
7	1	Chennanyahkee	278	$12	$16	$0	1														2				$28.00
7	1	Culstiah	279	$12	$44	$7	1	1				1									5.5	3			$64.50
7	1	Olstenah	280	$15	$1	$0	1														*				$16.00
7	1	Telallahee	281	$12	$49	$5	1	1				1									7	24	1		$81.00
7	1	Going Panther	286	$18	$18	$10	1														2				$46.00
7	1	Little George	291	$8	$10	$0															1				$18.00
7	1	Tahyahna	293	$18	$23	$6	2														2.5	17	1		$56.00
7	1	Little Deer	295	$6	$36	$0															4				$42.00
7	1	Ahniahahchinah	299	$14	$32	$3	1					1									4	23			$60.50
7	1	Cheesquah	301	$8	$44	$4	1					1									6	16			$65.00
7	1	Ecooah	304	$12	$1	$0	1														*				$13.20
7	1	Jake	305	$18	$48	$0	1														6	2			$67.00
7	1	Gipson, John	309	$8	$40	$0	1														8	48			$72.00
7	1	Bekey	310	$15	$24	$0	1														3	11			$44.50
7	1	Skittakee	311	$12	$14	$0	1														2	25			$32.25
7	1	Jesse	312	$10	$10	$0	1														1.5				$20.00
7	1	Teekeegeeta	313	$10	$42	$4	1					1									6				$56.00
7	1	Teceeneskee	314	$10	$21	$0	1														3	14			$38.00
7	1	Path killer	315	$12	$33	$0	1														4.5				$45.00
7	1	Big Tom	317	$15	$28	$0	1														4	5			$45.50
7	1	Fishing Hawk	320	$10	$14	$15	2						1								2	13			$42.25
7	1	Waitee	321	$15	$28	$7	1	1				1									3.5				$50.00
7	1	Cloud	326	$30	$15	$5	2	1													2.5		9		$81.50
7	1	Oocaseetee	329	$12	$30	$4	1					1									4	1	1		$49.50
7	1	Amachanah	331	$15	$11	$6	1	1													1.5	6			$34.50
7	1	Nawattah	333	$10	$18	$0	1														3	50	2		$61.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Tickconneeska	336	$10	$68	$12	2					1									9	55	5		$161.25
7	1	Tecossenakee	337	$15	$12	$10	1														1.5				$37.00
7	1	Yankee	338	$16	$8	$0	1														1				$24.00
7	1	Culatksaw	340	$8	$4	$0	1														0.5				$12.00
7	1	Aneetsah	341	$15	$24	$5	2														3				$44.00
7	1	Oolitee	342	$14	$56	$3	1					1									7				$73.00
7	1	Oonosah	343	$12	$24	$0	1														3	8			$40.00
7	1	Hogbite	344	$10	$64	$10	1						1								8		10		$114.00
7	1	Chalowee	345	$8	$24	$16	1														8	7	1		$53.50
7	1	Deer Out of the Water	346	$12	$8	$0	1														1				$20.00
7	1	Takah	348	$14	$36	$0	1														4.5	34			$67.00
7	1	Naqueesah	349	$10	$2	$0	1														*				$11.50
7	1	Ahyanoolah	352	$25	$49	$0	1														7				$74.00
7	1	Elowee	353	$20	$35	$0	1														5				$55.00
7	1	Suaga	354	$8	$12	$0	1														1.5				$20.00
7	1	Shawnee John	355	$8	$96	$0	1														12	4			$105.00
7	1	Little Nanney	356	$12	$53	$4	1					1									7.5	17	30		$103.25
7	1	Crier, Jane	364	$10	$44	$5	1					1									5.5	9	12		$121.25
7	1	Dull Hoe	367	$25	$63	$7	1	1													9	31	15		$121.63
7	1	Ootaneeska	369	$12	$80	$12	1	1				1									5	14	4		$115.13
7	1	Mouse	370	$14	$24	$4	1					1									3				$42.00
7	1	Oonacheesta	371	$22	$40	$7	1	1													6	1			$69.75
7	1	Naka	373	$10	$55	$3	1					1									5				$68.00
7	1	Nancy	375	$18	$18	$6	1					1									2	6	2	1	$46.50
7	1	Chickooee	380	$13	$63	$3	1					1									7	1			$79.50
7	1	Ahyagah	384	$12	$60	$4	1					1									3	71	8		$139.50
7	1	Chewtoquannakah	386	$10	$45	$0	1														5				$55.00
7	1	Otter Lifter	387	$12	$20	$0	1														2.5	9	2		$34.75
7	1	Betsey	388	$20	$35	$0	1														5	14	8		$71.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Cuttee	391	$22	$40	$0	1														5	30			$77.00
7	1	Lige, John	392	$9	$18	$0	1														2.25				$27.00
7	1	Davis, John	393	$10	$10	$0	1														1				$20.00
7	1	Chiulahsatah	394	$20	$48	$0	1														6	8	2		$78.00
7	1	Chiulah	400	$12	$20	$0	1														2	30	1		$59.50
7	1	Ataukeskey	402	$9	$14	$0	1														2	3			$26.00
7	1	Juquah	409	$14	$28	$0	1														3.5				$42.00
7	1	Stenson	410	$12	$10	$0	1														1				$22.00
7	1	Sapsucker	413	$12	$16	$0	1														2				$28.00
7	1	Amoseosita	415	$12	$28	$0	1														3	2			$41.00
7	1	Chewchuah	419	$25	$24	$10	2														3	3	2		$61.00
7	1	Ginny	420.5	$18	$47	$0	1	1													6	20	33		$95.00
7	1	Atolahee	421	$15	$12	$0	1														1.5				$27.00
7	1	Oochallah	425	$25	$56	$9	1					1									7				$90.00
7	1	Ahsene	432	$15	$8	$0	1														1				$23.00
7	1	Colachee	433	$15	$11	$0	1														1.5				$25.50
7	1	Tucker, John	434	$20	$48	$6	1					1									6	33	3		$91.25
7	1	Nickochee	436	$7	$32	$3	1					1									4	37	10		$57.50
7	1	Tucker, Isaac	437	$28	$3	$8	1						1								*				$39.00
7	1	Oolahnahee	438	$12	$18	$0	1														2	3			$31.50
7	1	Josawattah	439	$22	$24	$0	1														3	21			$51.25
7	1	Shavehead, John	440	$15	$32	$0	1														4	6			$50.00
7	1	Aquiah	441	$13	$49	$0	1														7	82			$103.00
7	1	Keenah	444	$14	$12	$6	1					1									1.5		6		$38.00
7	1	Silversmith, Susan	447	$23	$5	$0	1														0.5				$28.00
7	1	Tattia	449	$18	$14	$0	1														1.5				$31.50
7	1	Tickahwatatiska	450	$16	$14	$0	1														2				$30.00
7	1	Yonaquah	451	$12	$49	$7	1					1									5.5	41			$81.75
7	1	Robins, Johnson	452	$18	$32	$3	1					1									4	3			$54.50

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Johny Wainee	453	$7	$18	$4	1					1									2.5	19			$38.00
7	1	Caneetahtah	454	$12	$25	$10	2														3.5	77	8		$66.20
7	1	Connahhayatake	455	$12	$21	$4	1					1									3	22	4		$47.50
7	1	Charles, Jim	456	$18	$35	$0	1														5	1	2		$54.50
7	1	Ootiah	458	$12	$10	$4	1					1									1				$26.00
7	1	Oolachawee	459	$13	$8	$0	1														1	36			$39.00
7	1	Shuwaga	461	$18	$5	$0	1														*				$22.50
7	1	Darky	463	$20	$32	$8	1	1													4	119	19		$109.38
7	1	Standing Turkey, Walla	465	$20	$28	$0	1														3.2				$48.00
7	1	Chuechee	467	$7	$6	$0	1														0.75	2	3		$23.00
7	1	Snail, John	468	$16	$40	$3	1					1									5		6		$62.00
7	1	Chersolah	469	$15	$28	$4	1					1									3.5				$47.00
7	1	Downing, Jim	470	$25	$14	$12	2														1.5				$80.50
7	1	Toowatate	473	$13	$12	$7	1	1				1									1.5				$32.00
7	1	Yanaquah	477	$16	$63	$6	1					1									7		2		$89.00
7	1	Costiah	478	$14	$24	$8	2														4	26	1		$54.00
7	1	Stananah	482	$18	$24	$12	2														3				$54.00
7	1	Kitagiskee, Johnson	485	$12	$32	$6	2														4				$50.00
7	1	Anenetooyah	486	$14	$40	$6	1					1									5	10	1		$62.75
7	1	Arch	487	$14	$32	$8	1														4		12		$58.25
7	1	Culsowee	488	$16	$10	$6	1	1													1.25		53		$88.50
7	1	Arch	489	$10	$24	$7	1	1													3				$41.00
7	1	Wallatsah	490	$8	$12	$0	1														1.5				$20.00
7	1	Oowahysattah	491	$20	$10	$0	1														2				$30.00
7	1	Oochastosah	492	$25	$60	$14	2														7.5	7			$102.50
7	1	Washsa	495	$14	$16	$0	1														2				$30.00
7	1	Nancy	496	$12	$36	$0	1														4.5	53	7		$98.25
7	1	Downing, Charles	497	$14	$32	$3	1					1									4		7		$51.63
7	1	Cawanista	498	$25	$48	$11	1	1				1									6	11	6		$97.50

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																		
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution,	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Alaguska	500	$14	$12	$4	1	1													1.5				$30.00
7	1	Waylarchy	501	$8	$32	$3	2														4	12			$49.00
7	1		506	$4	$8	$6															*				$18.00
7	1	Awiea	507	$14	$12	$0	1														1.5				$26.00
7	1	Johnson	508	$14	$12	$0	1														1.5				$26.00
7	1	Tickanooteahah	509	$14	$12	$4	1	1													1.5				$30.00
7	1	Tucker, Jerry	519	$20	$48	$8	2						1								6				$76.00
7	1	Wahyahaniah	521	$12	$2	$0	1														*				$14.00
7	1	Antowee, Sam	522	$10	$8	$0	1														1	15	3		$22.13
7	1	Toayahheella	526	$14	$9	$0	1														1.5				$23.00
7	1	Cannerka (Grass)	527	$12	$8	$8	2														1				$28.00
7	1	Keener, Jim	528	$14	$32	$0	1														4				$46.00
7	1	Tucker, Betsey	529	$15	$8	$12	2														1				$35.00
7	1	Tucker, Katy	530	$13	$40	$0	1														5				$53.00
7	1	Grass, Nancy	531	$13	$28	$0	1														3.5				$41.00
7	1	Tayee, Jinny	534	$10	$25	$7	2														3.5	35			$53.38
7	1	Tokahyahtah	539	$9	$14	$6	2														2	10			$36.50
7	1	Oosteeley & Oolsicsita	543	$14	$8	$0	1														1.5				$21.50
7	1	Little Nancy	546	$15	$24	$4	1					1									3				$43.00
7	1	Sarah	547	$12	$16	$0	1														2				$28.00
7	1	Jones, Chinnahque	549	$20	$28	$0	1														3.5		28		$62.00
7	1	Lige, John	550	$25	$44	$0	1														5.5		29		$83.50
7	1	Hopping Dick	551	$18	$28	$7	1					1									3.5				$53.00
7	1	Taltagatah	554	$15	$5	$0	1														*				$20.00
7	1	Owgeechee	555	$15	$5	$14	2														0.5				$34.00
7	1	Lying Fish	556	$22	$28	$6	1					1									3.5	2			$56.75
7	1	Tooyahhullah	557	$22	$24	$0	1														3				$46.00
7	1	Kulkeener	558	$10	$1	$0	1														*				$11.00
7	1	Tiannah	560	$15	$27	$0	1														3				$42.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Keetlaoostee	561	$16	$18	$0	1														2	76			$72.00
7	1	Sigeowee	569	$9	$42	$0	1														7	30	9		$80.00
7	1	Ootagoosta	573	$14	$66	$0	1														11				$80.00
7	1		574	$15	$5	$0															*				$20.00
7	1	Otree, John	575	$20	$20	$6	2														2.5				$46.00
7	1	Cowaneestee	577	$18	$14	$0	1														2				$32.00
7	1	Cullalohee	578	$20	$20	$0	1														2.5				$40.00
7	1	Buffington, Betsey	579	$13	$38	$0	1														11.5				$51.00
7	1	Oocahweea	582	$15	$40	$0	1														5				$55.00
7	1	Chulaahwah	583	$25	$44	$3	1					1									5.5	10			$74.50
7	1	Ookasquata	585	$20	$24	$2	1					1									3				$46.00
7	1	Chicanah	586	$10	$12	$0	1														1.5				$22.00
7	1	Cloud	587	$7	$64	$0	1														8		11		$97.50
7	1	Wally	589	$14	$20	$0	1														2.5	40			$44.00
7	1	Stroler	590	$10	$35	$2	1					1									5	24	33		$125.00
7	1	Cohuttatah	591	$7	$35	$0	1														5	2	1		$47.50
7	1	Stump	592	$13	$72	$0	1														9	65	8		$133.50
7	1	Wahta	595	$16	$16	$0	1														2				$32.00
7	1	Walker, John	598	$12	$28	$0	1														3.5				$40.00
7	1	Waheyonekah	599	$20	$24	$0	1														3		2		$46.25
7	1	Towatsee	607	$12	$51	$0	1														*	52	4		$110.00
7	1	Swimmer	608	$20	$44	$0	1														5.5				$64.00
7	1	Jake	609	$12	$12	$0	1														1.5				$24.00
7	1	Keenahteete	610	$20	$25	$0	1														3.5	52			$64.00
7	1	Stroler, Nainey	612	$20	$8	$0	1														1				$28.00
7	1	Old Hoe	613	$12	$39	$18	2					1									4	27	4		$91.50
7	1	Tomacha (Horsefly)	615	$13	$50	$9	1	1				1									5		2		$78.00
7	1	Smoke, Olscositee	617	$15	$10	$5	1					1									1				$30.00
7	1	Ainney	618	$15	$35	$0	1														3.5				$50.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Tulasanah	620	$25	$38	$2	1					1									4	1			$65.50
7	1	Wafford, James	623	$28	$55	$8	1					1	1								5.5	21			$101.50
7	1	Cataquasky	624	$28	$50	$6	1						1								5				$84.00
7	1	Darkey	625	$12	$30	$2	1					1									3	47			$63.25
7	1	Cherokee, George	626	$25	$35	$0	1														3.5				$60.00
7	1	Tieiskee	628	$14	$3	$12	2														*				$29.00
7	1	Clahneesee	629	$20	$6	$0	1														1				$26.00
7	1	Tuttiee	634	$25	$32	$0	1														4	17			$59.12
7	1	Chusawhee	640	$12	$38	$0	1														4.5				$49.50
7	1	Towyahleesee	643	$14	$36	$12	2														4.5	16			$70.00
7	1	Ahhetah & Chickea	644	$25	$70	$8	1					1									7	52	3		$138.00
7	1	Clauseenah	645	$20	$29	$6	2														3.25	2	5	1	$63.00
7	1	Sulu (Buzzard)	646	$25	$54	$10	1					1									6	2	11		$116.00
7	1	Caty	647	$22	$36	$0	1														4	15	1		$70.25
7	1	Keeneetehee	652	$13	$34	$5	2														4	11	2		$57.63
7	1	Ahseenee	653	$12	$24	$0	1														3	9	7		$56.75
7	1	Cullelahee	654	$12	$12	$0	1														1.5				$24.00
7	1	Cullolohee	656	$20	$24	$0	1														3				$44.00
7	1	Sunday	657	$10	$11	$0	1														1.5				$20.50
7	1	Chunohahah	658	$15	$64	$3	1					1									9	33	5		$102.75
7	1	Scoulgah	659	$20	$43	$10	2														4.75	6	1		$78.00
7	1	Sualah	660	$23	$18	$3	2														2				$44.00
7	1	Callculiakee	662	$15	$24	$0	1														3	23	5		$60.50
7	1	Chocoah	663	$25	$56	$8	2														7	50	8		$134.00
7	1	Christie, Dave	665	$20	$20	$0	1														4				$40.00
7	1	Christie, Johnson	666	$12	$18	$0	1														3.5				$29.50
7	1	Tootahsoallelah	667	$14	$72	$0	1														9	10	30	50	$148.50
7	1	Scowsah	668	$16	$12	$0	1														1.5				$28.00
7	1	Tutitill	669	$25	$41	$0	1						1								4.5				$65.50

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
7	1	Chickooah	670	$16	$36	$0	1														4.5	14	26		$113.50
7	1	Pheasant	671	$13	$32	$20	3														4	8			$69.00
7	1	Chewanah	672	$8	$16	$9	2					1									2		3		$33.75
7	1	Coldweather, Jack	673	$25	$20	$6	2														2.5	6			$54.00
7	1	Ahwohalah	674	$25	$28	$12	2														4	28			$79.00
7	1	Sahchasa	676	$18	$12	$5	2														1.5	25			$47.50
7	1	Rowben Lowina	680	$12	$16	$0	1														2	4			$29.50
7	1	Saloolataney	681	$14	$32	$12	2														4	18			$62.50
7	1	Oonakah	682	$14	$20	$6	2														2.5				$40.00
7	1	Punk	687	$25	$40	$12	2														5				$77.00
7	1	Nickatice	690	$14	$20	$10	2														2.5	4			$45.00
7	1	Sutalataha	693	$22	$48	$8	1	1													6				$78.00
7	1	Cannacah	697	$15	$27	$4	1					1									3				$46.00
7	1	Kahnaskah	702	$25	$28	$12	1					1									3.5				$65.00
7	1	Panther	703	$25	$40	$0	1														5	2			$67.00
7	1	Segowee	706	$20	$30	$5	1					1									5	16	1		$69.00
8	4	Timson, John	57	$100	$502	$343	8		1	2	1	1	2						1	1	58	38	1	4	$958.70
8	4	Colvard, Andrew	110	$55	$718	$337	9		1	1		1	3					1			60.75	18			$1,119.00
9	3	Watcheesee,Sam	8	$40	$88	$1	2						1							2	11	4			$131.00
9	3	Chewnewhaka	33	$50	$76	$47	3	1					1								10	3	2		$176.00
9	3	Smith, Sarah	56	$54	$73	$31	1		1	1											10	24	6		$172.25
9	3	Wanenoha	98	$65	$32	$8	2														4		2		$105.50
9	3	Slow water	205	$75	$77	$26	2	1					1								8.5	20	6		$185.50
9	3	Askaquah	206	$55	$16	$12	1					1									2	3	5		$92.00
9	3	Oohnullah	224	$75	$40	$64	3	1				4	2								5	110	53		$313.50
9	3	Rattler	287	$45	$90	$15	2					1									9	21	20		$153.93
9	3	Connausuteeskee	288	$55	$10	$19	2						1								5	38			$93.50
9	3	Oostanakee	296	$45	$63	$0	1														7				$108.00
9	3	Nelly	318	$60	$48	$24	2	1													6	34	2		$150.00

Appendix II. Summary of 1836-1837 federal appraisals of Cherokee real properties in southwestern North Carolina, with cluster assignments.

				values (1837 $)			counts																	
12 cluster solution	6 cluster solution	household	valuation no.	dwelling value	cropland value	outbuildings value	cabin/house	hothouse	kitchen	smokehouse	springhouse	corn crib	stable	barn	stillhouse	blacksmith shop	shop	mill	store	misc. building	acreage†	peach tree	apple tree	cherry tree	total property value
9	3	Cheeschew	322	$45	$80	$14	1	1				2									10	19	7		$153.25
9	3	Old Rabbit	339	$45	$56	$8	1	1				1									7				$109.00
9	3	Cloud	362	$50	$98	$38	3					1									12	6			$187.50
9	3	Toostoo	363	$55	$99	$50	4					1	1								11	6	21		$207.25
9	3	Allbones	365	$45	$81	$15	2														9				$141.00
9	3	Arch	406	$50	$110	$10	2														11		6		$176.00
9	3	Little Betsey	429	$55	$56	$32	2					1									6.5	4			$145.00
9	3	Chonoyakah	503	$55	$63	$45	2					2	1								7	78	11		$225.00
9	3	Acooah	517	$50	$32	$2	1					1									4	36	8		$113.50
9	3	Nancy Timpson	545	$40	$24	$0	1														3				$64.00
9	3	Celia	548	$50	$24	$12	2														3				$86.00
9	3	Ginney	600	$50	$87	$26	3					2									12	39	6		$190.50
9	3	Fallen, Edmund	630	$65	$4	$35	3				1										*				$104.00
9	3	Christie, Dick	636	$50	$33	$10	1														4.5	19	3	1	$112.25
9	3	Raper, James	638	$70	$70	$20	1					1	1								7				$160.00
9	3	Owens, George	678	$70	$32	$28	2														4	12			$136.00
10	2	Raper, Jesse	631	$340	$1,000	$318	5		1	1	1	3	3	1	1				1		100	56	2	5	$1,699.75
11	5	England, David	542	$230	$1,837	$759	13	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	1	1		1		2	203.25	11	59		$2,866.50
12	3	John Wayne [Sr.]	20	$75	$187	$8	3					1									21	51	3		$297.00
12	3	Christie, John	27	$85	$204	$55	3		1			1	1								21	109			$406.00
12	3	Culsuttahee	172	$70	$220	$55	3	2				1									22	77	10		$418.13
12	3	Jekah	174	$100	$115	$25	2					2	1								13	5	10		$242.50
12	3	Arch	284	$70	$145	$42	3					2	1								14.5	8			$261.00
12	3	Wakee	619	$125	$131	$66	4					1	1								14				$322.00
12	3	Cullahsageesee	622	$75	$160	$64	2					2	1								16	65			$338.75
12	3	Boling, Anna	639	$80	$167	$48	3					1				1					23	14		2	$299.00

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
A	1	Catageeska, Will	556	F	$884	$80	$53	$80	$120	$650	$34	$6	$45	$26	$3	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$21	$0	$1	$5	$10	$1	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0
A	1	Walker, Betsy	50038	A	$857	$66	$101	$325	$130	$340	$62	$28	$0	$27	$12	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$17	$5	$14	$18	$43	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$22
A	1	Sucker	50122	F	$1,308	$97	$95	$200	$100	$1,000	$8	$14	$25	$44	$9	$5	$0	$0	$8	$25	$24	$6	$13	$17	$6	$8	$23	$0	$12	$3	$24
A	1	Ahstolah, Anna	50220	F	$1,648	$56	$50	$870	$285	$480	$13	$16	$0	$33	$6	$0	$0	$1	$9	$0	$25	$1	$2	$0	$10	$8	$5	$0	$0	$0	$15
A	1	Mocking Crow (heirs)	50222	F	$1,808	$65	$64	$900	$240	$660	$8	$20	$26	$9	$9	$0	$0	$2	$0	$220	$24	$0	$9	$8	$17	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
A	1	Buzzard, John	50269	F	$740	$71	$72	$389	$115	$230	$6	$26	$25	$6	$6	$0	$0	$9	$1	$0	$30	$11	$5	$0	$12	$14	$2	$1	$0	$0	$18
A	1	Adam (heirs)	50343	F	$908	$157	$78	$600	$0	$300	$8	$57	$39	$29	$32	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$22	$8	$0	$10	$14	$22	$3	$0	$25	$0	$21
A	1	JohnWayne	50385	F	$1,024	$107	$77	$250	$108	$660	$6	$22	$11	$39	$14	$0	$0	$21	$16	$0	$21	$3	$10	$0	$38	$4	$3	$0	$5	$0	$10
A	1	Polly (heirs)	50387	F	$1,371	$34	$64	$1,070	$155	$140	$6	$7	$0	$21	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$19	$6	$22	$17	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
A	1	Utsutaky	50401	F	$1,580	$92	$84	$1,210	$160	$210	$0	$28	$32	$0	$16	$3	$2	$12	$4	$0	$13	$1	$0	$8	$28	$5	$29	$1	$50	$76	$41
A	1	Toonigh	50402	F	$1,814	$25	$61	$710	$630	$470	$4	$9	$0	$11	$5	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$14	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$31	$0	$30	$0	$26
A	1	Jones, Charles	50465	A	$1,109	$110	$73	$219	$370	$416	$104	$23	$35	$42	$10	$0	$0	$0	$21	$0	$19	$0	$34	$0	$0	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15
A	1	Muskrat, Nancy	50500	F	$1,065	$105	$75	$204	$153	$610	$98	$23	$21	$46	$12	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$15	$6	$13	$14	$11	$11	$8	$4	$2	$0	$0
A	1	Muskrat, Robert (est	50638	A	$1,098	$133	$86	$410	$351	$235	$92	$77	$0	$45	$11	$2	$0	$0	$5	$5	$17	$4	$18	$27	$6	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$20
A	1	Christie, John	60051	A	$872	$98	$57	$160	$383	$315	$14	$39	$18	$22	$19	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$20	$4	$16	$8	$10	$0	$0	$0	$5	$5	$0
A	1	Susannah	70443	F	$623	$68	$85	$100	$184	$280	$59	$18	$20	$25	$6	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$11	$0	$9	$0	$10	$5	$50	$0	$0	$0	$42
B	2	Takalessutleska	483	F	$287	$58	$37	$54	$49	$170	$14	$11	$27	$13	$7	$1	$0	$0	$10	$0	$3	$4	$13	$3	$3	$0	$12	$0	$12	$0	$0
B	2	BigBear	565	F	$253	$67	$37	$80	$0	$155	$18	$21	$43	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$1	$2	$5	$0	$19	$0	$0	$0	$1
B	2	Lawlo	580	F	$149	$76	$47	$45	$0	$86	$18	$15	$29	$17	$14	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$18	$2	$9	$5	$8	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$4
B	2	Santoola	598	F	$144	$86	$59	$40	$15	$70	$19	$18	$50	$8	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$3	$3	$0	$4	$5	$40	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Donna	653	F	$341	$70	$38	$212	$15	$80	$34	$10	$30	$28	$2	$0	$0	$0	$5	$50	$13	$1	$0	$2	$16	$7	$0	$0	$10	$0	$94
B	2	Chinoque Owl	685	F	$110	$31	$83	$48	$0	$60	$2	$6	$8	$8	$8	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$4	$5	$9	$7	$23	$18	$0	$18	$80	$15
B	2	McDaniel, Elizabeth	1125	A	$0	$71	$128	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20	$10	$5	$11	$0	$0	$0	$23	$0	$7	$1	$0	$33	$62	$0	$50	$0	$0	$0	$41
B	2	Ougersquawtee	20102	F	$58	$57	$57	$16	$0	$40	$2	$11	$30	$6	$10	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$10	$3	$11	$18	$9	$7	$0	$2	$78	$0	$0
B	2	Nanney	30995	F	$160	$16	$130	$12	$132	$0	$14	$8	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$2	$40	$36	$14	$1	$6	$3	$70	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
B	2	Punk	40031	A	$206	$49	$43	$154	$40	$0	$12	$11	$25	$8	$5	$0	$0	$0	$2	$10	$14	$0	$1	$18	$6	$7	$0	$0	$5	$0	$21
B	2	Tucker, Jeremiah	41129	A	$255	$42	$59	$60	$12	$180	$3	$11	$25	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$2	$10	$2	$29	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Winny	50056	F	$128	$15	$55	$35	$48	$40	$5	$10	$2	$0	$3	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$4	$0	$6	$4	$5	$36	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	2	Junstutah	50095	F	$4	$30	$54	$0	$0	$0	$4	$6	$20	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$2	$4	$5	$2	$31	$0	$0	$0	$21
B	2	Sealy	50116	F	$164	$35	$58	$60	$20	$70	$14	$25	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$3	$13	$12	$10	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Ootyiah	50120	F	$213	$58	$48	$68	$92	$0	$53	$0	$1	$56	$1	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$19	$3	$8	$2	$7	$9	$0	$1	$0	$0	$4
B	2	Julidaskee	50124	F	$389	$77	$62	$154	$0	$230	$5	$12	$55	$1	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14	$4	$4	$1	$17	$12	$11	$4	$8	$0	$18

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
B	2	Tahtiah	50130	F	$65	$17	$74	$12	$48	$0	$5	$7	$1	$1	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$22	$2	$8	$0	$31	$12	$0	$2	$1	$9	$1
B	2	Gahdahguskee	50134	F	$1	$23	$64	$0	$0	$0	$1	$16	$0	$1	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13	$2	$3	$3	$8	$7	$30	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	YoungDuck	50253	F	$334	$69	$77	$84	$100	$80	$70	$9	$25	$24	$11	$0	$0	$1	$4	$0	$12	$7	$4	$12	$39	$4	$0	$0	$6	$55	$0
B	2	Ahyuhgee	50273	F	$161	$45	$39	$49	$40	$70	$2	$9	$0	$32	$4	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$12	$8	$6	$0	$2	$6	$7	$1	$0	$0	$11
B	2	BeaverToter	50284	F	$140	$59	$47	$77	$0	$60	$3	$18	$0	$18	$12	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$20	$3	$2	$5	$8	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	OldCoon	50331	F	$138	$61	$63	$6	$0	$130	$2	$17	$20	$7	$10	$6	$0	$1	$4	$0	$22	$3	$8	$4	$4	$5	$18	$0	$0	$0	$5
B	2	Chusuhwallee	50337	F	$125	$31	$55	$12	$80	$20	$13	$12	$0	$8	$11	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$16	$0	$5	$16	$10	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
B	2	Buffington, Charles	50341	A	$60	$55	$58	$0	$52	$0	$8	$21	$20	$9	$5	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$11	$4	$2	$29	$5	$0	$10	$0	$12	$0	$0
B	2	Cauleche	50364	F	$161	$37	$62	$48	$80	$30	$3	$14	$0	$12	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$113	$9	$1	$5	$12	$7	$2	$27	$2	$10	$0	$63
B	2	Luiza	50389	F	$387	$0	$96	$75	$0	$312	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$5	$33	$27	$22	$9	$0	$0	$10	$30	$0
B	2	Nancy (heirs)	50430	F	$133	$31	$61	$120	$10	$0	$3	$3	$0	$26	$2	$0	$0	$0	$20	$0	$9	$0	$16	$2	$29	$5	$0	$0	$10	$0	$1
B	2	Ahcooah	50439	F	$187	$50	$45	$60	$43	$30	$54	$10	$19	$17	$4	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$11	$2	$7	$12	$14	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
B	2	Tequarlequartakey	50455	F	$200	$20	$52	$30	$45	$125	$0	$12	$0	$5	$3	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$20	$2	$5	$11	$7	$7	$1	$0	$0	$0	$2
B	2	Coulson, Harry	50502	A	$44	$29	$59	$29	$12	$0	$3	$2	$20	$0	$7	$0	$0	$1	$6	$0	$9	$3	$15	$10	$21	$1	$0	$3	$2	$0	$26
B	2	Fishinghawk	50507	F	$191	$71	$43	$45	$60	$80	$6	$13	$30	$11	$8	$0	$0	$10	$1	$10	$14	$0	$4	$6	$6	$11	$2	$0	$0	$0	$22
B	2	Beegum, Sally	50518	F	$311	$67	$28	$92	$48	$100	$71	$21	$20	$16	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16	$1	$3	$6	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Nancy	50531	F	$184	$20	$60	$36	$0	$140	$8	$0	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$0	$4	$0	$39	$0	$0	$0	$12	$0	$20
B	2	Locust	50544	F	$333	$59	$53	$70	$34	$220	$9	$20	$20	$8	$11	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$18	$5	$3	$4	$15	$7	$2	$0	$0	$0	$12
B	2	Muskrat (heirs)	50551	F	$170	$39	$67	$56	$70	$0	$44	$16	$0	$12	$10	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$14	$10	$7	$4	$30	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15
B	2	Walker, Anna	50612	A	$358	$67	$123	$109	$80	$165	$4	$15	$22	$38	$5	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$26	$6	$9	$22	$35	$0	$31	$1	$32	$0	$3
B	2	Chyukah	50618	F	$190	$28	$49	$27	$0	$160	$3	$8	$0	$18	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$40	$18	$1	$6	$7	$7	$10	$0	$6	$8	$0	$25
B	2	Tallelauhee	50628	F	$128	$10	$54	$100	$0	$0	$28	$7	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$23	$1	$0	$13	$15	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12
B	2	Nakee	50642	F	$285	$65	$59	$100	$25	$120	$40	$14	$30	$1	$21	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$7	$9	$36	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$23
B	2	Keeootsa	50643	F	$222	$62	$40	$40	$0	$180	$2	$22	$11	$19	$8	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$12	$0	$11	$8	$4	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15
B	2	Kelahdooh	50648	F	$430	$53	$96	$120	$57	$160	$93	$9	$0	$40	$4	$0	$0	$0	$30	$10	$17	$4	$15	$7	$44	$10	$0	$1	$6	$0	$42
B	2	Balltown, Peggy (est	50654	A	$75	$34	$90	$32	$36	$0	$7	$16	$0	$8	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20	$7	$6	$8	$49	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	2	LittleGeorge	50658	F	$210	$71	$56	$62	$20	$80	$48	$15	$21	$20	$15	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$38	$0	$1	$4	$8	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Ahlegee (dec.)	50678	F	$38	$15	$50	$0	$0	$0	$38	$3	$1	$6	$5	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$13	$1	$7	$3	$20	$7	$0	$8	$0	$0	$16
B	2	Christie, Walter	60053	A	$276	$64	$26	$122	$144	$0	$11	$10	$41	$10	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$2	$9	$8	$2	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0
B	2	Tiana	60082	F	$234	$45	$57	$180	$44	$0	$10	$9	$30	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$16	$0	$6	$1	$21	$14	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14
B	2	Caulahhah	60086	F	$356	$19	$87	$90	$45	$215	$6	$12	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$5	$4	$15	$13	$1	$9	$12	$14	$7	$33	$0	$0	$8	$11
B	2	Saukinney	60125	F	$281	$46	$32	$153	$67	$60	$1	$5	$15	$21	$5	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$11	$1	$3	$0	$2	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
B	2	Ahquahtakee	60205	F	$316	$70	$32	$150	$81	$80	$5	$7	$55	$6	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$5	$13	$0	$4	$2	$8	$4	$2	$0	$0	$14	$15
B	2	Checoowe	70016	F	$228	$69	$73	$52	$0	$176	$0	$5	$0	$56	$8	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$9	$0	$7	$6	$38	$0	$13	$0	$6	$0	$0
B	2	Blair, Mrs	70038	A	$373	$41	$98	$195	$189	$0	$72	$31	$0	$20	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$32	$1	$39	$33	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25
B	2	Scott, Arch	70064	A	$348	$53	$84	$40	$51	$255	$2	$9	$20	$19	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21	$1	$19	$14	$28	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Robbins, Johnson	70326	F	$296	$23	$94	$57	$72	$140	$27	$0	$5	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$0	$8	$9	$42	$0	$23	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Watie	70327	F	$288	$43	$50	$45	$110	$130	$3	$11	$30	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$2	$8	$25	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Tahsekahyahka	70447	F	$391	$65	$41	$102	$88	$200	$1	$20	$27	$10	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$20	$0	$6	$6	$4	$5	$0	$5	$0	$0	$18
B	2	Wadeyoohee	20727b	F	$17	$32	$66	$16	$0	$0	$10	$3	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$2	$13	$17	$25	$8	$0	$1	$24	$0	$0
B	2	Rachael	50075b	F	$207	$57	$96	$12	$15	$150	$30	$23	$0	$24	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$33	$8	$16	$16	$15	$9	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0
B	2	Walker, Jo	50607b	A	$209	$63	$64	$60	$48	$40	$61	$31	$15	$10	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$2	$9	$7	$2	$0	$25	$2	$13	$0	$32
B	2	Susannah	50642b	F	$307	$56	$33	$96	$120	$90	$1	$10	$24	$21	$1	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$4	$6	$5	$14	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5
B	2	Takee	70435a	F	$217	$25	$121	$60	$55	$100	$2	$18	$0	$1	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$2	$22	$4	$46	$0	$29	$0	$1	$0	$0
D	3	Chekoohy	1	F	$146	$45	$19	$14	$12	$120	$0	$11	$31	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$17	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Chinoque Wahcheesee	2	F	$28	$26	$11	$27	$0	$0	$1	$3	$20	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$1	$0	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Jackson	5	F	$247	$44	$9	$93	$29	$115	$10	$15	$15	$0	$13	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$2
D	3	Johncinna	6	F	$125	$33	$6	$10	$54	$60	$1	$6	$25	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$87
D	3	Toonih	7	F	$31	$15	$9	$2	$27	$0	$2	$3	$0	$9	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$1	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11
D	3	NellyHickorynut	430	F	$138	$0	$15	$60	$0	$70	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$3	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Wallaook	431	F	$224	$15	$27	$36	$15	$160	$13	$1	$12	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$1	$0	$4	$4	$14	$0	$3	$0	$12
D	3	Cheinanna	435	F	$13	$12	$14	$9	$0	$0	$4	$8	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$3	$1	$1	$3	$1	$6	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Inoque	501	F	$134	$25	$12	$96	$34	$0	$4	$3	$16	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$7	$1	$0	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13
D	3	Esuttahee	504	F	$102	$50	$10	$0	$10	$90	$2	$9	$21	$9	$11	$0	$0	$0	$1	$10	$5	$1	$1	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$24
D	3	Coldweather	517	F	$139	$18	$10	$9	$10	$120	$0	$10	$1	$6	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Tahtlentah	531	F	$57	$9	$4	$8	$0	$30	$19	$3	$0	$1	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Salolanetah	553	F	$167	$14	$15	$40	$125	$0	$2	$6	$6	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$1	$1	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Worm	554	F	$93	$26	$7	$14	$0	$75	$4	$12	$6	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$1	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Wasseton	555	F	$114	$24	$31	$45	$33	$30	$6	$4	$16	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$19	$13	$2	$3	$0	$4	$0	$10	$2	$0	$0	$13
D	3	Wessa (Cat)	559	F	$173	$18	$11	$16	$56	$100	$1	$6	$0	$11	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Will	560	F	$65	$25	$9	$40	$24	$0	$1	$11	$0	$6	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20	$7	$0	$1	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$28	$10
D	3	JohnTowee	574	F	$123	$12	$30	$18	$60	$40	$5	$6	$1	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$18	$1	$4	$1	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25
D	3	Old Bearpaw	592	F	$182	$34	$32	$0	$0	$180	$2	$17	$0	$0	$17	$0	$0	$0	$6	$10	$8	$8	$2	$0	$4	$5	$5	$3	$0	$5	$27
D	3	Bearpaw, Tom	593	F	$27	$12	$12	$26	$0	$0	$2	$5	$0	$4	$3	$0	$0	$0	$3	$10	$3	$2	$1	$3	$2	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$22

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Bullet, Nancy	594	F	$136	$25	$5	$45	$0	$90	$2	$8	$0	$14	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Riley, Rachael	605	A	$230	$44	$20	$24	$96	$110	$0	$17	$15	$4	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$10	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oonokuh[Trout]	607	F	$36	$15	$15	$18	$18	$0	$0	$4	$5	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$40	$11	$0	$1	$0	$1	$2	$0	$1	$2	$0	$20
D	3	Losena	615	F	$94	$34	$31	$24	$0	$70	$0	$8	$25	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$1	$1	$2	$1	$16	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Killistogee	616	F	$34	$30	$15	$30	$0	$0	$4	$3	$12	$3	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$2	$0	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
D	3	Cohilloskih	620	F	$128	$27	$11	$27	$30	$55	$16	$7	$14	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$1	$1	$0	$3	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Teyoltla	631	F	$66	$17	$6	$12	$25	$0	$29	$10	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$1	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Eyosistah	636	F	$144	$48	$24	$62	$30	$50	$2	$8	$35	$0	$3	$0	$0	$2	$1	$0	$13	$0	$2	$0	$3	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
D	3	Murphy, William	638	A	$141	$38	$4	$50	$13	$70	$8	$7	$25	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Connald, Johnson	652	F	$176	$20	$27	$109	$55	$0	$12	$16	$2	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20	$0	$1	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25
D	3	Gosahela	670	F	$64	$15	$5	$3	$61	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Cata	679	F	$157	$4	$41	$99	$42	$0	$16	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$10	$5	$1	$2	$2	$18	$3	$12	$0	$0	$73
D	3	Culsardehee	20224	F	$53	$24	$13	$15	$36	$0	$2	$4	$21	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Tahney	20434	F	$93	$31	$14	$0	$0	$80	$13	$12	$1	$16	$2	$0	$0	$0	$1	$10	$0	$0	$2	$4	$4	$3	$2	$16	$4	$0	$24
D	3	Keener, Jim	20829	F	$110	$29	$5	$10	$15	$85	$0	$9	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	($1)	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	RisingFawn	20839	F	$144	$25	$8	$94	$0	$50	$0	$4	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Christie, Dave	20843	A	$117	$18	$11	$36	$0	$80	$1	$1	$12	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ayosta	30122	F	$37	$9	$13	$0	$35	$0	$2	$5	$1	$2	$1	$0	$0	$1	$6	$0	$3	$0	$4	$5	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Canesaha	30327	F	$41	$16	$13	$9	$15	$0	$17	$8	$0	$4	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$6	$2	$3	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0
D	3	Chocohey	30417	F	$15	$11	$21	$0	$15	$0	$0	$5	$0	$1	$5	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$7	$1	$2	$4	$7	$1	$0	$1	$0	$1	$0
D	3	Feather in the Water	30730	F	$101	$16	$17	$9	$50	$0	$6	$4	$36	$4	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$28	$0
D	3	HowlingWolf	30761	F	$43	$27	$15	$9	$0	$30	$4	$10	$0	$2	$13	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$3	$0	$5	$7	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Jack	30771	F	$12	$16	$12	$2	$0	$0	$10	$7	$0	$5	$5	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$3	$1	$2	$2	$1	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$5
D	3	Johnson	30823	F	$271	$49	$4	$68	$58	$100	$45	$8	$15	$15	$11	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oowatosatee	31125	F	$106	$10	$17	$69	$35	$0	$3	$7	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$1	$0	$3	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$23
D	3	ParchMeal	31216	F	$0	$33	$30	$0	$0	$0	$1	$20	$0	$4	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$0	$2	$4	$2	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Sunday	40156	F	$9	$23	$16	$0	$9	$0	$0	$5	$15	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$3	$3	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Taganagah	40322	F	$57	$19	$12	$5	$0	$50	$2	$11	$1	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$22	$4	$1	$0	$0	$1	$1	$6	$0	$0	$0	$11
D	3	Tsutanae	40466	F	$65	$17	$24	$32	$0	$0	$33	$11	$0	$2	$3	$1	$0	$0	$1	$0	$7	$1	$3	$8	$3	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$11
D	3	Tsulaawwe	40472	F	$0	$11	$28	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$4	$4	$11	$5	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Tsugasatehee	40474	F	$0	$13	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$1	$2	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Christie, Richard	41059	A	$169	$14	$11	$82	$24	$50	$13	$12	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$3	$0	$2	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Duck (heirs)	41096	F	$207	$39	$32	$24	$20	$160	$3	$2	$33	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Keener, Joseph	41133	F	$142	$33	$31	$0	$0	$140	$2	$10	$20	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$2	$0	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	GeorgeCherokee	41143	A	$149	$15	$29	$0	$25	$120	$4	$9	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$13	$0	$18	$2	$2	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12
D	3	Sixkiller, Jiny	41165	F	$36	$8	$29	$30	$0	$0	$6	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$1	$3	$0	$16	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Yehkinne	41259	F	$81	$22	$11	$45	$30	$0	$6	$14	$0	$3	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$10	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Batt	50025	F	$194	$40	$33	$90	$96	$0	$8	$8	$25	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$15	$2	$5	$6	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12
D	3	Chewahner	50060	F	$279	$51	$15	$72	$50	$150	$7	$6	$45	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Beamer, Wasp	50068	A	$12	$40	$20	$11	$0	$0	$1	$4	$5	$13	$14	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$14	$0	$1	$3	$4	$1	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Snail, Nickajack	50079	F	$96	$11	$23	$45	$17	$0	$34	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$11	$0	$16	$1	$5	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12
D	3	LightToter	50088	F	$91	$35	$38	$10	$0	$80	$1	$2	$26	$0	$6	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$15	$0	$7	$5	$4	$6	$2	$0	$10	$0	$1
D	3	JohnHog	50089	F	$92	$57	$39	$56	$36	$0	$0	$12	$31	$8	$5	$2	$0	$0	$5	$25	$27	$0	$2	$0	$4	$6	$0	$4	$4	$6	$21
D	3	Gunnundiskee	50092	F	$69	$6	$24	$66	$0	$0	$3	$4	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$0	$1	$0	$4	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Polly	50094	F	$66	$57	$36	$7	$56	$0	$3	$2	$50	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$5	$0	$24	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Guhskahleskee	50109	F	$153	$15	$15	$0	$20	$125	$8	$6	$0	$8	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$2	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Wahnenohee	50111	F	$76	$6	$10	$75	$0	$0	$1	$4	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Sulsa	50119	F	$236	$63	$14	$35	$74	$100	$27	$51	$4	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Dehdahcihyahskee	50121	F	$103	$35	$11	$0	$0	$100	$3	$11	$20	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ahnejah	50131	F	$0	$9	$33	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$1	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$24	$1	$0	$0	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Suttiyah	50136	F	$212	$65	$23	$140	$0	$120	$2	$14	$32	$12	$6	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$8	$1	$2	$1	$5	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Secowey	50147	F	$110	$7	$32	$12	$12	$70	$16	$0	$0	$6	$1	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$4	$0	$10	$14	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Duhnenoley	50148	F	$179	$12	$14	$16	$22	$140	$1	$8	$0	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Suyatugh	50181	F	$91	$5	$9	$0	$8	$80	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$1	$1	$2	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Chechaquo	50208	F	$194	$25	$16	$50	$0	$140	$4	$7	$11	$0	$4	$0	$0	$4	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$5	$9	$0	$0	$0	$23
D	3	Jusohey	50228	F	$207	$33	$11	$25	$0	$180	$2	$11	$16	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	SpringFrog (heirs)	50237	F	$62	$35	$18	$58	$0	$0	$4	$2	$25	$6	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$1	$4	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1
D	3	YoungTerrapin	50243	F	$147	$42	$16	$36	$60	$50	$1	$13	$25	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$8	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Stop	50245	F	$56	$8	$35	$20	$36	$0	$0	$0	$1	$4	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$16	$1	$4	$5	$6	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Chuculwaleaskey	50246	F	$36	$6	$17	$36	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$3	$3	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Oohduhlahdane	50278	F	$82	$67	$27	$21	$0	$60	$1	$10	$36	$6	$4	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$10	$0	$3	$0	$6	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1
D	3	CrowMocker	50280	F	$89	$44	$37	$36	$0	$50	$3	$9	$25	$4	$5	$0	$0	$1	$4	$0	$14	$1	$3	$3	$12	$5	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Hungry & Uhyuhgee	50328	F	$295	$62	$15	$33	$30	$220	$13	$29	$25	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$1	$2	$1	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Fodder	50333	F	$229	$27	$22	$115	$0	$110	$4	$12	$2	$0	$2	$10	$0	$1	$10	$0	$8	$1	$2	$6	$1	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Alicky	50335	F	$85	$9	$37	$0	$0	$80	$5	$4	$0	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$1	$2	$0	$13	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11
D	3	Sally (heirs)	50347	F	$45	$15	$28	$0	$0	$45	$0	$11	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$3	$3	$2	$10	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Dry	50351	F	$30	$29	$5	$30	$0	$100	$0	$1	$25	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Nelly	50363	F	$174	$16	$20	$20	$60	$90	$4	$0	$0	$16	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$1	$4	$5	$5	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0
D	3	Duhsahwohlahtah	50391	F	$225	$44	$36	$48	$31	$145	$1	$12	$0	$26	$7	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$9	$7	$5	$5	$6	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17
D	3	Olly	50395	F	$33	$28	$22	$20	$12	$0	$1	$6	$0	$22	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$4	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Pathkiller	50396	F	$107	$25	$39	$4	$0	$100	$3	$11	$11	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$1	$2	$1	$8	$3	$8	$3	$2	$0	$4
D	3	Chewnawyeky	50398	F	$45	$2	$16	$45	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$0	$0	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Buffington, Jesse	50405	A	$58	$20	$14	$40	$0	$0	$18	$17	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$18
D	3	Ticcakeasy	50414	F	$6	$19	$10	$6	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$4	$4	$0	$0	$10	$2	$0	$5	$1	$1	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ann	50446	F	$85	$7	$17	$0	$0	$60	$25	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$5	$2	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Alsey	50454	F	$83	$11	$11	$36	$46	$0	$1	$1	$1	$7	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$1	$2	$2	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7
D	3	OtterLifter	50456	F	$222	$40	$35	$4	$51	$130	$37	$17	$0	$20	$4	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$10	$0	$2	$2	$2	$2	$17	$0	$0	$0	$1
D	3	Cullahcholeter	50467	F	$368	$42	$17	$230	$0	$130	$8	$14	$25	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$5	$40	$13	$0	$14	$0	$1	$0	$3	$0	$0	$60	$28
D	3	Snail, John	50472	F	$221	$11	$36	$0	$0	$220	$1	$5	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$8	$6	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nanny	50479	F	$185	$35	$14	$28	$50	$90	$17	$15	$0	$13	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13	$6	$2	$3	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14
D	3	Johnader	50481	F	$107	$33	$25	$0	$36	$70	$1	$8	$20	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$7	$0	$4	$0	$4	$3	$8	$0	$0	$0	$6
D	3	Snail, Benjamin	50482	F	$89	$28	$38	$69	$15	$0	$5	$17	$0	$0	$9	$0	$0	$1	$8	$0	$12	$0	$5	$16	$5	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21
D	3	Carteclaw	50484	F	$53	$20	$3	$0	$53	$0	$0	$18	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Arnily (heirs)	50493	F	$11	$8	$14	$8	$0	$0	$3	$3	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$2	$0	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Warnenawhee	50519	F	$218	$37	$23	$24	$18	$160	$16	$10	$0	$23	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$1	$3	$3	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14
D	3	Atolahee	50522	F	$97	$39	$30	$90	$0	$0	$7	$4	$25	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$1	$4	$0	$13	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2
D	3	Jesse (heirs)	50530	F	$130	$11	$0	$65	$12	$50	$3	$5	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Namahlar	50532	F	$173	$28	$20	$171	$0	$0	$2	$2	$20	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$2	$0	$4	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ancey	50536	F	$107	$7	$30	$90	$12	$0	$5	$2	$0	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$2	$4	$0	$10	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nelly	50538	F	$1	$4	$13	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$0	$1	$10	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0
D	3	Nancy (Alleha)	50549	F	$215	$8	$13	$36	$30	$100	$49	$6	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Jesse & Oolescarstey	50554	F	$37	$25	$29	$12	$15	$0	$10	$0	$20	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$2	$3	$5	$8	$3	$1	$0	$4	$0	$0
D	3	Eyarchucle (heirs)	50562	F	$183	$68	$19	$0	$12	$170	$1	$12	$50	$0	$4	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$11	$1	$0	$0	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nick	50565	F	$5	$42	$10	$5	$0	$0	$0	$6	$30	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0
D	3	Naquinny (heirs)	50579	F	$401	$59	$21	$240	$75	$60	$26	$19	$30	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$6	$7	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Guess, John	50582	F	$8	$39	$13	$6	$0	$0	$2	$8	$30	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$46	$4	$2	$0	$0	$4	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$20

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Nakey (heirs)	50584	F	$61	$53	$18	$0	$15	$0	$46	$12	$35	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$2	$4	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Guhwahnustee	50586	F	$150	$49	$27	$33	$54	$50	$13	$7	$37	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$5	$4	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nickajack (heirs)	50587	F	$94	$27	$23	$70	$22	$0	$2	$7	$11	$7	$2	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$17	$0	$4	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Ahneyohhee	50591	F	$0	$36	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$17	$0	$12	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$5	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Fencer	50601	F	$160	$25	$0	$24	$35	$100	$1	$2	$21	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	DunBean	50604	F	$26	$17	$19	$15	$0	$0	$11	$12	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$14	$0	$0	$0	$2	$4	$0	$3	$0	$0	$32
D	3	Roman Nose (heirs)	50609	F	$100	$35	$31	$0	$0	$100	$0	$6	$0	$29	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$2	$21	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$22
D	3	Ahquechee	50610	F	$156	$48	$7	$45	$0	$110	$1	$11	$26	$5	$6	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$2	$2	$0	$0	$16
D	3	Cottallstah	50623	F	$50	$19	$24	$32	$13	$0	$5	$2	$10	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$2	$5	$0	$7	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Polly	50624	F	$21	$8	$25	$0	$0	$0	$21	$4	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$13	$0	$3	$7	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11
D	3	Mikee	50632	F	$13	$6	$13	$12	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$1	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Nedee	50640	F	$236	$60	$15	$60	$50	$120	$6	$15	$30	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$5	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Tahnee	50644	F	$383	$64	$22	$120	$56	$200	$7	$19	$37	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$2	$0	$2	$3	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0
D	3	Jones, Samuel	50655	A	$55	$6	$22	$32	$12	$0	$11	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$4	$4	$3	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	YoungSquirrel	50663	F	$137	$24	$18	$75	$60	$0	$2	$9	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$4	$2	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Skeetehee	50665	F	$32	$24	$35	$30	$0	$0	$2	$3	$0	$8	$13	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$11	$3	$6	$3	$11	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Six Killer (heirs)	50677	F	$190	$7	$9	$0	$40	$150	$0	$3	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$4	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
D	3	Wahcheesee, Jenny	50685	F	$335	$54	$19	$100	$125	$110	$0	$10	$30	$0	$14	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$2	$0	$2	$0	$14	$0	$0	$0	$5
D	3	Ahmucktah	50838	F	$27	$45	$0	$25	$0	$0	$2	$11	$25	$0	$9	$0	$0	$1	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18
D	3	Tootistee	50840	F	$185	$23	$10	$42	$10	$130	$3	$12	$0	$9	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$4	$0	$1	$0	$0	$1	$0	$10	$10
D	3	Horsefly	50858	F	$0	$17	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$15	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$2	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Gray, James	60012	F	$199	$20	$9	$0	$0	$190	$9	$1	$1	$15	$3	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$3	$1	$1	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oogerweyou	60015	F	$63	$11	$32	$0	$0	$60	$3	$4	$0	$1	$6	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$17	$2	$4	$0	$8	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	ComingDeer	60061	F	$239	$27	$6	$36	$40	$150	$13	$3	$20	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Susannah	60067	F	$165	$23	$23	$83	$0	$80	$2	$2	$15	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$7	$0	$4	$0	$2	$0	$10	$0	$4	$0	$5
D	3	Fox, Charles	60068	F	$169	$61	$24	$7	$0	$160	$2	$11	$13	$31	$7	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$6	$0	$3	$3	$8	$1	$3	$0	$3	$0	$7
D	3	Grass	60071	F	$47	$31	$6	$20	$24	$0	$3	$4	$25	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
D	3	Gahtaulah	60075	F	$88	$7	$9	$65	$23	$0	$0	$3	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Chattahgee	60076	F	$95	$5	$9	$48	$44	$0	$3	$2	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$1	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1
D	3	William	60077	F	$264	$36	$19	$56	$125	$80	$3	$24	$0	$3	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13	$0	$0	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Cherlaunercha	60079	F	$1	$34	$20	$0	$0	$0	$1	$4	$20	$5	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14	$2	$0	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0
D	3	Takey	60081	F	$130	$1	$17	$52	$77	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$1	$2	$2	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Teewahskeelee	60087	F	$49	$1	$9	$48	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1
D	3	Skeeneeyer	60088	F	$81	$33	$16	$0	$0	$80	$1	$5	$25	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$0	$1	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5
D	3	Nancy	60090	F	$57	$46	$31	$0	$50	$0	$7	$7	$25	$12	$2	$0	$0	$0	$14	$0	$14	$1	$5	$5	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Sally	60094	F	$185	$47	$12	$0	$24	$160	$1	$11	$25	$1	$4	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$1	$2	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Sally	60098	F	$4	$31	$6	$0	$0	$0	$4	$9	$8	$9	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$2	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	BlackFox	60101	F	$76	$7	$10	$0	$0	$70	$6	$6	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$1	$2	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Winny	60103	F	$371	$36	$22	$76	$90	$200	$5	$9	$0	$23	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$14	$1	$2	$1	$2	$1	$2	$0	$4	$9	$19
D	3	Oosahwee	60104	F	$102	$35	$7	$100	$0	$0	$2	$6	$24	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$1	$5	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	YoungChicken	60105	F	$146	$42	$13	$0	$0	$130	$16	$9	$32	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ridge	60113	F	$43	$32	$8	$42	$0	$0	$1	$8	$15	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$4	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Curnereeskey	60117	F	$234	$25	$5	$28	$41	$200	$6	$14	$30	$0	$1	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Moses	60120	F	$2	$10	$5	$0	$0	$0	$2	$4	$2	$0	$3	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Pigeon	60124	F	$7	$69	$11	$6	$0	$0	$1	$5	$52	$0	$7	$0	$0	$5	$1	$0	$8	$0	$2	$0	$2	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$5
D	3	Oneelauhah	60140	F	$105	$62	$17	$39	$12	$40	$14	$18	$36	$5	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$15	$12	$1	$2	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Ahtahnahtuskee	60144	F	$76	$31	$14	$18	$35	$210	$23	$14	$15	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$2	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Jenney	60149	F	$189	$27	$27	$138	$40	$0	$11	$9	$0	$13	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$1	$2	$0	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Sarah	60154	F	$179	$10	$11	$48	$30	$80	$21	$8	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Jones, Chinahque	60155	A	$97	$19	$27	$27	$20	$50	$0	$10	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$7	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Noontahhowyah	60157	F	$18	$9	$18	$18	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$3	$0	$4	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$24
D	3	Chuleoawah	60176	F	$35	$13	$27	$0	$0	$30	$5	$11	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$8	$0	$5	$1	$11	$2	$0	$1	$2	$0	$0
D	3	Peggy	60177	F	$74	$54	$27	$68	$0	$0	$6	$8	$30	$8	$8	$0	$0	$0	$2	$10	$15	$0	$3	$2	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
D	3	Deesquahnee	60178	F	$68	$72	$15	$48	$20	$80	$0	$19	$40	$6	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25	$6	$0	$1	$0	$3	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$11
D	3	Darky	60179	F	$130	$33	$20	$32	$0	$90	$8	$6	$25	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$1	$3	$0	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Saukinney	60182	F	$1	$14	$12	$0	$0	$0	$1	$8	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$1	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oowahderyauhee	60183	F	$4	$35	$42	$0	$0	$0	$4	$13	$14	$1	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$4	$0	$23	$6	$0	$2	$12	$40	$16
D	3	Nakee	60185	F	$45	$58	$14	$42	$0	$0	$3	$8	$32	$6	$12	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$9	$0	$1	$0	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$20	$8
D	3	Oogerweyou	60186	F	$105	$3	$26	$0	$55	$50	$0	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$13	$0	$3	$4	$1	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5
D	3	Cullaunerskee	60191	F	$1	$20	$36	$0	$0	$0	$1	$7	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$17	$3	$2	$0	$11	$2	$2	$0	$4	$0	$10
D	3	Oochostoser	60199	F	$274	$40	$10	$90	$72	$100	$12	$15	$20	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$1	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oostalawntee	60200	F	$450	$52	$14	$114	$91	$240	$5	$12	$31	$0	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$2	$2	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21
D	3	Upton	60202	F	$21	$33	$17	$0	$21	$0	$0	$8	$15	$7	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$1	$1	$0	$4	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Rice, Luther	60204	F	$116	$39	$17	$64	$50	$0	$2	$5	$20	$5	$2	$7	$0	$0	$2	$0	$5	$2	$3	$3	$1	$4	$0	$1	$0	$0	$1

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Bean	60208	F	$162	$50	$8	$32	$0	$130	$0	$8	$40	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	ComingDeer, Jack	60209	F	$185	$37	$26	$0	$14	$170	$1	$9	$25	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$2	$0	$0	$19	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Gahgoogahtah	60211	F	$231	$60	$10	$0	$60	$170	$1	$6	$52	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nequechee	60220	F	$71	$64	$26	$0	$0	$65	$6	$17	$35	$0	$12	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$6	$0	$1	$4	$10	$5	$0	$0	$0	$6	$8
D	3	Polly	60221	F	$3	$17	$23	$0	$0	$0	$3	$2	$0	$15	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$1	$2	$3	$8	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Christie, Jack	60785	A	$254	$77	$14	$75	$64	$115	$0	$20	$30	$12	$10	$0	$0	$5	$5	$0	$0	$5	$4	$2	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Bolin, William	60858	A	$0	$58	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$7	$50	$0	$0	$13	$5	$3	$2	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
D	3	Boling, Johnson	60883	A	$80	$2	$22	$27	$12	$40	$1	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$19	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Hungry	70017	F	$140	$38	$37	$18	$0	$120	$2	$9	$15	$4	$4	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$11	$0	$3	$0	$17	$2	$5	$0	$4	$0	$0
D	3	Chustilla	70019	F	$140	$12	$12	$0	$0	$140	$0	$7	$0	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$3	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Chunoyaka	70020	F	$142	$30	$12	$0	$42	$100	$0	$16	$1	$0	$8	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$10	$0	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Caty	70054	F	$115	$8	$8	$0	$33	$80	$2	$2	$0	$5	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$1	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Polly	70062	F	$16	$60	$24	$0	$15	$0	$1	$7	$50	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$6	$3	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Polly	70067	F	$76	$23	$13	$0	$75	$0	$1	$4	$15	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$1	$5	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Cajahseegeeske	70270	F	$373	$46	$16	$90	$76	$200	$7	$24	$18	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$1	$4	$0	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7
D	3	Seneyouwe	70296	F	$179	$14	$14	$21	$24	$120	$14	$12	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$8	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Tiyana	70437	F	$82	$22	$23	$0	$20	$40	$22	$11	$0	$7	$5	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$5	$0	$6	$4	$5	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$12
D	3	Johnson	70465	F	$0	$14	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$1	$0	$2	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Cheecoowee (heirs)	70466	F	$0	$4	$31	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$0	$2	$4	$12	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nakey	70488	F	$80	$21	$21	$17	$0	$60	$3	$15	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$3	$6	$3	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	George	70489	F	$164	$32	$11	$21	$0	$140	$3	$8	$20	$0	$3	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Toostah	70498	F	$204	$39	$33	$80	$99	$0	$25	$14	$5	$14	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$30	$10	$1	$2	$3	$17	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25
D	3	Sunday	20440a	F	$28	$17	$9	$13	$15	$0	$0	$8	$1	$4	$2	$2	$0	$0	$2	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0
D	3	Caseheela	20472a	F	$85	$30	$20	$18	$24	$0	$43	$7	$0	$14	$9	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$8	$2	$5	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8
D	3	Rachael & John	20624b	F	$15	$18	$17	$0	$15	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Chununah	20630c	F	$6	$12	$28	$0	$0	$0	$3	$8	$0	$5	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$2	$6	$11	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Alcy	20632a	F	$0	$33	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$20	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$3	$0	$0	$3	$7	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Setonuskee	20634b	F	$0	$24	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$16	$1	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$1	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	SundayFodder	20766c	F	$0	$20	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$10	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Old Fodder	20779b	F	$0	$7	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$4	$0	$1	$4	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Christie, Arch	50025b	A	$194	$12	$33	$64	$26	$100	$4	$7	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$1	$7	$4	$3	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Alcy	50044b	F	$35	$34	$19	$35	$0	$0	$0	$10	$15	$0	$4	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$3	$1	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0

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4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
D	3	Beamer, George	50047a	A	$87	$18	$9	$0	$0	$80	$7	$3	$10	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$8
D	3	Harry	50063b	F	$134	$33	$26	$10	$24	$95	$5	$12	$0	$18	$3	$0	$0	$0	$2	$13	$6	$0	$2	$3	$2	$3	$10	$0	$0	$0	$21
D	3	Sharlott	50065b	F	$132	$66	$31	$46	$15	$70	$1	$25	$30	$4	$7	$0	$0	$1	$2	$0	$12	$0	$7	$0	$5	$4	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Nigutiah	50074b	F	$126	$8	$24	$26	$55	$0	$45	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$1	$7	$2	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Watt	50087a	F	$12	$6	$8	$11	$0	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$5	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	LameDick	50105b	F	$75	$9	$18	$8	$0	$65	$2	$7	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$3	$3	$0	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	Buck	50395b	F	$166	$38	$19	$0	$15	$150	$1	$16	$0	$5	$7	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$3	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Sealy	50398a	F	$68	$28	$37	$35	$28	$0	$5	$11	$1	$11	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$3	$8	$6	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12
D	3	Twister	50410b	F	$161	$3	$12	$30	$0	$125	$6	$1	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oolscharsiter	50413b	F	$6	$7	$8	$6	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$1	$0	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3
D	3	JohnWain	50483b	F	$112	$28	$9	$85	$25	$0	$2	$3	$22	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Susan (heirs)	50531b	F	$371	$48	$23	$150	$20	$200	$1	$20	$3	$0	$16	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$9	$2	$5	$0	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2
D	3	Mrs.Bird	50599b	F	$184	$22	$22	$112	$30	$40	$2	$8	$0	$13	$2	$0	$0	$0	$2	$10	$13	$1	$1	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
D	3	Downing, Aggy	50600a	A	$6	$6	$37	$0	$0	$0	$6	$3	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$8	$6	$9	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Oodegooste	50605b	F	$80	$31	$4	$36	$0	$40	$4	$8	$20	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$3	$0
D	3	Susannah	50606b	F	$112	$43	$18	$4	$0	$90	$18	$1	$30	$6	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$1	$5	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Alkinna	50609b	F	$19	$11	$9	$0	$15	$0	$4	$5	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$1	$1	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ice Floating	50632b	F	$63	$47	$38	$57	$0	$0	$6	$8	$20	$8	$10	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$9	$1	$2	$0	$26	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Squahtaletse	50633b	F	$31	$37	$18	$30	$0	$0	$1	$7	$10	$17	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$4	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15
D	3	Susannnah	50650a	F	$41	$37	$31	$17	$22	$0	$3	$14	$0	$19	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$1	$2	$2	$10	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Gahlelohee	50650b	F	$0	$6	$17	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$4	$6	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	GoingSnake	50652a	F	$175	$11	$14	$0	$15	$160	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$2	$0	$1	$0	$1	$0	$2	$9	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Lige, John	50653b	F	$91	$42	$18	$0	$40	$50	$1	$5	$33	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$5	$0	$3	$5	$0	$3	$2	$0	$6	$0	$0
D	3	Tobacco Plant	50842b	F	$185	$3	$10	$40	$84	$60	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$1	$3	$0	$1	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Kahclenerchee	60184a	F	$1	$11	$16	$0	$0	$0	$1	$1	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$3	$0	$2	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D	3	Ultahtiyee	60184b	F	$4	$12	$15	$0	$0	$0	$4	$5	$0	$1	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$1	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9
D	3	Nancy	70448b	F	$159	$51	$26	$24	$0	$100	$35	$10	$15	$8	$6	$12	$0	$0	$4	$0	$7	$1	$2	$7	$2	$2	$6	$0	$0	$0	$5
C	4	Dickageeska	579	F	$642	$102	$22	$306	$279	$0	$57	$28	$48	$19	$6	$0	$0	$0	$9	$130	$14	$0	$1	$0	$3	$5	$0	$1	$0	$0	$29
C	4	Rabbit, Jack	582	F	$182	$105	$1	$0	$16	$160	$6	$9	$25	$0	$1	$70	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Jim	20120	F	$442	$103	$92	$153	$12	$240	$37	$34	$7	$0	$23	$40	$0	$0	$8	$0	$10	$8	$7	$6	$7	$8	$48	$3	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Tucker, Isaac	41131	A	$384	$186	$57	$120	$42	$220	$2	$53	$50	$6	$5	$70	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18	$0	$7	$15	$8	$0	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Awahulle	41265	F	$321	$88	$15	$12	$305	$0	$4	$33	$20	$18	$17	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8

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4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
C	4	Scraper	50069	F	$482	$140	$99	$108	$120	$250	$4	$32	$46	$28	$25	$8	$1	$0	$2	$0	$14	$1	$15	$9	$26	$2	$33	$0	$6	$10	$6
C	4	Lucy	50080	F	$70	$138	$74	$0	$60	$0	$10	$24	$6	$41	$38	$30	$0	$0	$0	$0	$30	$2	$11	$10	$11	$11	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0
C	4	OldHog	50090	F	$58	$102	$18	$50	$0	$0	$8	$35	$55	$0	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$44	$12	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$23
C	4	Buzzard (heirs)	50277	F	$438	$134	$72	$64	$15	$345	$14	$16	$71	$12	$14	$0	$0	$21	$0	$0	$20	$8	$8	$5	$6	$10	$16	$0	$0	$0	$19
C	4	Cloud	50388	F	$338	$101	$7	$120	$60	$130	$28	$33	$50	$0	$19	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Cloud (heirs)	50409	F	$119	$95	$0	$50	$48	$0	$21	$10	$30	$0	$0	$0	$50	$5	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$35
C	4	Ballsticks	50427	F	$363	$93	$82	$124	$10	$190	$39	$8	$35	$44	$7	$0	$0	$0	$36	$0	$24	$2	$3	$11	$5	$11	$19	$0	$32	$0	$40
C	4	Carnarstoowar	50556	F	$524	$110	$33	$234	$76	$200	$14	$16	$0	$11	$3	$0	$80	$0	$0	$0	$15	$1	$4	$11	$2	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Elahque	50611	F	$205	$89	$26	$64	$18	$120	$3	$18	$56	$10	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$380	$18	$0	$4	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$21
C	4	Logfish	50649	F	$657	$147	$103	$160	$157	$230	$110	$19	$20	$77	$11	$0	$0	$20	$29	$0	$14	$5	$13	$10	$47	$14	$0	$0	$9	$0	$129
C	4	Sahtahkah	50651	F	$335	$109	$40	$32	$59	$240	$4	$16	$75	$5	$3	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$15	$1	$3	$7	$8	$5	$2	$1	$0	$0	$36
C	4	Chuwahchucker	60030	F	$299	$97	$18	$32	$124	$110	$33	$13	$33	$31	$14	$6	$0	$0	$4	$0	$10	$2	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Celia	60074	F	$357	$124	$57	$100	$157	$100	$0	$0	$15	$4	$0	$0	$105	$0	$3	$0	$17	$2	$13	$10	$4	$1	$11	$0	$0	$0	$6
C	4	Barrow (heirs)	60108	F	$408	$163	$43	$120	$100	$130	$58	$22	$56	$26	$26	$33	$0	$1	$78	$240	$15	$2	$7	$4	$14	$3	$0	$0	$5	$0	$234
C	4	Peggy	60127	F	$149	$97	$28	$64	$42	$40	$3	$25	$30	$28	$15	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$17	$0	$4	$5	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$1
C	4	Nakee	60180	F	$126	$120	$10	$0	$30	$160	$6	$11	$25	$0	$4	$80	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Teesahtaskee	60198	F	$225	$117	$11	$180	$40	$0	$5	$10	$20	$8	$4	$75	$0	$0	$0	$10	$8	$0	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$30	$10
C	4	Guts	60201	F	$331	$98	$29	$105	$62	$160	$4	$21	$46	$9	$13	$0	$0	$10	$4	$0	$20	$0	$4	$0	$5	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
C	4	Bearpaw, Aiky	60757	F	$201	$103	$32	$60	$90	$0	$51	$33	$0	$20	$0	$50	$0	$0	$7	$18	$8	$0	$2	$17	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25
C	4	Tucker, John	70241	A	$117	$93	$82	$35	$22	$56	$4	$26	$33	$12	$22	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$17	$1	$8	$18	$27	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$17
C	4	Leech, George	70256	F	$156	$105	$17	$50	$0	$100	$6	$28	$52	$2	$3	$0	$0	$0	$4	$80	$5	$3	$2	$0	$7	$5	$0	$0	$10	$0	$20
C	4	Spikebuck, Tom	50047b	F	$415	$87	$46	$6	$90	$300	$19	$22	$42	$15	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$1	$8	$5	$18	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
C	4	Skaquah, Thomas	50525b	F	$407	$140	$40	$199	$296	$195	$13	$19	$88	$21	$10	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$11	$2	$3	$4	$7	$2	$14	$14	$11	$82	$8
C	4	Tsuwausuckah	50601b	F	$503	$121	$96	$258	$239	$0	$6	$34	$48	$13	$4	$0	$20	$2	$7	$20	$14	$7	$1	$13	$26	$20	$17	$1	$0	$0	$36
C	4	Nancy	50638b	A	$526	$105	$56	$30	$74	$400	$22	$39	$17	$34	$10	$0	$1	$5	$2	$70	$13	$0	$5	$10	$13	$6	$2	$0	$25	$1	$20
C	4	Shovel	70448a	F	$286	$117	$26	$25	$0	$260	$1	$25	$53	$20	$19	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20	$0	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
A	5	Reed, Anny	40068	A	$442	$6	$330	$400	$42	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$45	$18	$9	$37	$108	$159	$0	$0	$0	$30	$2	$100
A	6	Juhnuhhootah	50032	F	$563	$142	$166	$220	$130	$200	$13	$31	$50	$22	$25	$14	$0	$0	$3	$0	$25	$4	$4	$9	$83	$2	$40	$0	$21	$220	$33
A	6	Christie, Wilson	50223	A	$677	$193	$121	$99	$446	$120	$13	$58	$83	$48	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$15	$14	$8	$20	$8	$67	$4	$0	$0	$51	$0	$16
A	6	Catey	50508	F	$1,122	$96	$172	$400	$408	$220	$94	$6	$10	$0	$0	$0	$80	$0	$0	$20	$2	$3	$1	$0	$166	$1	$0	$0	$0	$180	$20
A	6	Walker, Richard (est	50608	A	$1,116	$278	$130	$510	$460	$135	$11	$55	$0	$53	$19	$0	$144	$0	$13	$0	$54	$15	$25	$25	$8	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0
A	7	Christie, Edward	60057	A	$3,196	$269	$148	$924	$1,775	$465	$32	$59	$0	$76	$25	$80	$0	$4	$31	$35	$47	$7	$35	$22	$63	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
B	8	Etagana	3	F	$355	$12	$7	$218	$69	$60	$8	$8	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$1	$0	$30	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$50
B	8	Alkinneh (Olly)	417	F	$691	$35	$50	$317	$98	$270	$6	$24	$1	$6	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$3	$7	$10	$16	$12	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5
B	8	Ogetutla	428	F	$561	$55	$34	$246	$99	$210	$6	$11	$36	$0	$6	$0	$0	$2	$2	$140	$10	$2	$1	$2	$11	$10	$0	$0	$2	$0	$85
B	8	George	438	F	$278	$11	$12	$0	$0	$275	$3	$7	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$4	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Wahcheesee, Sam	474	F	$817	$43	$51	$365	$103	$325	$24	$19	$4	$8	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$95	$24	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$27	$0	$0	$0	$35
B	8	Salcana	487	F	$428	$18	$17	$284	$37	$100	$7	$0	$0	$18	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$10	$1	$3	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Cunnantiska	497	F	$403	$27	$7	$44	$58	$290	$11	$6	$12	$6	$2	$0	$0	$1	$3	$0	$5	$0	$1	$0	$1	$1	$0	$1	$0	$0	$24
B	8	Isaac Davis	570	F	$476	$63	$55	$114	$120	$240	$2	$21	$25	$6	$12	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$18	$3	$4	$9	$13	$1	$7	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	8	Wattatukah	575	F	$347	$21	$4	$21	$109	$210	$7	$15	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$3	$1	$0	$3	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7
B	8	Hawkins, Nancy	591	A	$603	$28	$43	$545	$199	$80	$26	$11	$0	$13	$5	$0	$0	$0	$11	$115	$3	$0	$7	$0	$14	$3	$16	$4	$25	$28	$17
B	8	Toonih	598.5	F	$435	$20	$21	$172	$96	$150	$17	$13	$0	$6	$1	$0	$0	$0	$9	$0	$0	$1	$2	$7	$6	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$20
B	8	Murphy, Polly	604	F	$292	$28	$10	$24	$18	$250	$0	$7	$10	$1	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$5	$0	$3	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Aquallah	645	F	$619	$39	$37	$370	$88	$145	$16	$20	$0	$11	$6	$0	$0	$2	$18	$105	$5	$0	$4	$2	$3	$6	$18	$0	$0	$0	$103
B	8	Wally	672	F	$345	$30	$30	$174	$25	$135	$11	$7	$0	$19	$3	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$16	$2	$2	$0	$3	$8	$0	$2	$1	$0	$43
B	8	Konawilla	683	F	$447	$49	$52	$173	$5	$265	$4	$9	$27	$10	$3	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$13	$4	$4	$1	$2	$8	$21	$2	$3	$0	$102
B	8	Killdeer	20392	F	$575	$4	$8	$79	$28	$430	$13	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$40	$3	$0	$0	$5	$0	($1)	$25	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	8	Kenneteh	30852	F	$248	$23	$37	$30	$105	$105	$8	$13	$2	$6	$2	$0	$0	$0	$5	$15	$17	$0	$4	$2	$9	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16
B	8	Wickliff, Jolui	40638	A	$474	$31	$55	$160	$83	$180	$51	$15	$0	$5	$12	$0	$0	$0	$1	$0	$10	$4	$4	$11	$27	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4
B	8	Six	50031	F	$374	$35	$64	$230	$50	$90	$4	$14	$0	$6	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$2	$8	$19	$23	$2	$0	$4	$4	$0	$18
B	8	Cuttuhyuhah	50093	F	$558	$44	$65	$0	$150	$400	$8	$13	$25	$2	$4	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$13	$0	$3	$2	$11	$3	$33	$6	$0	$0	$3
B	8	Quaty	50103	F	$372	$25	$55	$150	$126	$80	$16	$11	$0	$14	$0	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$17	$2	$6	$6	$24	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$0
B	8	Jeyohsah	50125	F	$236	$1	$23	$70	$0	$160	$6	$0	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$1	$3	$0	$3	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
B	8	Guhdahgee	50135	F	$639	$50	$36	$430	$190	$0	$19	$13	$26	$6	$6	$0	$0	$0	$4	$13	$14	$2	$5	$0	$2	$3	$12	$0	$0	$0	$17
B	8	Fencemaker	50139	F	$324	$10	$15	$50	$60	$210	$4	$4	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$3	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$18
B	8	SixKiller	50202	F	$534	$52	$49	$40	$123	$340	$31	$14	$25	$6	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2	$9	$0	$2	$0	$14	$3	$22	$0	$0	$230	$23
B	8	Ancy	50282	F	$604	$35	$89	$248	$75	$275	$6	$18	$0	$11	$6	$0	$0	$1	$4	$0	$18	$11	$14	$8	$29	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6
B	8	Tucker, Caty	50329	A	$543	$36	$29	$373	$15	$150	$5	$0	$15	$19	$3	$0	$0	$0	$13	$0	$16	$0	$0	$7	$5	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Ahyuhgee	50334	F	$331	$10	$24	$60	$80	$190	$1	$7	$0	$1	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$3	$1	$0	$2	$9	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Crow	50390	F	$754	$0	$77	$0	$180	$540	$34	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$16	$52	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Unnetonaugh	50400	F	$518	$46	$33	$440	$70	$0	$8	$7	$20	$11	$8	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$13	$1	$3	$0	$11	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$28
B	8	Chickatoowistugh	50404	F	$609	$59	$56	$200	$130	$240	$39	$14	$30	$9	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$3	$2	$21	$0	$19	$0	$2	$11	$20
B	8	Alkiney	50421	F	$381	$6	$16	$255	$0	$125	$1	$2	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$1	$1	$2	$2	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0

Appendix III. Summary of select Cherokee spoliation claims, with cluster assignments (values are category sums of reported values [1838 $]).

4 cluster solution	9 cluster solution	Household	Case No.	Ethnicity	Livestock totals ($)	Producers' durable goods ($)	Consumers' durable goods ($)	Swine	Cattle	Horses	Small Stock	Agricultural Equipment	Firearms & Extractive Equipment	Textile Production Equipment	Woodworking Tools	Specialized Artisan Tools	Wheeled Vehicles	Indigenous Producers' Equipment	Producers' Commodities	Stored Crops	Cookware	Other Kitchen Equipment	Food Service Wares	Furniture	Household Equipment	Indigenous Consumers' Equipment	Tack	Personal Paraphernalia	Clothing	Cash & Liquid Assets	Foodstuffs
B	8	HogShooter	50422	F	$693	$28	$33	$288	$52	$260	$93	$2	$0	$26	$3	$0	$0	$0	$20	$0	$13	$6	$6	$0	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Hawkins, Sarey	50423	A	$429	$15	$37	$60	$80	$410	$19	$11	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$0	$0	$2	$20	$0	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Taryaney	50460	F	$298	$25	$30	$31	$12	$222	$33	$10	$10	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$0	$7	$9	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8
B	8	Muskrat, Jackson	50505	F	$370	$47	$54	$109	$53	$140	$68	$10	$0	$30	$6	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$14	$3	$9	$13	$13	$3	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0
B	8	CryingBear	50513	F	$520	$28	$16	$140	$120	$260	$0	$11	$14	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$3	$1	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5
B	8	Ahquataky	50514	F	$478	$27	$23	$315	$30	$120	$13	$21	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$16	$0	$1	$0	$3	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Yorksey	50557	F	$527	$18	$21	$348	$63	$100	$16	$5	$0	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$10	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Trout	50600	F	$806	$74	$20	$160	$80	$460	$106	$4	$62	$0	$8	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$9	$5	$3	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Sahwahche	50603	F	$360	$20	$32	$56	$20	$278	$6	$9	$0	$4	$7	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$13	$0	$2	$0	$11	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Seedahnee	50615	F	$472	$32	$48	$24	$12	$430	$6	$6	$0	$22	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$14	$0	$8	$0	$13	$0	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Coolakoo	50631	F	$455	$39	$30	$84	$120	$240	$11	$11	$10	$12	$7	$0	$0	$0	$4	$12	$16	$3	$3	$2	$5	$2	$0	$0	$2	$1	$13
B	8	PoorMan	50633	F	$387	$22	$11	$56	$40	$290	$1	$18	$0	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$7	$0	$2	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Robin	50641	F	$759	$34	$20	$27	$30	$700	$2	$20	$0	$7	$8	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$9	$0	$0	$0	$5	$6	$0	$0	$4	$0	$6
B	8	Chicahsatehee	50664	F	$350	$28	$29	$90	$36	$220	$4	$4	$20	$0	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$6	$1	$4	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Chewee	60010	F	$276	$31	$11	$90	$36	$150	$0	$4	$25	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Mink	60049	F	$736	$45	$53	$295	$103	$335	$3	$8	$30	$3	$5	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$1	$5	$4	$13	$1	$17	$0	$0	$10	$4
B	8	Christie, Jesse	60054	A	$342	$25	$29	$68	$94	$50	$130	$13	$0	$8	$5	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$0	$2	$4	$10	$14	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$13
B	8	Charlotte	60065	F	$279	$9	$11	$48	$60	$170	$1	$3	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$0	$1	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	WhitemanKiller	60066	F	$441	$32	$17	$80	$30	$320	$11	$12	$5	$0	$15	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$8	$0	$4	$0	$5	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$8
B	8	Davis, John	60078	F	$346	$27	$38	$51	$23	$240	$32	$14	$0	$6	$7	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$25	$0	$9	$2	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Ooltuttiya	60083	F	$363	$19	$43	$200	$60	$100	$3	$12	$0	$3	$4	$0	$0	$0	$3	$5	$9	$2	$4	$4	$5	$3	$17	$0	$0	$4	$26
B	8	Tahchalemer (heirs)	60119	F	$296	$10	$24	$24	$70	$200	$2	$7	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$2	$0	$8	$1	$1	$0	$2	$0	$12	$1	$0	$0	$5
B	8	Killdeer, Jack	60121	F	$390	$26	$16	$56	$90	$240	$4	$19	$0	$1	$6	$0	$0	$1	$2	$0	$13	$0	$0	$0	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	8	Hawkins, James	70036	A	$337	$28	$11	$90	$130	$75	$42	$0	$15	$13	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$6	$0	$0	$0	$8	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Love, John	70243	A	$297	$20	$37	$100	$17	$180	$0	$20	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$5	$0	$12	$10	$11	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Taluneh	70433	F	$256	$8	$26	$100	$25	$130	$1	$2	$0	$4	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$15	$3	$7	$0	$2	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Healy, John	70435	A	$636	$21	$49	$44	$30	$560	$2	$21	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$4	$8	$2	$0	$24	$0	$0	$0	$10
B	8	Ahyahquisee	70483	F	$254	$26	$28	$27	$22	$195	$10	$10	$0	$13	$3	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$11	$0	$2	$4	$4	$5	$4	$0	$0	$0	$0
B	8	Crow	50040c	F	$466	$21	$21	$0	$65	$400	$1	$11	$0	$10	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$10	$1	$4	$2	$4	$1	$0	$0	$0	$2	$6
B	8	Teecuhsolahtah	60190b	F	$227	$26	$38	$120	$84	$120	$3	$15	$0	$5	$6	$0	$0	$0	$0	$12	$15	$0	$2	$7	$11	$3	$0	$1	$2	$0	$15
A	9	Toonahnalter	50244	F	$128	$355	$30	$13	$35	$80	$0	$37	$1	$35	$19	$143	$100	$6	$5	$0	$14	$1	$0	$9	$19	$2	$0	$1	$0	$0	$10

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
producer's goods													
livestock													
horse	16	42	124	23		4	1	60	1	22	102	23	124
beef cattle	15	32	95	23		4	1	55	1	21	87	23	95
cow & calf	3	27	66	16	1	1	1	30		6	57	16	66
ox	3	7	14	13		3		4		6	11	13	14
hog	16	55	166	28	1	4	1	58	1	23	113	28	166
sheep	5	14	28	11		1	1	19		7	33	11	28
goat	1	4	8	5				3		1	7	5	8
chicken	14	54	178	24		4	1	53		19	107	24	178
goose	2	1	10	2		2		3		4	4	2	10
turkey	1	4	5	2				3		1	7	2	5
guinea fowl		1	2					1			2		2
duck	7	17	29	9		1	1	19		9	36	9	29
beehive	5	12	30	5		2		5		7	17	5	30
pet bear		1									1		
agricultural tools													
plow	16	49	175	30		3	1	49	1	21	98	30	175
gears (plow harness)	13	41	117	22		2	1	31	1	17	79	22	117
trace chains	3	6	20	7				7	1	4	13	7	20
singletree	1	7	23	7				3		1	10	7	23
doubletree			1	1								1	1
collar	1	8	12	6				3		1	11	6	12
hames	1	5	12	5				3		1	8	5	12
clevis		4	11	4				1			5	4	11
backband			1										1
hoe	14	54	200	31		4	1	50		19	104	31	200
mattock	14	33	100	23		4	1	40		19	73	23	100
bell	2	8	15	6		1		8		3	16	6	15
reaphook	2	1	2	1		1				3	1	1	2
scythe		1				1		1		1	2		
cradle	1					1				2			
coulter		1						1			2		
ox yoke				2								2	
ox ring									1	1			

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
agricultural tools													
cutting knife	1									1			
log chain	1		8	1		1			1	3		1	8
pick			1										1
spade	4	9	18	4		1		2		5	11	4	18
shovel	3	4	9	2		1		3		4	7	2	9
general woodworking tools													
ax	16	47	182	24		3	1	50	1	21	97	24	182
broadax			4	2		2				2		2	4
hatchet	1		1	1				1		1	1	1	1
drawknife	6	21	39	16		3	1	16	1	11	37	16	39
auger	6	22	50	16		2		21	1	9	43	16	50
gimlet		1	6	1				1	1	1	2	1	6
chisel	2	9	21	6		1	1	4		4	13	6	21
gouge		1	3								1		3
crosscut saw													
handsaw	6	10	26	16		2	1	7	1	10	17	16	26
saw		3	3	2							3	2	3
wedge	5	12	27	8		2		12	1	8	24	8	27
froe	1		3	2		1	1		1	4		2	3
plane		5	8	6			1	1		1	6	6	8
jackplane			2					2	1	1	2		2
joiner			1							4			1
footadze/adze		6	8	4			1		1	2	6	4	8
hammer	1	2	8	4				4		1	6	4	8
nails		2	2	1				1			3	1	2
pincers			5	2								2	5
nippers		1									1		
awl			1										1
rasp		3	1	1							3	1	1
grindstone	1		1	1			1			2		1	1
file		4	7	4			1	2		1	6	4	7
roundshave			2	1				1			1	1	2
inshave			1										1
shave								1			1		

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
general woodworking tools													
compass			2						1	1			2
lathe			3										3
lathe tools	1	1	2	1						1	1	1	2
scraper	1		1							1			1
square			1	1								1	1
crow bar									1	1			
croze				1						6		1	
jack			1										1
transportation equipment													
wagon				4		2			1	3		4	
wagon gears		1				1				1	1		
truck wagon	1			2						1		2	
truck wheel			1										1
canoe	3	4	11	7			1	1	1	5	5	7	11
specialized producton tools													
blacksmith's tools			2	4					1	1		4	2
cooper's tools													
gunstocker's tools													
silversmith's tools													
cobbler's/saddler's tools	1												
whiskey still				1			1		1	2		1	
still kettle				1								1	
whiskey barrel									1	1			
brass cock (spigot)									1	1			
sugar pot				2								2	
gold machinery		1	1								1		1
gold pan			1										1
stilliards	1	2	5	1		1		1		2	3	1	5
measure	2		1							2			1
extraction tools													
rifle gun/gun	10	35	111	28		3		20		13	55	28	111
shotgun			1										1
pistol		2	3	4		1		1		1	3	4	3
powder	1	4	8	3				2		1	6	3	8

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
extraction tools													
lead	1	2	9	2				2		1	4	2	9
shot bag		2	1	1							2	1	1
powder horn/flask		2									2		
bullet mold			1										1
gunlock			4			1		1		1	1		4
gun barrel	1		2						1	2			2
extraction tools													
fishgig/spear	2		10	5		1				3		5	10
steel trap	1	1	11	2				1		1	2	2	11
dirk/side knife	1	5	10	2				2		1	7	2	10
tomahawk	1	2	7	2				2		1	4	2	7
ginseng hoe			1										1
blowgun	4	9	37	3				6		4	15	3	37
bow & arrow			1										1
fiber processing/cloth production tools													
cards	15	38	83	20		2	1	34	1	19	72	20	83
spinning wheel	13	37	77	21		3	1	36	1	18	73	21	77
check reel	2	7	8	3		1	1	4	1	5	11	3	8
loom	12	16	28	15		2	1	10	1	16	26	15	28
weaving equipment	6	15	38	12		2	1	12		9	27	12	38
cloth	4	9	11	2	1	1		6		6	15	2	11
spun cotton		7	5	5			1	3	1	2	10	5	5
thread	6	9	10	3		3	1	1		10	10	3	10
yarn/spinnings	2	1	2	1				2		3	3	1	2
turkey cotton				1								1	
scissors	4	12	12	5		1		9	1	6	21	5	12
shears	1	8	10			1		2	1	3	10		10
knitting needle	3	4	3	2				1		3	5	2	3
needles		1	1								1		1
pins		2									2		
ribbon		1						1			2		
producer's commodities													
cotton	9	13	24	11		3	1	10	1	14	23	11	24
wool	5	8	15	6			1	14		6	22	6	15

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
producer's commodities													
deerskin	1	3	9	3				4		1	7	3	9
cowhide		2		2				5			7	2	
hide	2	1								2	1		
leather	1	1	3	2				1		1	2	2	3
iron/steel		1	11	2							1	2	11
feathers		2	5	1				2			4	1	5
fodder		2		1	1			5		1	7	1	
tallow	1		2					1		1	1		2
soap	7	10	21	6		1		13		8	23	6	21
coal			1										1
consumers' goods													
cookware and kitchen accesories													
cast iron pot	15	58	197	27	1	3	1	54	1	21	112	27	197
Dutch oven	2	19	43	6	1	2	1	15		6	34	6	43
frying pan/skillet	4	27	25	12	1	1		6		6	33	12	25
spider		2	4	3		1		2		1	4	3	4
castings	1	2	5	2				2		1	4	2	5
kettle		1	3	1	1					1	1	1	3
brass kettle	1	10	7	4	1	1		3		3	13	4	7
pothooks	6	24	43	10	1	2		16		9	40	10	43
pot rack	2	3	1	1	1			1		3	4	1	1
tin kettle		1	2					2			3		2
tin pan	7	25	37	7	2	2	1	17		12	42	7	37
tinware	1	1	3	1				1		1	2	1	3
coffee pot	5	12	15	8	1	2	1	9		9	21	8	15
coffee mill	2	6	1			1		1		3	7		1
bottle	5	16	20	4		1		6		6	22	4	20
flask		1	1								1		1
vial			1										1
butcher knife	2	5	22	1				4	1	3	9	1	22
jug	5	10	9	4		2		2		7	12	4	9
crock	2	6	4	1	1			3		3	9	1	4
jar			1	1		1				1		1	1
churn	3	8	9	4		2	1	4		6	12	4	9

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
cookware and kitchen accesories													
milk pan	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1			1	1	2
milk strainer	3	8	3	2	1	1	1	3		6	11	2	3
dipper	1	7	1	2				2		1	9	2	1
tray/waiter		1	3		2					2	1		3
wire sieve/sifter		3				1	1			2	3		
funnel		1									1		
meal tub								1			1		
pounding mill	1	1	6	1				3		1	4	1	6
spring pestle		1									1		
steel mill								1			1		
food consumption wares													
plate	6	39	122	17	1	4	1	36		12	75	17	122
cup & saucer	5	20	55	8	1	2	1	17		9	37	8	55
bowl	4	15	22	4	1	1	1	10		7	25	4	22
dish	2	7	19	3	1	2	1	6		6	13	3	19
crockeryware (gen.)	8	15	22	4				8		8	23	4	22
pitcher (ceramic)	3	12	25	2	1	2		7		6	19	2	25
pitcher (glass)					1								
teapot		1	2	1							1	1	2
tin/japanned cup	9	33	65	13	1	2	1	19		13	52	13	65
knife & fork	9	42	47	10	1	3	1	23		14	65	10	47
fork			1										1
knife		3	1					3			6		1
spoon	4	27	41	7	1	3	1	16		9	43	7	41
pewter dish	1	2	4	4				2		1	4	4	4
pewter plate		3	2	2		1		2		1	5	2	2
pewter tumbler		1									1		
decanter	1	3								1	3		
tumbler	1	5	2		1			1		2	6		2
mug		3	3	1							3	1	3
salt cellar/stand		1	2		1			1		1	2		2
pepper box		1	2					1			2		2
castor					1					1			
sugar box				1								1	

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
food consumption wares													
sugar dish		3	1	1		1	1			2	3	1	1
butter plate	1		1							1			1
knife box				1				1			1	1	
traditional kitchen/household goods													
basket	10	40	141	17		2		32	1	13	72	17	141
cane sieve/sifter	6	23	59	7				11		6	34	7	59
mortar & pestle	7	15	36	2		1		8		8	23	2	36
aboriginal vessel	2	9	26	1				2		2	11	1	26
riddle	3	9	17	2				1		3	10	2	17
pack basket	4	10	15	1				1		4	11	1	15
fanner	1	6	10	1				3		1	9	1	10
wood spoon	1	7	2	4				2		1	9	4	2
bread tray			2	1		1		1		1	1	1	2
furniture													
table	9	42	75	16	1	3	1	26	1	15	68	16	75
chair	9	36	65	14	1	2	1	23	1	14	59	14	65
bedstead	3	26	24	10	1	2	1	8		7	34	10	24
looking glass	4	9	8	2		3		5	1	8	14	2	8
trunk	3	8	6	5	1			6		4	14	5	6
chest	1	7	4	5					1	2	7	5	4
cupboard	2	8	4	1						2	8	1	4
stool	1	2	4	1				1		1	3	1	4
dresser		1	1					1			2		1
bench		1	1	1							1	1	1
bureau					1					1			
shelf			1										1
household goods													
bed/featherbed	5	26	23	6	1	2	0	10		8	36	6	23
quilt	2	17	15	2	1	1		7		4	24	2	15
blanket	1	11	15	2	1	2		2		4	13	2	15
sheet		4	7	3	1			1		1	5	3	7
counterpane/coverlet		5	1		1	1				2	5		1
bedspread/cover			1			1		1		1	1		1
bedclothes		3	1								3		1

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
household goods													
pillow	1	1		1						1	1	1	
pillowshirt													
bedcord			1										1
bearskin		2	3	1				3			5	1	3
towel		1									1		
hearth tools		6	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	7	1	3
andirons	1	1	2	1	1		1	2		3	3	1	2
candlestick/stand	1	2			1			1		2	3		
snuffer								1			1		
candlemolds	1	2			1			1		2	3		
clock								1			1		
tin box								1			1		
canister	1	2		1				2		1	4	1	
box			3	1								1	3
sack		1									1		
chamber pot		1									1		
mousetrap				1								1	
washpot		1	1					1			2		1
wash tub		3	1	1			1	1		1	4	1	1
smoothing iron	2	6	4							2	6		4
washboard		1									1		
soap trough			1										1
pail	10	46	170	24	1	3	1	37		15	83	24	170
bucket	8	31	63	9	1	1	1	24		11	55	9	63
keeler	3	13	35	6		1		10	1	5	23	6	35
piggin		2	2	1				2			4	1	2
tub	1			1						1		1	
pewter basin	1	3	2	2			1	1		2	4	2	2
basin			1	1								1	1
keg	2	1	9	2				4		2	5	2	9
barrel	1	3	4	2		1	1	1		3	4	2	4
hogshead					1		1			2			
hasp & staple	1	2	4	2				1		1	3	2	4
padlock	6	23	58	9		2		14	1	9	37	9	58

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
household goods													
lock	1	3	3	2				3		1	6	2	3
doorlock/latch			3										3
riding tack													
bridle	5	17	36	9		1		14		6	31	9	36
saddle	6	19	24	7		1		17		7	36	7	24
saddle bags	1	2		1						1	2	1	
saddle blanket		1									1		
bridle bit	1									1			
girth			1										1
strap				1								1	
halter		2		1							2	1	
halter/neck chain			2	1								1	2
lead line				1				1			1	1	
stirrup iron		1	1								1		1
spurs	2		2					1		2	1		2
curry comb			4										4
clothing													
clothing	4	4	3	3				2		4	6	3	3
dress	1	10	8	3	1	2		1		4	11	3	8
pants	1	5	4	2		1		1		2	6	2	4
hat	1	4	2	1				1		1	5	1	2
handkerchief		3	1	2				1			4	2	1
shirt		4	1	1							4	1	1
hunting shirt			1	1								1	1
vest		3		2							3	2	
coat/overcoat	1	3	1							1	3		1
shawl		2		2							2	2	
cloak		3						1			4		
neckstock		2									2		
clothing													
waist band		2									2		
cape		1									1		
shoes	1	5	5			1		6		2	11		5
stockings/socks		2	1	2		2		3		2	5	2	1

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
clothing													
moccasins			1	1								1	1
beaded belt	1									1			
beaded garter			1										1
personal paraphernalia													
earbobs	2	4	5					4		2	8		5
breast pin/broach			1	1								1	1
silver band/hatband			1					1			1		1
gold ring				1								1	
beads	1	6	4	2				2		1	8	2	4
comb	1	6	6	2				1		1	7	2	6
tuck comb		1	4								1		4
razor	1									1			
fiddle			2					1			1		2
fife	1									1			
trumpet	1	4	3	2				1		1	5	2	3
umbrella		2	1								2		1
ostrich feather		1	1					1			2		1
pipe			1										1
money purse	1			1						1		1	
silver watch			1										1
buckle			1										1
brush		1									1		
finery								1			1		
vermillion		1									1		
safeguard			1										1
spectacles			1										1
lace						1				1			
button		1									1		
wooden cane									1	1	0		
book			1										
writing paper			1										1

Appendix IV. Distribution of chattel property categories among groups defined by the nine cluster and four cluster solutions.

	nine cluster solution									four cluster solution			
category	Cluster 1 (16 cases)	Cluster 2 (60 cases)	Cluster 3 (239 cases)	Cluster 4 (31 cases)	Cluster 5 (1 case)	Cluster 6 (4 cases)	Cluster 7 (1 case)	Cluster 8 (62 cases)	Cluster 9 (1 case)	Cluster A (23 cases)	Cluster B (122 cases)	Cluster C (31 cases)	Cluster D (239 cases)
foodstuffs/household provisions													
bacon	5	4	4	3	1	1	1	2		8	6	3	4
beef				1				1			1	1	
meat				1				2			2	1	
bear's oil				1								1	
lard	1	1	1	1						1	1	1	1
corn	10	31	84	20	1	3	1	32	1	16	63	20	84
beans	5	20	45	8		3		16		8	36	8	45
peas		2	1								2		1
potatoes	2	4	8	6	1	1		12		4	16	6	8
flour	1	2	1	1						1	2	1	1
dried fruit		2	1					1			3		1
chestnuts								1			1		
honey				1								1	
salt	7	17	34	11		2	1	18		10	35	11	34
whiskey			2										2
medicine			1										1
liquid assets													
cash	2	5	13	3	1	2		5		5	10	3	13
gold	1		1			1		2		2	2		1
silver		1									1		
bank note			1										1
note of hand				1								1	

Vita

Brett High Riggs was born in Whiteville, North Carolina on June 20, 1957, a dubious gift to his mother on her birthday. He enjoyed a rural upbringing on the family farm in the busom of an extended family, then passed through 12 years of schooling on a single campus to graduate from Hallsboro High School in 1975. After entering Wake Forest University, he met his future wife, Pandora Johnson, in 1976; she remains the best aspect of his undergraduate education. Brett graduated Magna Cum Laude from Wake Forest in 1979, and wed Pandora in 1980. He resumed his schooling at the University of Tennessee, and received the M.A. degree in Anthropology just after the birth of his son, Jacob Buchanan Riggs, in 1987.